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ASPECTS OF DEATH
AND CORRELATED ASPECTS OF LIFE
IN ART, EPIGRAM, AND POETRY.

BY THE SAME AUTHOR.

Art and Epigram regarding Science and Medicine in Relation to Death, *together with an Addition on* Epigram and Art in Relation to the Excessive Fear of Death.

1914.

Medals and Medallions of the Nineteenth Century, relating to England, by Foreign Artists.

With Two Autotype Plates.

1894.

Conclusion, to the End of the Year 1900.

With Four Plates.

1907.

Medals of Centenarians.

1903.

LONDON: BERNARD QUARITCH, LTD.,
11, GRAFTON STREET, W. 1.

GULIELMO OSLER

LIBRI DE AEQUANIMITATE AUCTORI, MEDICO PERITISSIMO, QUI
HUMANI NIHIL NEQUE QUICQUID AGUNT HOMINES A SE ALIENUM PUTAT,
VIRO STRENUO, QUI FELIX SAEPE
POTUIT RERUM COGNOSCERE CAUSAS,

LIBELLUM HUNC

(LIBELLUM VERBIS POETARUM EXCERPTIS AUCTUM ET ORNATUM, SED
CELATUM UT ARBOR TENUIS SILVÂ DENSÂ CELATUR)
DE MORTIS IMAGINIBUS, DE SPE, DOLORE, TIMORE,
DE RERUM MORTALIUM VICISSITUDINIBUS, TRISTITIÂ ET JUCUNDITATE,

DICAT F. P. W.

A philosopher lecturing on life and death. From a Roman lamp in the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum (see Fig. 127). Before him is a skeleton, at which he points. Below is a baby in swaddling clothes. Many Romans of the period would probably have interpreted the meaning of the scene somewhat as follows: "There sits a learned man trying to expound the riddle of life and death, but however learned he may be, and however wise his discourse, what does all his teaching amount to? There is only one practical conclusion to be derived from it all, namely, the one which the skeleton tells us: *Edite! bibite! post mortem nulla voluptas!*" By early Christianity, which was then commencing, this precept was (incorrectly) held up as the essence of Pagan philosophy; by mediaeval Christianity it was pointed to as a devil's maxim. An exactly similar lamp is figured by Edmond Le Blant in the *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire*, 1887, Pl. vii. Fig. 2.

Frontispiece.

33753

ASPECTS OF DEATH AND CORRELATED ASPECTS OF LIFE IN ART, EPIGRAM, AND POETRY.

CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARDS AN ANTHOLOGY AND AN ICONOGRAPHY OF THE SUBJECT.

ILLUSTRATED ESPECIALLY BY MEDALS, ENGRAVED GEMS, JEWELS, IVORIES, ANTIQUE POTTERY, &c.

BY

FREDERICK PARKES WEBER, M.A., M.D., F.R.C.P., F.S.A.

THIRD EDITION, REVISED AND MUCH ENLARGED.

WITH 145 ILLUSTRATIONS.

"As soone as wee to bee begunne,
We did beginne to be undone."
G. WITHER'S *Emblems*, 1635, p. 45.

LONDON:

T. FISHER UNWIN, LTD., 1, ADELPHI TERRACE, W.C. 2.

BERNARD QUARITCH, LTD., 11, GRAFTON STREET, W. 1.

1918.

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First Edition, 1910.
Second Edition, 1914.
Third Edition, 1918.

THE MYSTERY OF PAIN AND DEATH.

O Pain, I know thee and I fear to know
Thee better. Yet I know that to mankind
Thou art a friend, warner, corrector, guide,
A guardian angel watching o'er the soul.
Mysterious power divine, wise Nature's goad
For mortals towards light and progress fair.
Only when all is known—no secrets hid—
Wilt thou be understood. And thou, O death,
What is thy meaning? Some there are of men
Deny thee quite. "There is no death," they say;
But ever with veil'd aspects com'st thou still.
Is life for practice and experience,
To help the soul to its development?
Death's message in that case to all might be:
"Give place to others, let them have their chance,
And do thou move aside and wait awhile!
Perchance thou'st work'd so hard thou needest rest.
Perchance thou'st misspent time or wasted it.
Repent then, and use thy next life better,
For self-improvement and for other's good,
To make thee worthy of eternity
And fitting company for just men's souls." *

F. P. W.

* My prose of the first portion of this was kindly put into blank verse (the first eleven lines) for me by the late Alfred Schuster, not long before his death (November 20th, 1914). In regard to the lines commencing with *Give place to others*, I do not imply that anyone can possibly have more than his share of life. In fact, whether he lives to 20, 50, or 150 years, his life is indeed short (if his faculties have persisted) from my point of view.

Many different paths of life-experience lead to the same thoughts and to partial opening of the gates of Truth, but many of them lead indeed through darkness and pain, and the lamps of Truth and Peace cannot always be distinguished in the distance. F. P. W.

PREFACE.

The first edition of this book consisted of a series of articles reprinted, with many alterations and additions, from the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1909–10, Nos. 36–38. The present edition, though further illustrated and greatly enlarged, is certainly not an exhaustive treatise on the "iconography" of death,[1] and still less does it aim at being anything like a complete "anthology"[2] of the vast existing stores of poetry and epigrams relating to the subject of death[3]; but it is intended to be an essay on

[1] An "Iconography of Death" would, amongst other things, have to describe and illustrate all the antique sculptures of "Dying Warriors," "Dying Barbarians," "Dying Amazons," &c. (including, of course, the so-called "Dying Gladiator" in the Capitoline Museum at Rome), the sculptured "Masks of Expiring Warriors," by Andreas Schlüter (about 1699) on the keystones of the window-arches in the Court of the "Zeughaus" (Arsenal) at Berlin, and innumerable sculptures and paintings, of various periods, representing the death of historical individuals, idealistic personifications, and characters of romance.

[2] Dr. Andrew Macphail, in the preface to his *Book of Sorrow* (1916), claims for that excellent anthology of his, that it "contains all that has been said—all, indeed, that can be said—upon the theme of sorrow." I might almost as well make the preposterous claim for this book of mine—that it contains all that has been said, all that can be said, upon the Aspects of Death.

[3] For some of the French poetry from the fifteenth century to modern times, relating to death, including part of Victor Hugo's *Epopée du Ver* and Théophile Gautier's *Comédie de la Mort*, see Léon Larmand, *Les Poètes de la Mort* (L. Michaud, Paris). Amongst very early French poetry on death there are thirteenth-century versions of *Le dit des trois morts et des trois vifs*, and the curious late twelfth-century *Vers de la Mort*, attributed to the monk Hélinant de Froidmont or to Thibaud de Marly. In the edition printed at Paris in 1835, as the work of T. de Montmorency, Seigneur de Marly, called Thibaud de Marly, the following lines (p. 26) may be taken as an example of the spelling :—

"Mors, tu abas à un seul jour
Aussi le roi dedans sa tour
Con le pouvre dessous son toit."

These lines appear as follows in the Paris edition of 1905 (p. 20) by F. Wulff and E. Walberg, who attribute the poem to Hélinant, Moine de Froidmont :—

"Morz, tu abaz a un seul jor
Aussi le roi dedenz sa tor
Com le povre dedenz son toit."

the mental attitudes towards ideas of death and immortality, and the various ways in which (from ancient Greek and Roman to modern times) they have, or may be supposed to have, affected the living individual—his mental and physical state, and especially the direction and force of his actions—as illustrated by epigram, poetry, and minor works of art, especially medals, engraved gems, jewels, &c. The book is divided into four parts. The first is meant to serve as an introduction to the whole subject. The second is an arrangement and analysis of the various possible aspects of death and the mental attitudes towards the idea of death; this also explains the headings under which illustrative works of art may conveniently be grouped. The third deals with the medals and coins; and in the fourth engraved gems, finger-rings, jewels, representations on ancient pottery, &c., bearing on the subject, are described. The repetitions which occur in various parts of the book will, it is hoped, be excused on the ground of convenience for purposes of reference.[4]

I wish to thank and express my great obligation to all those who have assisted me, especially Mr. H. A. Grueber, the late Mr. Warwick Wroth, Mr. G. F. Hill, Mr. J. Allan, Sir C. H. Read, Mr. A. H. Smith, Mr. H. B. Walters, Mr. E. J. Forsdyke, Mr. R. L. Binyon, and other officials, or late officials, of the British Museum; Mr. W. W. Watts, Mr. E. R. D. Maclagan, and other officials of the Victoria and Albert Museum; the late Sir John Evans, President of the Royal Numismatic Society, Lady Evans, Dr. H. R. Storer, Dr. Oliver Codrington, Dr. C. F. L. Leipoldt, Dr. Ernest Schuster, Mr. Alfred Schuster, Mr. Martin Reinicke, Dr. J. P. zum Busch, Dr. G. Dorner, Mr. A. H. Donaldson, Mr. W. Wale, Mr. R. Jordan, Mr. W. T. Ready, and Mr. L. Forrer; and, needless to say, the authors of books and papers to which I have referred, from some

[4] For the author has certainly no hope that anyone will read the book right through like a novel.

of which I have extensively quoted. To the Contessa Caetani Lovatelli's *Thanatos* I am particularly obliged for references to ancient inscriptions and epigrams. Dr. J. D. Rolleston has furnished me with several references to the Greek Anthology, and I have made much use of Lord Neaves's little book, *The Greek Anthology*, 1874 (W. Blackwood & Sons). The Rev. H. P. Dodd's *Epigrammatists* has, of course, been of great assistance to me. A second and enlarged edition of Dodd's book was published in Bohn's Reference Library in 1875, and is much too little known. Mr. C J. S. Thompson has kindly drawn my attention to various objects of interest in the newly founded Wellcome Historical Medical Museum, to which I am indebted for some of my illustrations. In preparing the present edition I have made much use of Mrs. Arthur Strong's very suggestive *Apotheosis and After Life*. To Mr. W. Wale I am indebted for many further quotations. In regard to figures 25 and 26 I have made use of illustrations in Knackfuss's *Künstler-Monographien*.

If Rabbi Hillel was right in saying that death presents various aspects only to the unwise, then indeed very few human beings are really wise, for to most persons the aspect varies from time to time, according to moods and circumstances. Age certainly often modifies the aspect, as Mr. Edmond G. A. Holmes recently stated that it had done in his own case.[5] As for death's *real* aspect, there have been seers enough, both in ancient and modern times, who have told us of their wonderful though contradictory visions; but, with Edward Young (*Night Thoughts*), one may well exclaim:—

"Who can take
Death's portrait? The tyrant never sat."

[5] It obliged him to alter many of the stanzas in his poem "To Death," included in *The Creed of My Heart and Other Poems*, London, 1912.

The study of human ideas of death derives most of its interest from human aspects of life. The aspects of the one are naturally more or less dependent on and modified by the aspects of the other. Death is as necessary as birth for the continuance and progress of the human race, and corporeal life in the higher organisms cannot even be imagined without death (except, indeed, in regard to the doctrine of the immortality of germ-plasm [6]). A man's ideas on death depend largely on the particular conditions of his own life and his surroundings, whilst his ideas and ideals of life may be considerably modified by his views and hopes regarding the nature of death and the nature of the human soul.

In this book, bulky though it has now become, I have not endeavoured to point out all the possible effects on the living of the various aspects of death as presented by medals, &c. It would, for instance, be quite unnecessary to explain that contemporary medals representing a decapitation for high treason might, at the time when they were issued, have exercised a deterrent influence on those who saw them. *Vide* the medals commemorating the execution of Monmouth and Argyle in 1685, with the inscription "Ambitio malesuada ruit." The "toy-shop" medals (also described in this book), issued in London on the loss of Minorca in 1756, may actually have played a part in bringing the unfortunate Admiral Byng to his death. It is pleasanter to think that the satirical "pattern" for a bank-note ("*not* to be imitated"), designed by George Cruikshank in 1818, and published by William Hone in Ludgate Hill, really helped to put an end to the death-penalty for forgery of bank-notes.

La Rochefoucauld said that man could no more look

[6] August Weismann's teaching. In regard to this and the French views of Bichat and Claude Bernard, and various physiological and philosophical aspects of life and death, see A. Dastre, *Life and Death*, translated by W. J. Greenstreet, London, 1911.

steadily at death than at the sun.[7] But certainly man may, without harm to himself, see death or ideas on death reflected in works of art. Just so, in the ancient legend, Perseus was able, without being turned into stone, to behold the head of the Gorgon Medusa, reflected in the mirror given to him by Athene; and thus he succeeded in slaying the dreadful monster.

At all events, a study of this kind to some extent increases one's knowledge,[8] and brings with it a certain amount of satisfaction, though neither this nor any other study can quite place one in the position described by Virgil:—

> "Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas;
> Atque metus omnes, et inexorabile fatum
> Subjecit pedibus, strepitumque Acherontis avari!"[9]

Samuel Johnson told Boswell, during their famous tour to the Hebrides, that, "if one was to think constantly of death, the business of life would stand still." It might be supposed that those who think much of death pass their mortal existence—

> "in one continued strife,
> 'Twixt fear of death and love of life."

And, indeed, Isaac D'Israeli, in his *Curiosities of Literature*, quotes Grace Lady Gethin (1676–1697) on the subject, from her *Reliquiae Gethinianae* (published 1699–1700), as follows:—"The very thoughts of death disturb one's

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[7] Francis, Duc de La Rochefoucauld (1613–1680), Maxim 26: "Neither the sun nor death can be looked at with a steady eye." In truth, most normal persons do not meditate much on their own death, but, rather, they look on death as something concerning their neighbours, friends, and others—not themselves (cf. Part II., xix., xx.).

[8] A man may trust in the beneficence of God (Nature) and yet be a philosopher, in spite of the following:—

> "Glücksclig der auf Gott vertraut,
> Der Philosoph viel weiter schaut."

[9] Cf. Cicero: "Aequo animo paratoque moriar"; and Seneca: "Optanda mors est, sine metu mortis mori."

reason; and though a man may have many excellent qualities, yet he may have the weakness of not commanding his sentiments. Nothing is worse for one's health than to be in fear of death. There are some so wise as neither to hate nor fear it; but for my part I have an aversion to it, and with reason—for it is a rash, inconsiderate thing that always comes before it is looked for; always comes unseasonably; parts friends, ruins beauty, laughs at youth, and draws a dark veil over all the pleasures of life. This dreadful evil is but the evil of a moment, and what we cannot by any means avoid. . . . But when I think I must die, and that I may die every moment—and that, too, a thousand several ways —I am in such a fright as you cannot imagine. . . . And yet the best way to cure the pensiveness of the thoughts of death is to think of it as little as possible." For many persons this last may be good advice, but *the fear of death must not be confused with thinking about death.* The book of the "Meditations" of the Roman Emperor Marcus Aurelius (A.D. 121–180), called "the philosopher," is full of Stoical reflections on the subject of death, which more probably helped to remove rather than to increase any natural fear he may have had. Montaigne, and many others, who meditated much on death, were not prevented by fear of death from enjoying and utilizing life. François Augustin Paradis de Moncrif (1687–1770), French poet and dramatist, the story of whose last days is quoted by Isaac D'Israeli (*loc. cit.*), advised others to familiarise themselves with death, which, he said, "is only dreadful for those who dread it." Montaigne had indeed remarked that whoever has learned to die has forgotten what it is to be a slave—in other words: "the man who no longer fears death, has ceased to be a slave." This, doubtless, is what Marcus Aurelius and many philosophers, besides the Stoics, of the Ancient World believed and taught.

Though excessive fear of death ("thanatophobia") is

abnormal and pathological (morbid), and can serve no legitimate or beneficial purpose, nevertheless fear of death, if not excessive, is normal, and is doubtless often useful for the race as well as for the individual. For persons with a morbid, haunting, horror of the idea of death it is probably a mistake to allow their thoughts constantly to dwell on the subject. But it may perhaps be equally a mistake to endeavour to completely banish the subject from their minds. The subject cannot, indeed, be altogether banished in most cases, and must at times be boldly faced—when various consolatory aspects (philosophical or religious) will probably present themselves or be presented by friends, and will naturally be also pondered on and estimated for whatever they are worth. I shall endeavour to make my meaning clearer by an illustration drawn from an analogous subject. In a recent communication on the "Repression of War Experiences" (Royal Society of Medicine, Section for Psychiatry, London, December 4th, 1917), W. H. R. Rivers endeavoured to show that in some cases of so-called shell-shock and psychasthenic breakdown, more harm than good resulted from sedulously following the usual advice to constantly avoid and repress or suppress the vivid recollections of terrifying war-experiences. In some such cases, if the patient (by the help of active mental and physical occupation, &c.) succeeded in banishing his painful memories during most of the day, the memories in question, and the depressing thoughts associated with them, were apt to recur with redoubled force during the night or on various occasions when the resistance or controlling power of the higher psychical centres of the brain was temporarily at its minimum. It sometimes seemed preferable for the patient to boldly face the memory of his fearful experiences during the day, when his reasoning faculties ought to be at their best, and endeavour to search out and associate more or less happy or consolatory reflexions with such recollections. By these means sudden, overpowering,

attacks of depression (involving possibly danger of suicide) were, in favourable instances, successfully avoided. So it is, perhaps, as I have above ventured to suggest, in regard to persons with a pathological fear of death.

I will add a few words to explain my own attitude in regard to questions of human immortality, &c., touched on in various portions of this book. The balance of evidence (which, however, everyone will and must admit, is mainly of a subjective kind) seems to me to point to there being something more of immortality in human souls than can be included under August Weismann's theory of the immortality of the germ-plasm of animals and plants. Whether or not this "something more" is quite as much as a "personal immortality of souls" is a question which should not really affect us. One can understand the possibility of a kind of reward or punishment, and of continued psychical activity after the death of the body, without being absolutely convinced of personal immortality. But there is no room to discuss that theoretical subject here. In many cases, probably—even in this mortal life—rewards and punishments are in some way or other adequately balanced according to individual deserts.

Few persons nowadays would care to deny the utility of systems of morality, philosophy, and religion; most systems have, doubtless, some good in them, and good can come out of very various forms of belief. But, perhaps, in the far future, a time will come when progressive thought will have developed a single system of morality, philosophy, and religion common to all mankind, and when the world will look back on the old days of contending systems as eras of barbaric ignorance, comparable to past eras of party politics and civil and international wars.

When wars are finally abolished by international arrangements, and when, owing to increased knowledge, religious and political strife ceases to exist, will a condition of "earthly paradise" be attained, or will the human race

commence to undergo mental and bodily degeneration (cf. Charles Kingsley's *Water Babies*, 1863) owing to absence of necessity for mental and bodily struggle and rivalry? Neither is likely to occur. Man will always have the evil elements in his own nature to contend against and subdue, and the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake and for the amelioration of the conditions of life, will still require the activity of whole armies of workers. Science will still demand restless labour, conscientiousness, courage, and even occasional martyrdom, on the part of her followers. With every pinnacle and summit reached, the clearer atmosphere and brighter light will show hundreds of higher points to be attained. The principles of general hygiene and prevention of disease will be common property—at all events, they will be imbibed during early life as a matter of ordinary education, and no one who is not familiar with them will ever be able to attain any position of authority. Taking W. Blake's "New Jerusalem" to signify the hygienist's and the philanthropist's ideal, one might quote him as follows:—

"I will not cease from mental fight,
Nor shall my sword sleep in my hand,
Till we have built Jerusalem
In England's green and pleasant land"
[and in every other land also.]
(William Blake, *The Building of Jerusalem.*)

Many other subjects might be studied as I have studied various aspects of death. I wish some lawyer with sufficient leisure and interest in the matter would write on *Aspects of Law and Justice in Art and Epigram*. What an undertaking this would be, even if only medals and minor works of art were taken into consideration! Think of the numberless portraits of lawyers, judges, and law-givers; medals, &c., commemorating celebrated trials, famous convictions and acquittals, the execution of the penalties of law, the miscarriage of "justice," "justice" supposed to be sold for bags of gold, the triumphs of justice and triumphant escapes from justice; the birth of new laws, their short life or their long life, the death of old effete and unjust laws; strong laws, weak laws, useful and useless laws; the good laws of constitutional

countries and the cruel laws of despotic tyrants; historical periods of law and order, and times of lawlessness when law seemed altogether dead, though it came to life again, *ut gramina sicca virescunt.*

Think of a book on the *Aspects of Finance in Art and Caricature.* The medals and caricatures relating to John Law and his financial schemes fill a volume by themselves, and the illustrations relating to the South Sea Bubble would, I suppose, easily fill another. In this connexion the medals (1753 and 1755) on the Irish Surplus Revenue Dispute have some interest (see *Medallic Illustrations of English History*, London, 1885, vol. ii. pp. 673, 674, and 676, 677). In regard to State Finance a specially interesting series would be the medals, coins, and tokens bearing devices or inscriptions referring to Government taxes of various countries. Such a series would, of course, include the medals of William Pitt with the words, "No Stamps," below his bust, relating to his opposition to the Stamp Act, one of the causes of the American War of Independence. I suppose that the quaint sun-dial inscription, "Mind your business,"[10] on some early United States coins and paper money, must to some extent have originally referred to England's interference (in regard to tea-duty, &c.) with her American Colonies. Some satirical medals relating to Sir Robert Walpole's Excise Bill represent the devil leading the statesman by a rope round his neck towards the open jaws of a monster (hell); inscription: "Make room for Sir Robert ——— No excise!" There are, of course, medals more or less relating to the Repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846, and to Richard Cobden and other statesmen connected with the repeal movement. The extraordinary "beard tax," first imposed in Russia by Peter the Great, is commemorated by tokens struck in 1705 in silver and copper (bearing the device of a beard, moustaches, and nose), to serve as a receipt for having paid the tax; there is also a larger, lozenge-shaped piece with the date 1725 (the year of the succession of the Empress Catharine I). I do not know of any medals connected with the window-tax or with the hearth-tax (chimney-tax) formerly levied in England; but the hearth-tax in the Netherlands, levied in 1666 to provide money for the war against England, is commemorated by two medals, dated 1666 and 1668 respectively (G. van Loon, *Histoire Métallique des Pays Bas*, French edition, 1732, vol. ii. pp. 516, 517). Curiously enough, there are no medals as yet, so far as I know, relating to the laws of State insurance of the working classes in Germany, England, and elsewhere.

[Numismatic collections have, of course, been formed, and have been or are going to be described, to illustrate as far as possible various

[10] See amongst the sun-dial mottoes in Charles Leadbetter's *Mechanick Dialling*, first edition, London, 1737, chapter xxiii. No. 17: *Fugio, fuge.* The English equivalent given by Leadbetter is: *Begone about your Business!*—that is to say, "I'm off (about my business), be off (about yours)!"

special subjects; for instance, the History of Medicine and the Sciences allied to Medicine (*Medicina in Nummis*), Treaties of Peace in the World's History (*Pax in Nummis*), the different kinds of boats and ships, especially war-ships, of ancient and modern times. A similar collection might be formed of coins and medals representing cars, carts, and chariots—real and imaginary—the biga and quadriga of Greek and Roman times, the funeral carpentum drawn by mules or elephants on Roman Imperial coins of the mortuary or *consecratio* kind, triumphal cars of classical and Renaissance designs, the chariot of Neptune and other imaginary marine chariots, the chariot of the Sun and other imaginary aërial chariots. The medals relating to railway engines, railways and motor vehicles, might be included; and there are already or there soon will be armoured cars and "tanks" (and even caricatures of "tanks") on medals and military badges. Many foreshadowings or precursors of modern armoured cars and "tanks" have been recorded or suggested in descriptions and illustrated designs of olden times—cf. Roberto Valturio, *De Re Militari* (1483; third edition, printed in Paris, 1532), with woodcuts from designs by Matteo de' Pasti, notably Plate 4; also the suggestion for an armoured car in the "Secrett Inventionis" (1596) of the Scotsman, John Napier, of Merchiston (1550–1617), the inventor of logarithms. The early history of balloons (the brothers Montgolfier, V. Lunardi, &c.) is illustrated by medals, and there are already medals depicting the *real* aërial chariots of modern times, the aëroplanes and the Zeppelin and other air-ships. Foreshadowings of modern monoplane and biplane flying-machines were represented in some prints and minor works of art of the first half of the nineteenth century, for instance, ornamental engravings at the head of note-paper, picturing a biplane flying over London, such as I have seen (a dated letter). The design on a souvenir handkerchief, showing the experimental aëroplane (monoplane) constructed by F. Stringfellow in 1848, was reproduced in the *Daily Mail*, London, October 13th, 1917. The remarkable point is that some of these designs appear almost exactly like real aëroplanes now in use; but Leonardo da Vinci and others had long previously considered the problem.

In regard to *medical medals* I do not think that the numismatic field has yet been searched for specimens illustrating mental abnormalities and mental peculiarities of various kinds. So many persons (some would say, all) are mentally peculiar in one way or another, that numerous numismatic illustrations ought to be forthcoming, but in regard to judging the psychical condition of persons by their coins and medals it must be remembered that though "the image and superscription" on a coin or medal may be, say, Caesar's, it does not follow that Caesar had much hand in selecting the design and inscription for either the obverse or the reverse. Indeed, medals are often designed after the death of those (whether "Caesars" or private individuals) whose image and superscription they are made to bear. A man is often no more responsible for the design and inscription on a medal of

himself than he is likely to be for any bad taste that may be shown his epitaph or sepulchral monument (cf. Part II. iii.).

An instance of an alienist having chosen an illustration from numismatics seems to me an unfortunate one. Dr. W. W. Ireland (*The Blot upon the Brain*, second edition, Edinburgh, 1893, p. 116) refers to the forced currency of Muhammad ibn Taghlak, Sultan of Delhi, 1324–1351 A.D. The Sultan "had heard of the paper notes used for money in China, and thought that he could enrich the imperial treasury by fixing an arbitrary value on copper tokens. The result was that they were only accepted through fear, and could not be passed in the remote provinces," &c. Stanley Lane-Poole, however (*The Coins of the Sultans of Delhi in the British Museum*, Loudon, 1884, Introduction, p. xxi), explains that Muhammad ibn Taghlak's forced currency was in reality a kind of promissory currency in brass, and could easily have been redeemed at nominal prices. "Indeed, when, after about three years, the trial proved unsuccessful, in consequence of innumerable imitations, against which the Sultan had organized no regal protective marks, Muhammad ibn Taghlak took up the whole brass currency, genuine and forged alike, at the values for which they were intended to pass. In such circumstances there can be no question of dishonesty on the part of the ruler."

A rather curious subject on which every numismatist knows something, but which has not yet been adequately dealt with, is that of medals relating to events which were expected to occur, but which either never occurred or came off much later than the making of the medal designed to commemorate them. For English collectors the most interesting example of "medallic anticipation" is the medal (by R. V. Jeuffroy) of Napoleon I, made (under Denon's direction) in 1804, to commemorate the projected French "Descente en Angleterre," with the inscription in the exergue of the reverse: "Frappée à Londres en 1804." The British Museum now possesses an example in lead struck from the original dies, but the reverse dies were afterwards altered to be used for the reverse of the Napoleonic medal of 1806 commemorating the blockade of the British Isles. For the inscription, "Descente en Angleterre," on the original medal, was substituted, "Toto divisos orbe Britannos" (Virgil, *Bucolica*, i. 66); and the signatures of Denon and Jeuffroy, with the date 1806, took the place of the exergue-reading, "Frappée à Londres en 1804." In the specimen in my former collection, however, and probably in all others, remains of the two last E's of DESCENTE could still be distiuctly made out (see F. P. Weber, *Medals and Medallions of the Nineteenth Century relating to England, by Foreign Artists*, London, 1894, pp. 41 and 42, Medals 114 and 115).[11]

[11] But the silver and bronze coin-like medals with the head of the Emperor Napoleon III on the obverse, as on a five-franc piece, and bearing on the reverse the inscription, FINIS GERMANIAE, 1870, within an oak and laurel wreath, were certainly not made in France or by the French. Yet a London journal, *Tit-Bits*, for September 22, 1888,

Almost equally interesting are the numerous English medals, of the popular "toy-shop" class (cf. Part II. v.), struck (owing to a premature dispatch) to commemorate the capture of Carthagena by Admiral Edward Vernon, in April 1741, though in reality the attack ended in failure (*Medallic Illustrations of British History*, London, 1885, vol. ii. pp. 548 to 554).

In a somewhat similar way one or two instances could be adduced of a statue originally made to commemorate some event or personage having been afterwards, for political or personal reasons, altered so as to represent quite a different event or a different personage. For instance a statue now standing in the park of Gautby Hall, near Horncastle, in Lincolnshire, was originally intended to represent John Sobieski (who was afterwards King of Poland, and saved Vienna from the Turks in 1683), but Sir Robert Viner (Lord Mayor of London in 1674) obtained the statue and set it up in the Stocks Market of the City of London in 1672, after having the head of Sobieski replaced or altered so that the statue might pass as one of King Charles II of England. There are some numerous poetical allusions to the

published the following paragraph from a foreign source: "NUMISMATIC CURIOSITY.—With what perfect assurance of victory the French entered upon the war with Germany in the year 1870 is seen by a medal struck about that time, of which very few specimens are now in existence. The reason for this scarcity probably lies in the fact that the Government tried to suppress it after their disasters in the field. The medal, which was evidently coined at the Mint, is of the size and value of a five-franc piece, and displays on its face the laurel-wreathed head of the Emperor with the inscription: *Napoleon III, Imperator*. On the reverse we read: *Finis Germaniae*, 1870. One of these medals was lately sold at Leipsic for a hundred marks." A specimen (in silver), formerly in my collection (now in the British Museum), bears the legend on the obverse: NEAPOLIO III IMPERATOR, with the laureate head of Napoleon III to left. On the truncation are marks showing that some letters (? artist's signature) have been erased in the die. I bought the specimen from an Italian coin-dealer in 1888. According to R. Nadrowski ("Anticipationen auf Münzen und Medaillen," *Monthly Numismatic Circular*, London, June, 1894, column 716) pieces of this type were originally produced by the medallist, Ferdinand Korn; but this has been denied. Similar pieces were afterwards, to my knowledge, produced in silver and bronze by the medallic establishment of Mayer, of Stuttgart; but on these the letters on the reverse are slightly smaller, and there is no mark of any erasure on the truncation of Napoleon's head on the obverse.

Some of the medals produced in Germany during the Great European War might be mentioned in this connexion, for instance, the large cast medal, by F. Eue, relating to the supposed results of a Zeppelin air-ship raid (August 17 to 18, 1915) on London, with Count Zeppelin's portrait on the obverse, and, on the reverse, a scene of London in flames, with Zeppelin air-ships near the Tower Bridge. A medal of General von Kluck (1915) has on the reverse (by A. Loewental) a distant burning city, and a fury on horseback holding a torch; with the inscription, NACH PARIS 1914. But the latter medal does not claim that Paris was reached.

subject. A statue of King Louis XIV of France I believe met with a somewhat similar transformation, and a chapter might perhaps be written on "metamorphoses of statues." In 1871, during the very severe illness of the Prince of Wales (afterwards King Edward VII), Sir John Tenniel is said to have drawn a cartoon for *Punch*, representing Britannia mourning. Fortunately this was not required then, but was published thirteen years later (in 1884), on the death of the Duke of Albany. One of Sir John Tenniel's cartoons, showing the relief of General Gordon (with the words "At last!"), was actually published prematurely in *Punch*, in February, 1885, just before the unfortunate news arrived of the fall of Khartoum. A week later (in *Punch* for February 14, 1885) appeared his cartoon entitled "Too late!" The medals (*Medallic Illustrations of British History*, London, 1885, vol. ii. pp. 505, 506) commemorating the projected marriage of William, Prince of Orange, and Princess Anne, the eldest daughter of King George II of England, in November, 1733, has a certain kind of medical interest, for on the evening preceding the day fixed for the wedding the Prince was attacked with pleurisy, and the marriage did not actually take place till March, 1734.]

Largest of all would be a work endeavouring to deal with the *Aspects of Love in Art and Epigram*. From the dawn of literature and art poets and artists have watched the wanderings of Love like American reporters and "snap-shot" photographers. Love has been followed in all his ups and downs, in the palaces of luxury and splendour, through enchanted scenes in mountains, valleys, forests, and meadows, and at the homely fireside, drunken, sober, in brothels and ribald taverns, playing in the gutter, sleeping on dunghills, in justly deserved durance vile and undeservedly in dungeons whose "stone walls do not a prison make." Everywhere his doings have been closely spied upon, and his resplendent aspects have formed an endless subject for classical poets, painters, and sculptors, whilst "love in the gutter" has formed a favourite theme for the satirist in literature and the caricaturist in art. But we have "moving pictures" too; for what is not almost every romance ever written but a "love story," a kind of kinematographic show in words, of one of the innumerable up-and-down episodes in Love's long career? All this makes it practically certain that no one with any conscientious idea of completeness will ever attempt to treat the theme of love as I (however imperfectly) have treated the theme of Thanatos. But the last word has not been said on either subject. Both subjects remain incomplete. Love has still a long career before him in the world's history, with many ups and downs. His aspects may yet change greatly, as indeed they must have already done since his birth amongst the savage ancestors of mankind. But there would be still greater difficulties in treating the theme of love in the way suggested. No scheme would be complete unless Psyche were likewise taken into consideration. Psyche has always been following Love in all his up-and-down career (may I be pardoned for altering the classical

allegory !), often overtaking him, and always willing to share his hardships as well as his comforts and triumphs. More sensitive and more liable to suffer than Love, but sustained by some vague indefinable hope that more lasting happiness must come of it all in the end, she has attracted the attention of poets and artists almost as much as Love himself, and could not be omitted from any scheme for a work on *Aspects of Love in Art and Epigram*. Many indeed would say that love altogether, like the peace of God, "passeth all understanding"; but be that as it may, he would be a bold man who would attempt in a volume of this kind to reflect all the beauty and mystic Murillo-like glamour of Eros and his mother, together with the varying Iris-tinted aspects of Psyche. Clearly, such an immense material would have to be subdivided into small divisions, amongst which some would have a good deal to do with engraved gems, medals, and minor works of art. Thus, we might expect such headings as: "The Trials of Love on Antique Gems," "Mischievous Love and Love's Punishments on Roman Gems, Lamps, &c.," "The Triumph of Love as illustrated by Renaissance Artists," "The Crown of Love, as illustrated by nineteenth-century English Art (of the 'Sweet' kind)"; and "Love in the Gutter, a study of certain Roman tesserae (so-called *Spintriae*), &c., and of the caricaturists of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries"; but the last group could hardly be illustrated, as far as I can judge from two Roman *spintriae* that I have given to the British Museum. An interesting volume would be one on "Historical Marriage Medals," and many of what one might call "stock" marriage medals (for general use as gifts at private weddings) are also beautiful. There is a curious tendency for both dealers and collectors to attribute marriage medals of the latter class, by such medallists as Peter van Abeele, Sebastian Dadler, Johann Buchheim, Johann Blum, &c., to particular (historical) marriages. In regard to "Arrhae" or "tokens of spousage" see a very interesting article by Hubert Thurston, reprinted in the *American Journal of Numismatics*, Boston, 1906, vol. xli. pp. 31–36. At one time in France the *arrhae* ("earnest money") consisted of thirteen coins or jetons, a *treizain* as it was called. They were sometimes preserved in cases, and handed down as heirlooms from generation to generation. Thus Poey d'Avant spoke of a set of thirteen *hardis* of Edward the Black Prince in his collection, which had been gilded and fitted in a case, the workmanship of the latter pointing to a date a century or more later than the coins themselves. The *treizains* for spousage sometimes consist of pieces specially struck for the purpose in bronze, silver or gold. The devices and inscriptions on such pieces vary considerably. Amongst the legends are the following: DENIER POUR ÉPOUSER; DENIER TOURNOIS POUR ÉPOUSER; LA FOY UNIT NOS DEUX COEURS; QUOD DEUS CONIUNXIT HOMO NON SEPARET. A jeton dated 1559 has on the reverse: IAM NON SUNT DUO SED UNA CARO. It has been supposed that certain gold pieces of Louis le Debonnaire (son of Charles the Great, whom he succeeded in A.D. 814), and of Vigmund, Archbishop of

York (A.D. 831–854), with the reverse inscription MUNUS DIVINUM, were struck as marriage pieces or to serve some similar religious purpose. On the use of the old German "Schraubthaler" or "Box-dollars"—large silver coins cleverly hollowed out so as to form a case to enclose a portrait, &c.—as marriage gifts, see an article by M. Kirmis, in *Daheim*, May 5, 1900.

A very interesting subject for a small work would be the *Aspects of Evolution in Epigram and Art*. This would include poems and various minor works of art relating to Progress—bodily or mental—by struggle, and the *rôle* played by Resistance in physical and psychical development.[12] The motto, *Marcet sine adversario virtus* (from Seneca,

[12] In this connexion it is interesting to note that Field-Marshal Count von Moltke, in a letter to Professor Bluntschli, dated December 11, 1880, and translated in the *Times* (London, February 1, 1881, p. 3, column 4), wrote: "Perpetual peace is a dream, and it is not even a beautiful dream. War is an element in the order of the world ordained by God. In it the noblest virtues of mankind are developed: courage and the abnegation of self, faithfulness to duty, and the spirit of sacrifice: the soldier gives his life. Without war the world would stagnate, and lose itself in materialism."

One may believe, however, in the doctrine of progress by pain and struggle, and yet not believe in the necessity for wars. By the laws of evolution and the "survival of the fittest" struggle of some kind there must be for the fittest to progress, but the struggle, or rather struggles (however severe and "painful"), may be of a peaceful kind, and not the strife of war. Just as an individual human being may become stronger and make progress in every way by battling against his physical and moral vices—the "evil" in his nature—and compensating his own infirmities, so may a nation gain strength and steadily progress, not by destructive wars, but by resisting its own national vices (and the vices of its individual components), by compensating its own shortcomings, and by peaceful competition with its neighbours. Doubtless, the kind of progress made through the trials and "survival of the fittest" in warfare is different to the kind of progress made by means of peaceful competitions and self-restraint, but in the civilised world of modern times surely it is the latter kind of progress which is preferable and more needed. In short, it is probable that wars and harsh conditions in the "struggle for existence" are no longer necessary or salutary for the progress of civilised human races. Men could surely always find sufficient to oppose and counteract in their own weaknesses and faulty tendencies, to give them abundant scope for salutary mental and bodily exercise. Sir Theodore Martin (*Horace*, Edinburgh, 1876, p. 63), regarding the relations of Horace to his Roman contemporaries, wrote (the italics are mine): "He told them, in every variety of phrase and illustration—in ode, in satire, and epistle—that *without self-control and temperance in all things*, there would be no joy without remorse, no pleasure without fatigue—that *it is from within that happiness must come*, if it comes at all, and that unless the mind has schooled itself to peace by the renunciation of covetous desires,

> 'We may be wise, or rich, or great,
> But never can be blest.'"

This sounds exaggerated, but Horace was both a poet and a philosopher.

De Providentiâ, cap. ii.), which appears on the reverse of a medal (which I have referred to in Part II., under Heading xv.) by Jean de Candida, with the portrait of his friend and patron, Robert Briçonnet (a French statesman and Archbishop of Rheims, an enlightened scholar of the "new learning," who died in 1497), may to some extent be taken as suggesting the evolutionary doctrine of the necessity for resistance of some kind for the maintenance of bodily and mental health. By the laws of evolution the only alternative to idleness with regression is activity with progression. Practically no middle course is possible. Resistance of some kind and of some degree is necessary for "vital reaction," whether physical or psychical. Without resistance (*i.e.* resistance in the form of blood-pressure) the heart, for instance, would degenerate or cease beating altogether, though Alexis Carrel has (by cultivation in chicken plasma) succeeded in keeping a fragment of the heart of an embryonic chicken pulsating for 104 days (see *Berliner Klinische Wochenschrift*, 1914, li. p. 509). Resistance, competition, the "struggle for life," and the "survival of the fittest" are necessary for "progress by evolution," and this consideration affords the most rational ground for taking an optimistic view of the "pitiable side" of life, namely, that it is necessary, if not for the individual, yet at least for the mass. Even pain has its use; it is, as A. R. Wallace (*The World of Life*, London, 1910) points out, an essential factor in evolution, probably more useful in the higher than in the lower organisms. By the laws of evolution it would hardly continue to exist if it were not needed. In Goethe's *Faust*, God is represented as saying—

> "Des Menschen Thätigkeit kann allzuleicht erschlaffen,
> Er liebt sich bald die unbedingte Ruh;
> Drum geb' ich gern ihm den Gesellen zu,
> Der reizt und wirkt, und muss, als Teufel, schaffen."

According to Goethe Nature "attaches her curse on all inaction." Cf. Gustav Falke's modern prayer—

> "Herr! lass mich hungern dann und wann,
> Satt sein macht stumpf und träge,
> Und gib mir Feinde, Mann für Mann,
> Kampf hält die Kräfte rege."

In a somewhat similar strain Robert Louis Stevenson ("The Celestial Surgeon") prays, if his spirit be too obdurate and his heart too callous, that before his spirit dies God may take—

> "A piercing pain, a killing sin,
> And to my dead heart run them in."

Moreover, though he gave up the profession of arms and wisely abstained from seeking political power, and though he was protected from excesses both in practical life and in his mental outlook by his sound common sense, was he really without personal ambition, and was there not something of the "fighting man" still left in him? How about his *Non omnis moriar?* How about his *Satires and Epodes?*

The "polarity" of pain and pleasure, and the probably beneficial action of pain, are apparently alluded to by Thomas Edward Brown (1830–1897), in his poem commencing, *The man that hath great griefs I pity not*—

> "For thus it is God stings us into life,
> Provoking actual souls
> From bodily systems, giving us the poles
> That are His own, not merely balanced strife."

The essence of James Hinton's (1822–1875) teaching in regard to the "Mystery of Pain"[13] was that, for human beings and animals alike, pain is the "guardian angel of the body," and that from the psychical point of view pain is likewise the "guardian angel of the soul."

Of the necessity for the existence of pain and "evil," and their actual utility, at least in many cases, for the healthy existence and progress of body and mind, there can be no doubt. Seneca, in his *De Providentiâ Liber*, endeavoured, like many other ancient philosophers, to answer the question, *Quare aliqua incommoda bonis viris accidant cum sit Providentia*, and in his explanation he endeavoured to make clear (he addressed his discussion on the subject to his friend, Lucilius Junior) that inconveniences, trials, pains, and apparent disasters were probably often beneficial to human beings. Of the usefulness of some so-called "evils" he appeared to be convinced. It

[13] Cf. James Hinton, *The Mystery of Pain*, London, 1866; also Mrs. Havelock Ellis, *Three Modern Seers*, London, 1910, Chapter iii., on Hinton's teaching regarding the "Mystery of Pain." From the physical point of view, indeed, pain is almost as important for life as hunger is. Hunger, as the expression of an imperative need, serves to secure the adequate nutrition of the body. "A burnt child dreads the fire" (Chaucer included this cosmopolitan proverb in the *Romaunt of the Rose*). "Pain," says Mrs. Havelock Ellis (*op. cit.*, p. 91), "is an imperative warning, and so an education. Life and growth would cease in the first stage of evolution but for pain. The child cuts its finger; it is in pain, so it learns to avoid the dangerous plaything. The cat warms itself on the table by the lamp; it singes its fur, and, through pain, it avoids the lamp for the future. The boy over-eats; he gets pain, and so learns avoidance of that which causes pain." From the medical point of view, in regard to disease and wounds, the value of pain, as a danger-signal, and as an indication for physical and physiological rest, has often been pointed out, but notably and especially clearly by John Hilton (1808–1878), the London surgeon, in his classical treatise on "Rest and Pain," first published in 1863. It is interesting to note that Charles Leadbetter, in his *Mechanick Dialling* (first edition, London, 1737), under mottoes for sun-dials (Chapter xxiii. No. 39), gives: *Post Voluptatem Misericordia*, the English equivalent for which (*Pleasure is the Parent of Pain*), he said, was, or might be, a sun-dial inscription on a "Lock Hospital" for venereal diseases.

is in the second chapter of this work of his that the above-mentioned sentence, *Marcet sine adversario virtus*, occurs. An interesting essay, to some extent dealing with the subject of the necessity of "evil," is that by Paul Carus, entitled, *The History of the Devil and the Idea of Evil*, London, 1900. Havelock Ellis (*Impressions and Comments*, London, 1914, pp. 32, 33), commenting on Stanley Hall's plea for not eliminating the Devil, the inseparable companion of God, from Christian theology, or rather for rehabilitating him, writes: "Even the Puritan Milton ... made Satan the real hero of his theological epic, while the austere Carducci addressed a famous ode to Satan as the creator of human civilisation." On the other side of the world we find that "the great Hawaiian goddess Kapo had a double life—now an angel of grace and beauty, now a demon of darkness and lust. Every profound vision of the world must recognise these two equally essential aspects of Nature and of Man; every vital religion must embody both aspects in superb and ennobling symbols. A religion can no more afford to degrade its Devil than to degrade its God." Of course the subject also involves the whole question of the distinction between what under certain circumstances is right and what is wrong. At all events, it is probable that many a man, looking back on his own past life, has felt a justifiable satisfaction at having, on some occasion or other, been branded as an *advocatus diaboli*, whether the term were applied in friendly ridicule, in scorn, or in hate.

In connexion with Seneca's *Marcet sine adversario virtus*, the following is a striking passage from one of the best-known novels (*Chandos*, 1866) by Ouida (Louise De la Ramée): "The bread of bitterness is the food on which men grow to their fullest stature; the waters of bitterness are the debatable ford through which they reach the shores of wisdom. . . . . The swimmer cannot tell his strength till he has gone through the wild force of opposing waves; the great man cannot tell the might of his hand and the power of his resistance till he has wrestled with the angel of adversity, and held it close till it has blessed him."

Amongst many proverbial expressions relating to the dualistic idea of good and evil, such as "No roses without thorns," is "Nulla sine merore [macrore] voluptas" ("No pleasure without sadness"), which appears as the motto of Georg Gisze (a Basel merchant "of the Steelyard" in London) on his magnificent portrait, dated 1532, by Holbein, now in the Picture Gallery of the Old Museum at Berlin. Leonarda da Vinci (*Note-books*, rendered into English by E. McCurdy) wrote, "Pleasure and Pain are represented as twins, as though they were joined together, for there is never the one without the other. . . . They are made with their backs turned to each other, because they are contrary the one to the other. They are made growing out of the same trunk, because they have one and the same foundation." The pain of efforts is, however, often absorbed in the pleasure of success in efforts, and so indeed we have the motto, "Labor ipse voluptas."

Cf. William Blake—

"Joy and woe are woven fine,
A clothing for the soul divine:
Under every grief and pine
Runs a joy with silken twine.
It is right it should be so:
Man was made for joy and woe,
And when this we rightly know
Safely through the world we go."

An interesting subdivision in regard to evolution would be a short *Analytical Morphology of Ornament*—a section devoted to ancient British, Gallic, and other more or less barbarous coins, and the various ornamental designs and patterns employed on brooches, jewels, panelling and architecture in early Celtic, Anglo-Saxon, Scandinavian, and Teutonic Art, and on Pacific Island (Polynesian) paddles and the various other objects preserved in museums of Anthropology, Ethnology, and Comparative Archaeology, as far as they relate to the *Evolution of Ornament and Ornamental Designs in Art*, especially amongst primitive peoples. On this subject a good deal has been written—see, for instance, Sir John Evans on *The Coins of the Ancient Britons* (1864), &c.[14]; C. F. Keary's articles on "The Morphology of Coins," in the *Numismatic Chronicle* (London, 1885, 1886); A. C. Haddon, *Evolution in Art, as illustrated by the Life-histories of Designs*, London, 1895 (with many references to older literature on the subject); Hjalmar Stolpe, "Utvecklingsföreteelser i Naturfolkens Ornamentik," in *Ymer*, Stockholm, 1890, x. pp. 193–250; Sir C. H. Read, "Origin of Certain Ornaments of the South-East Pacific," *Journal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, 1892, xxi. p. 139; H. C. March, "Polynesian Ornament, a Symbolism of Origin and Descent," *ibid.* 1893, xxii. p. 307; the various writings of A. H. Lane Fox Pitt-Rivers, for instance, his paper "On the Evolution of Culture," *Proc. Roy. Institution of Gt. Britain*, 1875, vol. vii. pp. 496–520. An interesting series of gold earring pendants of the late Mycenaean class, obtained from excavations in Cyprus, are exhibited in the British Museum so as to show the gradual transition from the representation of a bull's head, through intermediate forms approximating to the bull's head shape, to a merely conventional decorative pattern (*Guide to the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities in the British Museum*, fourth edition, London, 1912, p. 130, Fig. 53). The various mental and other factors on which the evolutionary direction of ornamental work depends, would

[14] With the degradation of classical types observed on ancient British coins compare the gradual degradation shown by the ancient Himyarite coins of Arabia Felix, as illustrated by Plate v. of the *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, 1880. On the whole subject of the morphology of coins, cf. also George Macdonald, *Coin Types, their Origin and Development*, Glasgow, 1905; and William Ridgeway, *The Origin of Metallic Currency*, Cambridge, 1892.

have as far as possible to be investigated; and in this connexion it should be remembered that just as man, bodily and mentally, and in all his parts, varies according to the laws of evolution and involution which rule Nature and the universe—the *macrocosm*—so also ornamental designs created by, or through, the mind of man—the *microcosm*—are subject to similar variations in evolution or involution.

A kindred subject to Evolution, namely, Eugenics, has not, as far as I know, been yet referred to on medals, but comparatively modern epigrams and caricatures exist relating to Eugenics and Heredity in human beings, and the social and racial aspects of the teaching have not been altogether ignored in poetry. In ancient literature (Plato, &c.) there is, of course, plenty about it. The term, Eugenics, was, as far as I know, introduced in its present sense by Sir Francis Galton, and a comparatively modern satirical design (I think it was in *Punch*, about 1888) depicted an idle-looking youth of well-to-do family, standing in front of a fire-place, with his hands in his pockets; he was supposed to be addressing his astonished parents (one on either side of him) in some such words as the following: "What can be expected of a fellow whose father and mother look like you!"

But to return now to my present subject: I must admit that in searching for quotations from poems and classical literature to illustrate my theme, I have occasionally felt as if I were catching beautiful, and sometimes rare and exotic, butterflies and moths (a few of them are in truth *winged*, "winged words" in Büchmann's sense of the term—*ἔπεα πτερόεντα* of Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*—ringing out clearly, as Athene's voice, like the "sound of an Etruscan bell"), heartlessly squeezing them between my hard fingers (in doing so, involuntarily damaging their colouring and the richness of their glossy bloom), and transfixing them with pins to arrange them for my collector's pleasure as ornamental specimens in the selected show-trays of my entomological-like cabinet. If, however, any readers take the trouble to examine the beauty of some and the quaint horror of others and the light they all throw on the subject under consideration, I can be satisfied. The book is constructed to furnish material for thought and also to be of use for purposes of literary (to some extent, bibliographical) reference. No vain hope is entertained that it can help to solve problems, which, in the nature of things, cannot be solved.

For one thing I am sorry, namely, that I could not illustrate more of the works of art (great and small) which I have mentioned or referred to. I wish, for instance, that from Greek pottery and Etruscan bronze I had been able to reproduce every known *Psychostasia* scene, every known representation of Thanatos and Hypnos lifting the dead body of Sarpedon, or of Memnon, &c. Had I been able to figure nearly all such works of art, I have no doubt that my book would have excited as much and as general interest as could be expected in regard to the subject in question; but at all events I have in a great many instances given references enabling any one to look up the object mentioned, or an illustration of it in some other work.

I wish also that I was more familiar with what has been written on the whole subject and its branches by various modern writers, especially by those on the Continent of Europe, in France, Italy, Germany, Holland, &c. I lately heard a somewhat malicious story about a northern scientific author, who was travelling in Central Europe, visiting many well-known universities. In speaking about his most recent book to some of the professors, he came to the conclusion that their first thought on the subject could be formulated by the query—"are we in it?" If they heard that their work was referred to, their interest in the book immediately rose, but it always fell in proportion if they heard that their work had not been mentioned. Whether this story be true or not, it seems to me a not at all unnatural one, and I am afraid that some of the few who ever hear of the present book and take the trouble to look into it, may be reasonably surprised to find work of their own not alluded to.

A short portion of Part II. (most of what is included under Headings ix. and x.) appeared separately in the Proceedings for 1914 of the Section for the History of Medicine, Royal Society of Medicine, London.

I have abstained from allusions to the Great European War, excepting in regard to certain medals, cartoons, memorials, &c., which furnish obvious illustrations to the subjects discussed in this edition. The war has, however, affected the accuracy of various passages in the book. In the first place, certain works of art which I have mentioned, and objects of archaeological interest (such as the Château of Coucy), may have been destroyed or removed during the war. In the second place, as in mediaeval times, the world has become again accustomed to great frequency of sudden death in the strong and healthy, and especially in youth and robust manhood. Of one aspect of the war, however, all may be glad. Had it not been for the great advances made during modern times in surgery and medicine, and especially in hygiene and preventive medicine, the death-roll would have been at least double or treble as great as it has been, and all the terrors connected with mediaeval epidemics,[15] pestilence, and famine, would have been repeated in France and Flanders (cf. the relative mortality from disease in former wars, even as late as the Spanish-American War of 1898).

F. P. W.

May, 1918.

[15] The mediaeval-like terrible pandemic of typhus fever (typhus exanthematicus), which raged in Serbia during 1915, will perhaps be the last epidemic of the kind in Europe, for it has been finally demonstrated that lice can be effectively opposed, and that typhus fever cannot spread without the agency of lice ("no lice, no spreading of typhus!"), which play, in fact, the same rôle of "carrier" in the development of an epidemic of typhus that fleas do in an epidemic of bubonic ("Oriental") plague—the dreadful "black death" of the fourteenth century in Europe, Asia, and Africa.

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PART I.

INTRODUCTION AND GENERAL ACCOUNT.

DEATH is no unworthy subject for human consideration. Since men began to think, this subject is one that has exercised their brains. Although ignorance may sometimes, perhaps, be bliss,[1] it can hardly be doubted that man's knowledge that every one must surely die has helped to set the race a-thinking, and thinking on this subject has helped to make their lives throughout historic times different to those of all other animals. One might, indeed, define civilised man as the animal who knows that animals must die; for man (*i.e.* civilised man) is probably (almost certainly) the only animal who does know it.[2]

[1] Cf. the ending of Gray's "Ode on a Distant Prospect of Eton College"; also Byron's *Manfred* (Act i., Scene 1)—"Sorrow is knowledge." According to *Ecclesiastes* (i. 18) "He that increaseth knowledge increaseth sorrow," and Sir William D'Avenant (1606–1668) propounded the same idea in his play, *The Just Italian* (Act v., Scene 1):—

"Since knowledge is but sorrow's spy,
It is not safe to know."

It is scarcely necessary to point out that sayings of the kind are intimately connected with the confusion between the *right* thing for a man to do and what is really *best* for the community. Since man has tasted the fruit of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, no ignorance can justify him—no matter whether he profess any religion, or none at all, unless he be an irresponsible moral imbecile—in escaping from the duty of doing what he *thinks* is right, that is to say, the best thing to do, under the circumstances of the case, for himself and others. But what is *really* the best may be something quite different—which he can only hope to learn by the trouble and pain of education, experience, and knowledge.

[2] This is beautifully referred to by the French novelist, Pierre Loti, in his *Vies des deux Chattes:* "Et tandis qu'elle se laissait leurrer, la Moumoutte, par tous ces airs de joie, de jeunesse, de commencement, moi, au contraire, qui savais que cela passe, je sentais pour la première fois monter dans ma vie l'impression du soir, du grand soir inexorable et sans lendemain, du suprême automne qu'aucun printemps ne suivra plus." Much has been said about animals creeping into a hole or secluded spot on the approach of death, but such an act does not signify that animals have any instinctive realisation of what is going to happen to them. A man, when he feels weak and faint, is not likely

Few persons, nowadays, would contradict the proposition of Spinoza,[3] that the proper study for a wise man is not death, but how to live, since a wise man is not guided by the fear of death,[4] but by his direct desire of the good. Yet, however little a man's everyday active life[5] may ordinarily be affected by knowledge of death and thoughts of what lies beyond the grave, I believe that to banish such thoughts altogether, if it were possible, would be to kick down one of the chief ladders by which the race has climbed to its present position. How much, indeed, do we owe to the knowledge of death! How many a good and usefully altruistic action would never have been performed but for this knowledge and the thoughts arising from it! The Death's heads and every lugubrious *memento mori* of the Middle Ages have, indeed, had their use.

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to remain in the middle of a crowded thoroughfare, but that does not signify that he thinks he is about to die, and, yet, the sensation of fainting is probably like some modes of dying and may, indeed, terminate in death before consciousness is regained.

[3] Spinoza, *Ethic*, iv. 67. In fact, according to Spinoza, there is nothing that a wise man thinks of less than death.

[4] I see, however, that Dr. E. L. Keyes, in a short interesting article on the "Fear of Death" (*Harper's Monthly Magazine*, July, 1909, p. 212), says that the following motto (used by Hermann Graf von Neuenaar, who died in 1530, and quoted by the Prussian General J. M. von Radowitz, who died in 1853) was chosen by John Fiske, the American writer (1842–1901), to adorn his library:—

"Disce ut semper victurus;
Vive ut cras moriturus."

The same inscription is amongst the maxims painted in the Aula of the "Gymnasium" in Düren (Germany, Rhineland). On modern bookplates (especially amongst the thoughtful and artistic classes) skulls and skeletons are not uncommon—serving as *memento mori* emblems, or as part of various allegorical devices. Cf. the paragraph on modern bookplates at the end of Part I. E.

[5] Even nowadays one may occasionally meet with a *memento mori* device or inscription scrawled up by a visitor or passer-by in some forum or public place, for instance, the saying, "Live as you would die." R. Dagley mentions that, about 1818, some clever designs representing skeleton-like figures, engaged in gambling, dancing, boxing, &c., were chalked up on a wall bordering the road from Turnham Green to Kew Bridge.

In his chapter on "What Life gains from Death," R. W. MacKenna (*The Adventure of Death*, London, 1916, p. 110) quotes Robert Browning:—

> "You never know what life means till you die.
> Even throughout life, 'tis death that makes life live,
> Gives it whatever the significance."

It is from another point of view regarding the beneficial influence of the idea of death that Jelliffe (review of G. Stanley Hall's article on "Thanatophobia and Immortality," — *American Journ. Psychology*, 1915, vol. xxvi. p. 550,—in *Journ. Nerv. and Mental Disease*, 1917, vol. xlv. p. 274) writes: "The fear of death and the love of life, which are but manifestations of the same impulse, have driven man to all those achievements by which he has sought to realize the fulness of living. Hygiene and science as well as religion and art, with all else that mark man's achievement, owe their products to this desire and endeavour to avoid every degree of death and attain the maximum of life."

The subject of the mere aspects of death may perhaps be likened to a time-worn skeleton, but when associated with their correlated effects on living beings, and with the attitudes of living beings towards death, the skeleton becomes clothed in flesh and blood, possesses heart and mind and passions, and above everything else, a little (though only a very little) of the priceless treasure of free will. In this work I shall not, of course, attempt to discuss the aspects of death such as actually present themselves to dying persons, though I intend, further on, to give a few references to show that the near approach of natural death is generally by no means so terrible to the dying individual himself as it is still popularly supposed to be (see Part II., xix., xx.).

A.

Philosophical Ideas amongst the Ancients—Consolation—"Epicureanism."

Many philosophic ideas underlying the *memento mori* principle are expressed by ancient authors. Seneca, who tries to explain that death when it comes is not to be regarded as a calamity, though it may appear to be one ("Mors inter illa est, quae mala quidem non sunt, tamen habent mali speciem"), writes (*Epist. Mor.*, lib. xi. Ep. 3 (82), 16): "Itaque etiamsi indifferens mors est, non tamen ea est, quae facile neglegi possit: magna exercitatione durandus est animus, ut conspectum ejus accessumque patiatur." He thus counsels one to become familiar with thoughts of death, so that one may not be frightened by its aspect or approach; in fact, he tells one, as Horace (*Epist.*, lib. i. 4, line 13) puts it, "Omnem crede diem tibi diluxisse supremum," and, as Martial (*Epigramm.*, iv. 54) says:—

> "Si sapis, utaris totis, Coline, diebus;
> Extremumque tibi semper adesse putes."

Cf. William Congreve, in his Letter (1729) to Sir Richard Temple, Viscount Cobham:—

> "Defer not till to-morrow to be wise;
> To-morrow's sun to thee may never rise."

Advice of this kind has not escaped the attention of Roman satirists (*vide* one of the fragments of Petronius); the seriousness, indeed, of Horace's words is much modified by the lines which end his epistle in question.

Bishop Thomas Ken (1637–1711), in his "Morning Hymn," has the following :—

"Each present day thy last esteem";

and in his "Evening Hymn":—

"Teach me to live that I may dread
The grave as little as my bed."

An inscription on a sun-dial tells us: "You have seen me (the sun) rise, but may not see me set." Then there is the motto (quoted in a previous footnote—see back) :—

"Disce ut semper victurus;
Vive ut cras moriturus."

St. Jerome wrote: "Sic quotidie vivamus quasi die illo judicandi simus." From the Latin epigrams of John Owen or "Johannes Audoenus" (died 1622), Prof. E. Bensly quotes the following epitaph on an atheist :—

"Mortuus est quasi victurus post funera non sit;
Sic vixit tamquam non moriturus erat."

Any one following Horace's advice literally might almost say: "Quocunque aspicio, nihil est nisi mortis imago" (Ovid, *Trist.*, i. 11, 23). W. E. H. Lecky,[6] in regard to the Stoic philosophers, wrote as follows: "But while it is certain that no philosophers expatiated upon death with a grander eloquence, or met it with a more placid courage, it can hardly be denied that their constant disquisitions forced it into an unhealthy prominence, and somewhat discoloured their whole view of life." He also quoted from Francis Bacon's *Essays:* "Of Death" (the second essay of the 1625 edition of the Essays): "The Stoics bestowed too much cost upon death, and by their great preparations made it appear more fearful."

[6] W. E. H. Lecky, *History of European Morals*, 1905 edition, vol. i. p. 202.

The being ready for death was made the subject of a punning seventeenth-century epitaph on a gentleman named Ready:—

"Bless'd is the man that Ready is for Death
Whilst here he lives on ground.
Then bless'd was he who here lies underneath,
For Death him Ready found."

[This epitaph may be compared to one in Peterborough Cathedral to the memory of Sir Richard Worme (died 1589), commencing: "Does Worm eat Worme?" Amongst punning inscriptions relating to death is the one inscribed on the cornice of the chimney-piece in the drawing-room of Loseley Hall, near Guildford: "Morus tarde moriens [the verb *monet* must be supplied here] Morum cito moriturum." This is associated with the mulberry-tree device of the More family, who built Loseley Hall in the sixteenth century.]

Again, Horace writes (*Epist. Mor.*, lib. viii. Ep. i. (70), 18): "On nothing is meditation so necessary (as on death)."[7] According to Socrates (as quoted by Cicero, *Tusc. Disputat.*, i. 30, 74) the whole life of philosophers is a studying of death, and wise men (Plato's *Phaedo*, 64, A) "practise nothing else but to be ready to die"; the preparation for death is the learning of truth, justice, and goodness (the "mysteries" of this life and the life to come). "Let all live as they would die" (George Herbert's *Outlandish Proverbs*, 1639). "Lebe, wie du, wenn du stirbst, Wünschen wirst gelebt zu haben" (Christian Fürchtegott Gellert, 1715–1769). Compare an inscription on a sixteenth-century sepulchral monument, attributed to the great French sculptor, Jean

[7] A Danish memorial medal of George Hojer (1670) has the inscription "Mors omnibus aequa" on the obverse, and "Vita est meditatio" on the reverse.

Goujon, in the Church of St. Gervais and St. Protais at Gisors:—

"Fay maintenant ce que voudras
Avoir fait quand tu te mourras."

The main idea in Ecclesiasticus (ch. xxviii. 6) is of course the same: "Remember thy end, and let enmity cease; remember corruption and death, and abide in the commandments." So also in the 90th Psalm (ver. 12, after Luther's translation): "Teach us to remember that we must die, so that we may become wise."

In regard to all this Montaigne, the essayist, wrote: "I never saw any peasant among my own neighbours set himself to cogitate with what countenance and assurance he should meet his last hour. Nature teaches him not to dream about death until he is dying; and then he does it with a better grace than Aristotle, on whom death presses doubly hard, both because of itself and because of the long anticipation of it. . . . It is only your learned men who dine any the worse for the thought of it when they are in full health, and who shudder at the idea of death. Your common man has no need of remedy or consolation until the actual shock of the blow comes, and thinks no more about it than just what he suffers." In one of his writings Montaigne professes himself of Caesar's opinion, that the death most to be desired is that which is the least premeditated and the shortest. "If Caesar dared to say it, it is no cowardice in me to believe it." In regard to his own preparedness for death Montaigne declared: "I am at all times prepared as much as I am like to be, and the coming of death will teach me nothing new. We should always, as far as in us lies, be booted and spurred, and ready to set off.[8] . . . Never was

[8] Montaigne also observed that every day travels towards death, but only one's last day reaches it. On the other hand, death has been so often and popularly compared to a long journey or voyage that the idea of death may be personified by the figure of a traveller with his hand for ever raised in a gesture of bidding good-bye. In the same way, leaving loved persons and familiar scenes often acts as a *memento mori* and momentarily makes the traveller think of the "eternal farewell"; in that sense, "to travel is to die continually."

man prepared to quit the world more absolutely and entirely, and detach myself from it more completely than I expect to do. The deadest deaths are the best. We are born for action: I would have a man act and go on with the duties of life so long as he is able; and then, let death find me planting my cabbages, but not concerned at his approach, and still less that I am leaving my garden unfinished." W. Lucas Collins, from whose excellent little book on *Montaigne* (1879, pp. 123, 124, 126, 131) I make these quotations, writes that Montaigne contends that "the highest blessing that virtue can confer upon us is the contempt of death. If philosophy teaches us to despise poverty, or pain, or sorrow, it is well. But some men's lives such accidents touch but little; and at the worst, from all of them death will relieve us. It is death only which comes inevitably to all men. If we tremble at it, 'how can we advance a single step in life without an ague-fit?' 'The remedy of the vulgar is not to think about it at all'; 'most people cross themselves at the very word, as though it were the name of the Devil.' . . . 'Let us disarm Death of his strangeness: let us converse with him, grow familiar with him; let us have nothing so often in our thoughts as Death. . . . In our feasts and revels let there evermore occur to us, as a refrain, the thought of our condition.' . . . For his own part, Montaigne declares that, but for thus accustoming himself to the thought, he should live in perpetual terror."

The ancient writers console one for the "Charybdis" which awaits all alike by a variety of arguments. Cf. Simonides (*Anthol. Grace. Palat.*, x. 105): *Θανάτῳ πάντες ὀφειλόμεθα.*

The ancients point out that death is a natural law, and as necessary as birth is: "Lex non poena mors";[9]

[9] Better, "Lex est, non poena, mori." Cf. part of epitaph (*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, vol. vi. No. 11252): "Mors etenim hominum natura non poena est." Lucan (*Pharsalia*, vii. 470), however, speaks of death (mors), "quae cunctis poena paratur." A Zenonian syllogism was: "No evil is honourable: but death is honourable: therefore death is not evil."

"Nascentes morimur, finisque ab origine pendet" (Manilius); "Constat aeternâ positumque lege est, ut constet genitum nihil" (Boëthius); "Principium moriendi natale est."[10] Cicero and Seneca offer much philosophic consolation.[11] Cicero, in his *De Finibus Bonorum et Malorum*, speaks of Socrates as having "first drawn wisdom down from heaven." In the first

[10] In Shakespeare's *Hamlet* (Act i., Scene 2) similar ordinary philosophic arguments are used by the King and Queen in their endeavours to console Hamlet for the death of his father:—

> "Thou know'st 'tis common, all that live must die,
> Passing through nature to eternity."
>
> "But, you must know, your father lost a father;
> That father lost, lost his. . . ."

This might have been suggested by the "Meditations" of Marcus Aurelius, where, in the eighth book (Meric Casaubon's translation), the following passage occurs, not as a consolation, but as a kind of *memento mori*:—"Lucilla buried Verus; then was Lucilla herself buried by others. So Secundus Maximus, then Secunda herself. So Epitynchanus, Diotimus; then Epitynchanus himself. So Antoninus Pius, Faustina his wife; then Antoninus himself. This is the course of the world."

William Seward translated some Latin lines written by Lady Jane Grey, as follows:—

> "To mortal's common fate thy mind resign,
> My lot to-day; to-morrow may be thine."

In the account of "Old St. Paul's," by J. Saunders, in Charles Knight's *London* (H. G. Bohn, 1851, vol. iv. p. 268) the following epitaph is mentioned:—

> "Lo, Thomas Mind, esquire by birth, doth under turned lie,
> To show that men, by nature's law, are born to live and die!"

On this Saunders makes the philosophical satirical comment: "The imagination starts back in awe as it asks, What would have been the consequences had this gentleman been unwilling to be made such an example of?"

[11] For much on the whole subject of philosophic consolation, see R. Burton's references to ancient authors in his *Anatomy of Melancholy*, 1621 (Part 2, Sect. 3, M. 5), and W. E. H. Lecky's *History of European Morals* (first edition, 1869; new edition, 1877). For similar philosophic consolation in modern times we may refer to Maurice Maeterlinck's little book on *Death*, English translation by A. Teixeira de Mattos, London, 1911.

book of the *Tusculanae Disputationes* he refers to the Pythagorean, Socratic, and Platonic doctrines of the survival of the soul after the death of the body. He asks whether, supposing death to be of the nature of a change or migration, rather than extinction, of life, anything better could be wished for, whereas if, on the other hand, death is complete annihilation, what could be better than thus, in the midst of life's labours, growing weary, to sink softly into eternal sleep. "Nam si supremus ille dies non exstinctionem, sed commutationem adfert loci, quid optabilius? Sin autem perimit ac delet omnino, quid melius quam in mediis vitae laboribus obdormiscere et ita conniventum somno consopiri sempiterno?"[12] This is almost the same as what, according to Plato's *Apology*, Socrates, after his condemnation to death, said to those of his judges who had voted for his acquittal. He did not regard death as an evil. Death must be one of two things: either it was complete annihilation, in which case it was like a dreamless sleep; or else it was a change and migration of the soul, in which case he would have the delight in the other world of meeting and conversing with the just judges and heroes of former times, who would not condemn him to death for questioning them. To a good man nothing could come as an evil, and even death might be a blessing. Xenophon (who was himself a disciple of Socrates), in his didactic story, *Cyropaedeia* (a kind of historical romance), placed similar sentiments (regarding the survival of the soul) into the mouth of the dying Cyrus the Great, the founder of the Persian Empire. The Roman Emperor Marcus Aurelius (A.D. 121–180) also

[12] Cicero, *Tusc. Disput.*, lib. i. xlix. 117.

held the old philosophic view that death, being a necessary phenomenon of Nature, could not be an "evil." In the sixth book of his *Meditations* he wrote: "Death is a cessation from the impression of the senses, the tyranny of the passions, the errors of the mind, and the servitude of the body." Other portions of his *Meditations* show that, like Socrates and Plato—who perhaps might be called "the first professors of ethics"—Marcus Aurelius evidently believed that, in regard to philosophy, "the proper study of mankind is man," as Pope, Charron and Terence have put it.

Epicurus, in a letter to Menoeceus (Diog. Laert.), wrote to the following effect: "Accustom yourself to the thought that death is indifferent; for all good and all evil consist in feeling, and what is death but the privation of feeling?" (Cf. Seneca: "While we are, death is not; when death has come, we are not.") Similarly, Lucretius, who designated Epicurus as a god (cf. Manilius, *Astronomicon*, i. 104: "Eripuitque Jovi fulmen, viresque tonandi"), and who in the *De Rerum Naturâ* profoundly studied death from the point of view of natural philosophy, repeatedly alluded to the uselessness of fearing and hoping to escape one's end—

> "Certa quidem finis vitae mortalibus adstat,
> Nec devitari letum pote quin obeamus";[13]

but wrote such words of philosophic comfort as the following:—

> "Scire licet nobis nil esse in morte timendum,
> Nec miserum fieri qui non est posse, neque hilum
> Differre anne ullo fuerit jam tempore natus,
> Mortalem vitam mors cum immortalis ademit."[14]

[13] Lucretius, *De Rerum Naturâ*, lib. iii. 1091–1092.

[14] Munro's translation of this passage (Lucretius, *De Rerum Naturâ*, lib. iii. 866–869) is: "You may be sure that we have nothing to fear

John Addington Symonds, in his essay on Lucretius,[15] says that the *De Rerum Naturâ* has been called by a great critic the "Poem of Death," and that, as a motto on the title-page, there might be written: "And, Death once dead, there's no more dying then."

This is from Shakespeare's *Sonnet*, No. 146, which begins—

"Poor soul, the centre of my sinful earth,"

and ends—

"So shalt thou feed on Death, that feeds on men,
And, Death once dead, there's no more dying then."

The same idea of death being passed by, and therefore got rid of, by dying, is expressed in Ovid's *Morte carent animae* (*Metamorph.* xv. 158); so also, *Mors mortem vincit.* As a Christian motto, however, the latter is probably connected with the idea, *Mors Christi, mors mortis mihi.*

C. W. King, in his essay on "Death, as depicted in Ancient Art,"[16] writes: "To understand how so charming a type (he refers to the Cupid-like figure of the Roman Genius of Death on sarcophagi, gems, &c.) came to be appropriated to such a signification, it is necessary to cast off modern associations, and to recollect that to the ancient mind, arguing merely from the analogy of Nature, death presented itself as merely the necessary converse of birth, and consequently carried no terror in the thought—
—'nullique ea tristis imago,' as Statius happily words it. For it implied nothing worse than the return to the state

after death, and that he who exists not, cannot become miserable, and that it matters not a whit whether (a man) has been born into life at any time, when immortal death has taken away his mortal life." Yet, the surviving friends, in the words of Lucretius, "*Misero misere*," *aiunt*, "*omnia ademit una dies infesta tibi tot praemia vitae.*"

[15] J. A. Symonds, *Sketches and Studies in Italy and Greece*, Third Series (edition of 1898), p. 166.

[16] C. W. King, *The Gnostics and their Remains*, second edition, London, 1887, p. 179.

of unconsciousness, such as was before Being commenced; or, as Pliny clearly puts the case: 'Unto all the state of being after the *last* day is the same as it was before the *first* day of life; neither is there any more sensation in either body or soul after death than there was before life.' On this account the mere return, as Byron (*Euthanasia*, 1812) hath it—

> "'To be the nothing that I was,
> Ere born to life and living woe,'

inspired no fears beyond those springing from the natural instinct of self-preservation. Many carried this indifference to the opposite extreme—exemplified in the trite story of the Thracians[17] lamenting on the occasion of a birth and rejoicing on that of a death in the family .... But after the ancient order of ideas had been totally revolutionized—when the death of the body came to be looked upon as the punishment of Original Sin, and as the *infraction*, not the *fulfilment* of a natural law—the notion necessarily assumed a more horrific aspect; which again was exaggerated to the utmost of their power by the new teachers, for it supplied them with the most potent of all engines for the subjugation of the human soul—'Aeternas quoniam poenas in morte timendum.'"

From ideas like those mentioned in the preceding paragraphs and furnished in the verses of Lucretius, are derived the numerous Latin and Greek epitaphs, both non-Christian and Christian, more or less after the pattern—"non fueram, non sum." (Cf. Seneca: "Quum

[17] According to Herodotus, &c. Cf. Robert Bland, the younger, after Archias, in the *Greek Anthology*:—

> "Thracians! who howl around an infant's birth,
> And give the funeral hour to songs and mirth."

nos sumus, mors non adest; cum vero mors adest, tum nos non sumus.") The first one, from a tomb on the Via Latina, is attributed to Ausonius[18]:—

"Non nomen, non quo genitus, non unde, quid egi:
Mutus in aeternum sum: cinis, ossa, nihil.
Nec sum nec fueram genitus, tamen e nihilo sum;
Mitte nec exprobres singula: talis eris."

"Olim non fuimus, nati sumus; unde quieti
Nunc sumus, ut fuimus: cura relicta: vale."

"Non fui, fui, memini, non sum, non curo."

"Non fui, fui, non sum, non curo."

"Non fueram, non sum, nescio, non ad me pertinet."
(*Corp. Inscr. Lat.*, vol. v. No. 1939.)

"Nec scio quit nunc sim, nec scio quit fuerim."

"Non fueras, nunc es, iterum nunc desines esse."

"Quod fuimus estis, quod sumus vos eritis."

"Quod tu es ego fui, quod ego sum tu eris."

"Fui, non sum, estis, non eritis; nemo immortalis."

"Quod sumus hoc eritis, fuimus quandoque quod estis."

(Cf. Ecclesiasticus xxxviii. 22, Latin Vulgate version: "Hodie mihi, cras tibi.")

Most of the above and several other Latin and Greek epitaph-inscriptions of the same kind are referred to by Contessa E. Caetani Lovatelli, from the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (published at Berlin) and the *Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum* (Boeckhii), in her monograph on "Thanatos" (Rome, 1888). I take this opportunity of again acknowledging my great indebtedness to that work, especially for references to the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, from which I shall further on give many quotations. Havelock Ellis (*The Soul of Spain*, London, 1908, p. 24) says that the

[18] Ausonius, *Opuscula*, Teubner edition, Leipzig, 1886, p. 419.

inscription, *Hic jacet pulvis, cinis, nihil,* in huge letters, alone serves to mark the grave of a great Archbishop on the pavement of Toledo Cathedral, and well expresses the Spaniard's haughty humility. Further on (in Part I. C.) I shall refer to many other sepulchral inscriptions similar in style to the preceding ones.

Several of the above epitaphs (those with "talis eris" and "desines esse") furnish a kind of *memento mori* to the passer-by who reads them—he is left to interpret the practical significance as an "Epicurean" suggestion, or otherwise, according to his personal views on life and death. Some of them are evidently meant to have a consolatory tinge (of a kind) about them, *e.g.* those with "non curo" and "nescio, non ad me pertinet." Another one (*Corp. Inscr. Lat.*, vol. vi. No. 9258), commencing with "Non fui," has the consolatory words, "non mihi dolet." But I shall further on again refer to the "consolatory elements" to be found in antique epitaphs.

This style of epitaph has to some extent been imitated in modern times; for instance, the epitaph of a gentleman named Micah Hall (Castleton, Derbyshire), who died in 1804, contains the following: "Quid eram, nescitis; quid sum, nescitis; Ubi abii, nescitis; Valete." This reminds one of the epitaph or pseudo-epitaph on Abraham Newland (owing to whose signature, as chief cashier, Bank of England notes were long known as "Abraham Newlands"—just as English war-notes for one pound and ten shillings issued during the Great European War have sometimes been called "Bradburys," owing to the conspicuous signature on them of John Bradbury, Secretary to the Treasury) said to have been written by himself shortly before his death in 1807:—

> "Beneath this stone old Abraham lies;
> Nobody laughs and nobody cries:
> Where he is gone, or how he fares,
> No one knows, and no one cares."

There is an almost exactly similar pseudo-epitaph, beginning :—

"Here lies
Sir John Guise.
Nobody laughs,
Nobody cries."

The following is by William Cowper from an epitaph or pseudo-epitaph in the Greek Anthology :—

"My name—my country—what are they to thee?
What—whether base or proud, my pedigree?
Perhaps I far surpassed all other men—
Perhaps I fell below them all—what then?
Suffice it, stranger! that thou seest a tomb—
Thou know'st its use—it hides—no matter whom."

The epitaph which addresses the passer-by was popular in ancient and mediaeval times and to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Cf. Shakespeare's *Timon of Athens*, Act iv., Scene 3, where the misanthrope, Timon, says :—

"Make thine epitaph,
That death in me at others' lives may laugh."

Timon's epitaph in question is given at the end of the play, as follows :—

"Here lies a wretched corse, of wretched soul bereft;
Seek not my name! a plague consume you wicked caitiffs left!
Here lie I, Timon; who, alive, all living men did hate;
Pass by, and curse thy fill; but pass, and stay not here thy gait."

According to Plutarch (*Life of Marcus Antonius*) Timon was buried at a spot on the coast of Attica, where the water surrounded his tomb in such a manner as to make it inaccessible. His epitaph, said to have been written by himself (Langhorne's translation), was :—

"At last, I've bid the knaves farewell;
Ask not my name,—but go—to hell."

There are many fanciful sepulchral epigrams on Timon the Misanthrope in the *Greek Anthology* (vii. Nos. 313–320). Part of one attributed to Hegesippus (No. 320) has been rendered into English as follows :—

"My name is Timon: knaves, begone!
Curse me, but come not near my stone!"

It does not seem that beliefs in a future existence amongst the Greeks and Romans were ordinarily of a sufficiently definite or agreeable nature [19] to afford much consolation for the idea of death. For instance, one cannot regard the idea of the absorption of the soul into the air or into the universe (cf. further on) as being a very satisfying doctrine to those who hope for personal immortality of the soul after the death of the body. Witness also the descriptions of Hades in the Greek and Latin epic poems, and the following verses, which, according to Spartianus (*Hadr.*, 35), were composed by the Emperor Hadrian shortly before his own death :—

"Animula, vagula, blandula,
Hospes comesque corporis,
Quae nunc abibis in loca,
Pallidula, rigida, nudula,
Nec ut soles, dabis jocos?"

To this, in Roman times, the Parcae or Fates, as unfeeling as the Mediaeval personification (the skeleton or skin-and-bone figure) of Death, might have retorted in the words which Horace humorously reluctantly applied in regard to his own life (*Epist.*, ii. 2. 214) :—

"Lusisti satis, edisti satis, atque bibisti;
Tempus abire tibi est."

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[19] In this connexion, however, one may remember Lucan (*Phars.*, lib. iv. l. 519)—

"Victurosque dei celant ut vivere durent,
Felix esse mori . . ."

"And the gods conceal from those who are to live how happy a thing it is to die, so that they may continue to live."

See also Ferdinand Gregorovius, *The Emperor Hadrian*, English translation by Mary E. Robinson, London, 1898, p. 184. A whole book (privately printed at Bath, 1876), by David Johnston, was devoted to a collection of the various translations and renderings of Hadrian's lines. Charles Merivale's translation (*History of the Romans under the Empire*, London, 1865, vol. viii. p. 255) is as follows :—

"Soul of mine, pretty one, flitting one,
Guest and partner of my clay,
Whither wilt thou hie away—
Pallid one, rigid one, naked one—
Never to play again, never to play?"

[Spartianus wrote somewhat slightingly that Hadrian also composed many such verses in the Greek language, "and not much better." Hadrian was the author of a puzzling epigram of medical interest in the *Greek Anthology* (Tauchnitz edition, 1829, ix. 137). In regard to the writing of Greek verses by Roman authors (a fashion which has added much to the *Greek Anthology*) see what Horace (*Satir.*, i. 10) thought (translation by Sir Theodore Martin) :—

"To think of adding to the mighty throng
Of the great paragons of Grecian song,
Were no less mad an act than his who should
Into a forest carry logs of wood."]

With Hadrian's playful address to his soul (as given above) the following verses by Anna Letitia Barbauld (1743–1825) may in some respects with advantage be compared :—

"Life! I know not what thou art,
But know that thou and I must part;
And when, or how, or where we met
I own to me's a secret yet.
Life! We've been long together
Through pleasant and through cloudy weather;
'Tis hard to part when friends are dear—
Perhaps 'twill cost a sigh, a tear;—
Then steal away, give little warning,
Choose thine own time;
Say not Good Night,—But in some brighter clime,
Bid me Good Morning."

In regard to ancient Greek and Roman ideas on the immortality of the soul, see, however, Mrs. Arthur Strong, *Apotheosis and After Life*, London, 1915; and Erwin Rohde, *Psyche, Seelencult und Unsterblichkeitsglaube der Griechen*, Tübingen, 1903, third edition. There is an epigram by Agathias in the *Greek Anthology* on a Sophist who was questioned as to the nature of the soul. The Sophist's conclusion is thus given by Lord Neaves (*Greek Anthology*, Edinburgh, 1874, p. 208) :—

"If more you wish to learn, to Hades go,
And there as much as Plato soon you'll know.
Or if you choose, ascend the rampart's height,
Mimic Cleombrotus, and plunge to-night:
The soul, thus without body left alone,
May have the truth it seeks for clearly shown,—
If there's indeed a soul, to know, or to be known."

The story, referred to, of Cleombrotus, a youth of Ambracia, is recorded in another celebrated epigram in the *Greek Anthology* (*Anthol. Graec.*, Tauchnitz edition, 1829, vii. No. 471)—by Callimachus. Cleombrotus committed suicide by throwing himself down from a high wall after having read Plato's *Phaedo*, on the immortality of the human soul. The epigram of Callimachus was referred to and translated by Cicero, and the quality of the act was discussed among the Fathers of the Christian Church, and different opinions were expressed (Lord Neaves). Admitting as a fact that a certain Cleombrotus did commit suicide after reading Plato's *Phaedo*, one cannot conclude that the reading of Plato's *Phaedo* was the cause of his act. In fact, it is extremely improbable. Cato "Uticensis" (B.C. 95–46) killed himself *after* reading Plato's *Phaedo* (as the story goes), doubtless *not because of* what he read there, but because he found himself obliged to surrender the town of Utica to Julius Caesar. He probably chose to read the *Phaedo* because he was meditating suicide.

In Part II., Heading ii., I shall return to the subject of ancient beliefs regarding the immortality of the soul, and in Part IV. I shall describe several Greek, Etruscan, and

Roman engraved gems, vase paintings, &c., on which ideas relating to a future existence are depicted. On a few Roman objects a reference is apparently intended to the voyage after death to the Fortunate Isles (the "islands of the blessed" with the "Elysian Fields"). On an epitaph in the *Greek Anthology* (vii. 370, by Diodorus) the reader is told that the dust of Menander is in the tomb, but that Menander himself is in the abode of Zeus or of the Blessed (Διὸς ἢ μακάρων). On the Latin epitaph of a lady who died before her husband we read of her hope to be reunited with him in the future life: "Virum expecto meum"—an inscription presumably placed on her tomb by her surviving husband (*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, vol. xii. No. 5193). At the end of another epitaph on a lady (*Corp. Inscr. Lat.*, vol. vi. No. 11252) the deceased addresses her husband thus: "Igitur, domine Oppi, marite, ne doleas mei; quod praecessi, sustineo in aeterno toro adventum tuum." Another departed one waits for all to join him: "Plures me antecesserunt, omnes expecto" (*Corp. Inscr. Lat.*, vol. vi. No. 142). In various languages the euphemistic expression is: *abiit ad plures.* Here one has the popular modern description of death as the divide, separating the living minority from the dead majority. Thus, Edward Young (*The Revenge*, Act iv., Scene 1) puts it: "Death joins us to the great majority." So also W. C. Bryant (*Thanatopsis*) expresses a similar idea:—

> ". . . . All that tread
> The Globe are but a handful to the tribes
> That slumber in its bosom."

The shadowy idea of the "Manes" possibly afforded some consolation—

> "Sunt aliquid Manes; letum non omnia finit.
> Luridaque extinctos effugit umbra rogos."
>
> (Propert., iv. 7.)

Tacitus (*Julii Agricolae Vita*, 46) writes: "Si quis piorum manibus locus; si, ut sapientibus placet, non cum corpore extinguuntur magnae animae . . ."; but Persius (*Sat.*, v. 152) appears to ridicule the idea of the transformation into

"Manes": "Cinis et Manes et fabula fies."[20] Some epitaphs refer to the idea of the separation of the *anima* from the perishable body after death and its solution into the air or aether—

"Invida Parcarum series livorque malignus
Bis septena meae (?) ruperunt stamina lucis.
Parcite jam lachrimis, miseri solique parentes;
Sat fletus vestros prima Favilla bibit.
Corpus habet cineres; animam sacer abstulit aër."
(*Corp. Inscr. Lat.*, vol. iii. No. 6384.)

"Terra tenet corpus, nomen lapis, atque animam aër."
(*Corp. Inscr. Lat.*, vol. iii. No. 3247.)

The epitaph (British Museum) in elegiac verse on the Athenians who fell in battle before Potidaea (431–429 B.C.) contains a similar idea: Αἰθὴρ μὲμ φσυχὰς ὑπεδέχσατο, σόματα δὲ χθόν ("Air received their souls, and earth their bodies"). Such lines make one think of Sir Oliver Lodge's Presidential Address before the British Association on September 10th, 1913. Many analogous Greek passages are quoted by Caetani Lovatelli (*Thanatos*, Rome, 1888, pp. 20–22). Probably many philosophers of the Ancient World thought that the soul was destined, after the death of the body, to be absorbed in the "universe"—which latter word is practically an equivalent of *αἰθήρ*, as employed in the above inscription. After all, there is really not much difference between such ideas and the following:—

"So bald uns der Tod vom Leben befreit,
Empfängt uns wieder Allmutter Ewigkeit."

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[20] Cf. Horace, *Od.*, i. 4, 16:—

"Jam te premet nox, fabulaeque Manes,
Et domus exilis Plutonia."

In regard to man being transformed into "Ashes, Manes and fable" (Persius), the following passage from the eighth book of the "Meditations" of Marcus Aurelius may be compared (Meric Casaubon's translation): "They were all but for one day; all dead and gone long since. Some of them no sooner dead than forgotten. Others soon turned into fables. Of others, even that which was fabulous, is now long since forgotten."

Considerable variety in the expression of philosophic consolation is shown by ancient epitaphs. Many remind the survivors of the necessity of death, the common lot of all, and the uselessness of weeping [21] and the impossibility of bringing back the departed by prayers :—

ΕΥΨΥΧΙ · ΤΕΚΝΟΝ · ΟΥΔΙC · ΑΘΑΝΑΤΟC,

that is to say, "Take courage (or, farewell), my child, nobody is immortal" (*Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, Boeckhii, first edition, Berlin, 1877, vol. iv. No. 9803. Caetani Lovatelli, in the monograph on *Thanatos*, Rome, 1888, p. 20, refers to several similar Greek epitaph-inscriptions from the *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum:* Nos. 9589, 9666, 9789, 9820, 9917, &c., together with many Latin epitaphs of the same class).

"Plures me antecesserunt, omnes expecto" (*Corp. Inscr. Lat.*, vol. vi. No. 142—an epitaph which I have already referred to—see back).

"Dolere noli matrem; faciundum fuit."
(*Corp. Inscr. Lat.*, vol. vi. No. 19989.)

"(A)mici nolite tristari (?), quia (o)mnes morituri sumus."
(*Corp. Inscr. Lat.*, vol. x. No. 7149.)

"Desine jam, mater, lacrimis renovare querellas,
Namque dolor talis non tibi contigit uni" (*sic*).
(*Corp. Inscr. Lat.*, vol. vi. No. 10105.)

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[21] One of the most "human" sources of consolation to man in regard to the idea of his own approaching death is to think that he thereby would be spared all the grief and vain but uncontrollable mourning for the death of others before him—his friends and dear ones—who help to make life sweet to him. Thus we have an epigram amongst the "Sinngedichte" (seventeenth century) of Friedrich von Logau :—

"Ich fürchte nicht den Tod, der mich zu nehmen kümmt;
Ich fürchte mehr den Tod, der mir die meinen nimmt."

And Walter Savage Landor (*To Southey*, 1833) expresses the idea well :—

"We hurry to the river we must cross,
And swifter downward every footstep wends;
Happy, who reach it ere they count the loss
Of half their faculties and half their friends!"

With this last epitaph compare Propertius (book 4, 11, first two lines)—

"Desine, Paula, meum lacrymis urgere sepulcrum;
Panditur ad nullas janua nigra preces."

"Nunc pater et mater nato fecere sepulchrum,
Ossaque funestis fletibus adluerant.
Sed quoniam multi talem sensere dolorem,
Nec quisquam leti vincere vim potuit,
Desinite extinctum dulces me flere parentes,
Desinite et fati tristia jura queri.

Mors etenim hominum natura non poena est. Cui contigit nasci instat et mori." (*Corp. Inscr. Lat.*, vol. vi. No. 11252. The latter portion of this epitaph has already been quoted further back in this book.)

"Quomodo mala in arbore pendunt, sic corpora nostra
Aut matura cadunt, aut cito acerva (acerba) ruunt."

(*Corp. Inscr. Lat.*, vol. vi. No. 7574. For similes and metaphors of this class in the writings of Cicero, the Emperor Marcus Aurelius, Shakespeare, Milton, C. F. Meyer, &c., and in Homer's *Iliad*, cf. Part I. D.)

Other epitaphs allude to the deceased's escape from the illnesses, pains, misfortunes, and toils of life [22]—

"Quod superest homini, requiescunt dulciter ossa,
Nec sum sollicitus ne subito escuriam,
Et podagram (*sic*) careo, nec sum pensionibus arra,
Et gravis aeterno perfruor hospitio."
(*Corp. Inscr. Lat.*, vol. vi. No. 7193*a*.)

Compare Agathias (*Anthol. Graec. Palat.*, x. 69) and the following lines to Death (*Anthol. Graec. Appendix*, Tauchnitz edition, Leipzig, 1829, No. 196):—

Ἦλθες ἐμῆς ζωῆς γλυκερώτερος, ὅς μ' ἀπέλυσας
Νούσων, καὶ καμάτων, καὶ μογερὰς ποδάγρας.

"Morborum vitia et vitae mala maxima fugi.
Nunc careo poenis; pace fruor placidâ."
(*Corp. Inscr. Lat.*, vol. v. No. 5278.)

[22] In regard to epitaphs and epigrams of this kind see also Part II. Heading iv.

Cicero (*De Senectute*, end of Chapter xix.) makes the aged Cato liken the near approach of death to the sight of land and the coming into harbour after a long voyage. Cf. William Alexander, Earl of Stirling (died 1640), in the *Tragedy of Darius* :—

"Death is the port where all may refuge find,
The end of labour, entry unto rest."

Death has not rarely been compared to a port by which joy, peace and security from the annoyances of life are obtained. John Harington ended an "elegy" written in the Tower of London (where he was imprisoned in 1554, at the same time as the Princess Elizabeth, afterwards Queen) with the line :—

"Death is a porte whereby we pass to joye."

So also some lines by an old English poet (quoted by H. P. Dodd, *The Epigrammatists*, London, 1870, p. 264) end as follows :—

"Death is the salve that ceaseth all annoy;
Death is the port by which we sail to joy."

Compare the following famous epigrams of the epitaph class :—

Ἐλπὶς καὶ σὺ Τύχη, μέγα χαίρετε, τὸν λιμέν' εὗρον,
Οὐδὲν ἐμοὶ χ' ὑμῖν, παίζετε τοὺς μετ' ἐμέ.
(*Anthol. Graec. Palat.*, ix. 49. See also *ibid.*, ix. 134 and ix. 172.)

"Inveni portum; Spes et Fortuna, valete!
Sat me lusistis, ludite nunc alios."

("I have found the haven; Hope and Fortune, farewell! You have made sport enough of me, now make sport of others.")

It is in this Latin form that these epitaph lines were referred to by Gil Blas, in Le Sage's famous novel of that name, whence the first Lord Brougham doubtless derived the idea of placing them on his villa which he built at Cannes. (In this connexion, Dr. M. G. Foster refers me to an epitaph

at St. Leonard's Church, Shoreditch, commencing, "The last and best bedroom of . . .") With "Nil mihi vobiscum" (cf. Martial, *Epigrams*, xi. 2. 8) instead of "Sat me lusistis," the lines are inscribed on a tomb in the pavement of the church of S. Lorenzo in Panisperna, at Rome, and in the same form they are given by William Lily (died 1522), and by Janus Pannonius, Bishop of Fünfkirchen, in Hungary (died 1472), and are referred to by the famous adventurer, Casanova de Seingalt (1725–1803), in his "Memoirs"—Garnier's French edition, Paris (1902), vol. iv. p. 297. The Abbot of Einsiedeln in Switzerland, thinking that Casanova intended to become a monk, suggested these lines as an inscription for his dwelling. Of this second Latin version Robert Burton, in his *Anatomy of Melancholy*, gave the following English translation:—

"Mine haven's found, fortune and hope, adue!
Mock others now, for I have done with you."

(Cf. the following, altered from a couplet by Thomas Moore:—

"Joy, joy for ever! the haven's won;
The struggle's over; my task is done.")

A slightly different version of the first line occurs on a mortuary medal of Dr. Wenzel Beyer (1526), described in Part III.[23] It commences "Jam portum inveni," like the version attributed to Sir Thomas More. There are several other variations. On the whole subject see especially *Notes and Queries*, November 20, 1880, p. 409, and July 16, 1898, p. 41. The following is from the *Anthol. Latin.* (H. Meyer's edition, Leipzig, 1835, No. 1373; cf. also *ibid.*, Meyer's Nos. 1598 and 838):—

"Actum est, excessi; Spes et Fortuna, valete.
Nil jam plus in me vobis per secla licebit.
Quod fuerat vestrum, amisi; quod erat meum, hic est."

"Spes et Fortuna, valete!—Nil amplius in me vobis per secla licebit" (*Corp. Inscr. Lat.*, vol. ix. No. 4756). Compare Ausonius (*Idyll.*, ii. 57): "Spem, vota, timorem—Sopitus placido fine relinquo aliis."

[23] The different portions of this epitaph lend themselves also readily for purposes of satire and caricature. I have seen the caricature of a newly created knight or nobleman with his newly manufactured coat-of-arms and, below it, as a motto, "Inveni portum."

The following occurs on a sarcophagus:—

"Evasi, effugi. Spes et Fortuna, valete!
Nil mihi vobiscum est, ludificate alios."
(O. Benndorf and R. Schöne, *Die antiken Bildwerke des Lateran. Mus.*, Leipzig, 1867, p. 346.)

Compare also the last lines of the following curious epitaph given by J. C. Orelli (*Inscriptionum Latinarum Selectarum Amplissima Collectio*, Zürich, 1828, vol. i. p. 256, No. 1174) and by A. Olivieri (*Marm. Pisaur.*, Pesaro, 1737, p. 33, No. 74; also in *Anthol. Latin.* (H. Meyer's edition, Leipzig, 1835, No. 189):—

"Tu pede qui stricto vadis per senta, viator,
Siste, rogo, titulumque meum ne spreveris, oro.
Bis quinos annos mensesque duos duo soles
In superos feci tenere nutritus, amatus.
Dogmata Pythagorae sensi studiumque sophorum,
Et libros legi. Legi pia carmina Homeri,
Sive quot Euclides abaco praescripta tulisset.
Delicias habui pariter lususque procaces.
Haec Hilarus mihi contulerat pater ipse patronus,
Si non infelix contraria fata habuissem.
Nunc vero infernas sedes Acherontis ad undas
Tetraque Tartarei persidere tendo profundi.
Effugi tumidam vitam; spes, forma, valete!
Nil mihi vobiscum est; alios deludite, quaeso.
Haec domus aeterna est; hic sum situs; hic ero semper." [24]

In regard to the actual use of *memento mori* devices among the ancients, we have the well-known passage in

[24] With all these quotations the following modern Christian view may be compared (William Croswell Doane, Bishop of Albany, New York, from *The Outlook*):—

"We are so selfish about Death. We count our grief
Far more than we consider their relief
Whom the great Reaper gathers in the sheaf,
No more to know the season's constant change;
And we forget that it means only life,
Life with all joy, peace, rest, and glory rife,
The victory won, and ended all the strife,
And heaven no longer far away or strange."

Herodotus (*Hist.*, lib. ii. 78), which informs us that at banquets given by wealthy persons in Egypt, it was the custom for a servant to carry round the wooden image of a corpse (or a mummy) in a sarcophagus, and tell each guest to drink and enjoy himself, since after death he would be like that image.—*Ἐς τοῦτον ὁρέων πῖνέ τε καὶ τέρπου, ἔσεαι γὰρ ἀποθανὼν τοιοῦτος.* A little wooden

Fig. 2.—Ancient Egyptian little wooden figure of a mummy, to be used as a *memento mori* at banquets, and the box to contain it. (After F. W. von Bissing.)

figure, representing a mummy, which might well be similar to those alluded to by Herodotus, has been described and illustrated by F. W. von Bissing (from his own collection), together with a little obelisk-shaped box which enclosed it (Fig. 2).[25] Another little wooden

[25] See F. W. von Bissing, "Die älteste Darstellung eines Skeletts," *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Alterthumskunde*, Leipzig, 1912, vol. l. p. 63.' Von Bissing's specimen is thought to belong to pre-Ptolemaic times.

figure of the same kind, together with its case (sarcophagus), is in the Egyptian collection of the Berlin "Antiquarium."

A similar custom existed in Roman Imperial times, according to the account of the feast of Trimalchio (Petronius, *Satyric.*, c. 34), and certain miniature jointed skeletons made in bronze or silver, preserved in various European museums (see the bronze skeletons illustrated in Fig. 3) are supposed to have been employed in this way at Roman banquets. The one introduced at Trimalchio's feast (at the end of the first course) was a jointed one of silver ("larva argentea").

The one used at Trimalchio's feast was described as so skilfully made that its joints and backbone could be made to assume any attitude desired. From the anatomical point of view, however, the specimens in bronze in the British Museum (London), in the Louvre Museum (Paris), in the Museo Kircheriano (Rome), and in other collections, are all, or nearly all, very incorrectly modelled, as pointed out by A. de Longpérier, *Notice des bronzes antiques . . . du Louvre*, Paris, 1868, vol. i. p. 165, No. 691. In regard to various "skeleton-manikins" of bronze or silver in the museums of Naples, Imola, &c., see Contessa E. Caetani Lovatelli's article, "Di una piccola Larva Convivale in Bronzo," *Monumenti Antichi pubblicati per cura della Reale Accademia dei Lincei*, Milano, 1895, vol. v. columns 5 to 15 (with illustrations). See also S. Reinach, *Répertoire de la Statuaire Grecque et Romaine*, Paris, 1897, tome ii. p. 691. The two little bronze skeletons in the museum of Imola, if antique, are unusually accurately made. According to Pierre Gusman (*Pompeii*, Paris, 1906, p. 339), in many of the dining rooms at Pompei there were mosaics, the centres of which represented skeletons or death's-heads.

Trimalchio (a caricature of the *nouveau riche* Roman host of the period) had just been giving his guests Opimian (that is, very old) Falernian wine (Falernian of

121 B.C., when L. Opimius was consul, and when, owing to the great heat of the autumn, the vintage was of extraordinarily good quality) to drink (telling them that on the

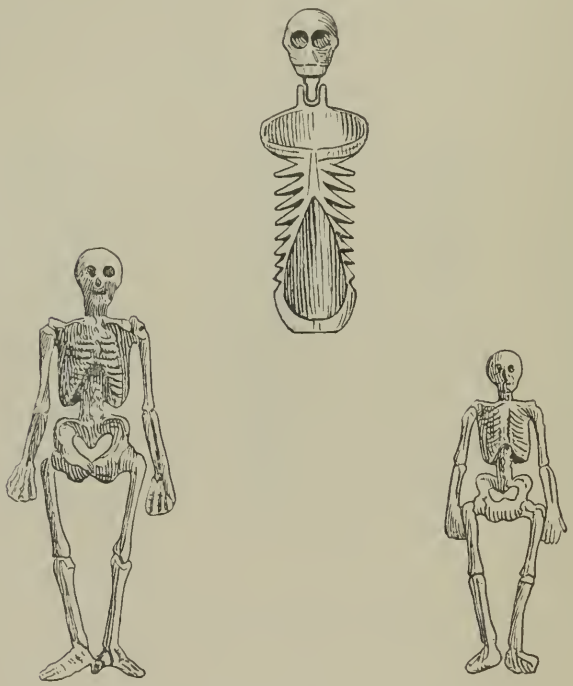

FIG. 3.—Larvae and skeleton-manikins of Roman times.

The upper figure is from an original little jointed skeleton made of bronze (British Museum), the arms and legs of which are wanting. It was probably used in Roman times as a *memento mori* or *carpe diem* token on festive occasions, like the silver jointed skeleton-manikin (*larva argentea*) at "Trimalchio's banquet." The two other skeletons (Museum of Imola, after Cactani Lovatelli), if antique, are unusually accurately modelled; they appear not to be jointed.

day before he had given less good wine to more distinguished company), and had remarked how sad it was to think that wine should have a longer life than human

beings. When the silver "larva" was brought in and handed to him by an attendant, he toyed with it, and made it assume various (ridiculous) postures, exclaiming—

"Eheu! Nos miseros! Quam totus homuncio nil est!
Sic erimus cuncti, postquam nos auferat Orcus.
Ergo vivamus dum licet esse bene."

Perhaps these lines were inspired by Lucretius (*De Rerum Naturâ*, iii. 925):—

"Hoc etiam faciunt, ubi discubuere, tenentque
Pocula saepe homines, et inumbrant ora coronis;
Ex animo ut dicant, 'brevis est hic fructus homullis;
Jam fuerit; neque post unquam revocare licebit.'"

Trimalchio in his manner is about as serious as Justice Shallow (Shakespeare's *Henry IV*, Second Part, Act iii., Scene 2), when the latter says: "Certain, 'tis certain; very sure, very sure; death, as the Psalmist saith, is certain to all; all shall die"; and then proceeds at once to ask the price of a yoke of bullocks at Stamford Fair. But Trimalchio was not, of course, meant to appear serious; he wanted to amuse, not to sadden, his guests.

What the original significance of such a custom may have been we need here scarcely pause to discuss. On the one hand, it may have been the so-called "Epicurean" ideal of life, namely, a life accompanied by beauty, wine, and garlands of roses (for those who can get them), till the gloomy unknown takes everything away. The ancient Egyptians seem, indeed, to have taken what one would now term a rather "Epicurean" view of life. According to E. A. Wallis Budge (in one of the Guide Books to the Egyptian Department of the British Museum) "the Egyptian was easy and simple in disposition, and fond of pleasure and of the good things of this world. He loved eating and drinking, and lost no opportunity of

enjoying himself. The literature of all periods is filled with passages in which the living are exhorted to be happy."

Cf. also A. E. P. Weigall, "The Temperament of the Ancient Egyptians," *Blackwood's Magazine*, July, 1908, p. 58. Édouard Naville (*La Religion des Anciens Égyptiens*, Paris, 1906, pp. 170–175) likewise emphasizes the *carpe diem* temperament of the ancient Egyptians.

On the other hand, there are Plutarch (*Sept. Sap. Conviv.*[26]) and Sir J. G. Wilkinson (Rawlinson's *History of Herodotus*, third edition, London, 1875, vol. ii. p. 130), who suggest that the original purpose was to teach men "to love one another, and to avoid those evils which tend to make them consider life too long when in reality it is too short." Analogously, in the 90th Psalm (ver. 12) and in Ecclesiasticus (ch. xxviii. 6) we have passages (already quoted) advising mindfulness of death, so that men shall be wise and cease from enmity.

The ancient Egyptian "Song of the Harper," probably of far earlier date than the famous British Museum papyrus (papyrus "Harris 500") which contains it—the papyrus is probably of the 13th century B.C., but the "Song of the Harper" (the song of the harpers to the guests at a banquet) is perhaps as early as the twelfth or eleventh Egyptian dynasty—well expresses "Epicurean" or *carpe diem* sentiments, very similar to those frequently occurring in Greek and Roman poetry of a later date. It is written on the wall of a tomb at Thebes (Egypt), and enjoins the hearers to make

[26] Plutarch, in his *Septem Sapientium Convivium* (c. 2), says that the Egyptian custom of introducing a skeleton at their banquets and reminding their guests that they also would soon die, tended to incite them, not to drunkenness and sensual pleasure, but to mutual friendship, deterring them from wasting their short span of life in wickedness. In *De Iside et Osiride* (c. 17), Plutarch again refers to the same Egyptian custom.

themselves happy and enjoy life, with ointments, scents, music and song, until they have to depart to the silent land; everything of life is uncertain, mutable and fleeting. The following translation of the last portion of the song is quoted from E. A. Wallis Budge's *The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians* (London, 1914, p. 243):—

"Enjoy thyself more than thou hast ever done before,
And let not thy heart pine for lack of pleasure.
Pursue thy heart's desire and thine own happiness.
Order thy surroundings on earth in such a way
That they may minister to the desire of thy heart;
[For] at length that day of lamentation shall come,
Wherein he whose heart is still shall not hear the lamentation.
Never shall cries of grief cause
To beat [again] the heart of a man who is in the grave.
Therefore occupy thyself with thy pleasure daily,
And never cease to enjoy thyself.
Behold, a man is not permitted
To carry his possessions away with him.
Behold, there never was any one who, having departed,
Was able to come back again." [27]

The following advice given in the oldest Egyptian book of Moral Precepts, that of Ptah-hetep (Governor of Memphis in the reign of Assa, a king of the fifth dynasty, about 3500 B.C.), seems to be of a rather different kind. I quote from the same work by E. A. W. Budge (*op. cit.*, p. 229): "When the messenger of [death] cometh to carry thee away, let him find thee prepared. Alas, thou wilt have no opportunity for speech, for verily his terror will be before thee. Say not, 'Thou art carrying me off in my youth.' Thou knowest not when thy death will take place. Death cometh, and he seizeth the babe at the breast of his mother, as well as the man who hath arrived at a ripe old age. Observe this, for I speak unto thee good advice, which thou shalt meditate upon in thy heart."

[27] See also the English translation given in J. H. Breasted's *History of Egypt*, second edition, New York, 1909, p. 206.

In regard to Egyptian ideas on a future life there is a papyrus at Berlin, which J. H. Breasted (*History of Egypt*, second edition, New York, 1909, p. 204) refers to as a remarkable philosophizing treatise representing "a man weary of life involved in a long dialogue with his reluctant soul, as he vainly attempts to persuade it that they should end life together and hope for better things beyond this world." The soul tells the man (I quote from one of the British Museum Guide Books, by Budge) to remember that the grave only brings sorrow to the heart and fills the eyes with tears; and advises him thus: "Hearken unto me, for, behold, it is good for men to hearken; follow after pleasure and forget care."

The advice given to a high-priest of Memphis on the sepulchral stele of That-I-em-hetep, his dead wife (in the British Museum, Ptolemaic period, first century B.C.), enjoins him (I quote from one of the British Museum Guide Books, by Budge): "Hail, my brother, husband, friend, ... let not thy heart cease to drink water, to eat bread, to drink wine, to love women, to make a happy day, and to seek thy heart's desire by day and by night."

That a degraded Epicureanism existed in Roman times is well shown by certain gems (which I shall describe in Part IV.) engraved with "skeleton and wine-jar" devices, and likewise by the design on two magnificent Graeco-Roman silver one-handled wine-cups,[28] forming part of the "Boscoreale treasure" in the Louvre Museum at Paris, and supposed to date from the first century of the Christian era (see Fig. 4). These cups belong to a period when the philosophy of Epicurus was popularly supposed to advocate devotion to sensual pleasures.

They are adorned with figures of skeletons ("shades")[29]

[28] For beautiful illustrations of these cups, see A. Héron de Villefosse, "Le Trésor de Boscoreale," *Monuments et Mémoirs* (*Fondation Eugène Piot*), Paris, vol. v., 1899, Pl. vii. and Pl. viii.

[29] The skeleton in this sense would doubtless have been termed a "larva" by the Romans. The Greek word σκελετόν originally meant a shrivelled body or mummy, *i.e.* σκελετόν σῶμα. It appears to represent

and garlands of roses, and bear various inscriptions, some of which urge the enjoyment of pleasure whilst yet life lasts, and whilst enjoyment of anything is possible; their advice

FIG. 4.—Silver cup forming part of the so-called Boscoreale treasure in the Louvre Museum at Paris, supposed to date from the first century of the Christian era. Photograph from the facsimile in the Victoria and Albert Museum, showing the skeletons, or "shades," of the philosophers Epicurus and Zeno, the Stoic.

is: Eat, drink, and enjoy life whilst you can, for to-morrow you may die, and become merely a "shade" or "spirit."

Some of the skeletons on these cups represent the shades of Greek poets and philosophers, whose names are

what we might speak of as the "spirit" of the dead philosopher or poet. I shall return to the subject of the representation of "larvae" in Roman and Graeco-Roman art (especially of a late period), when I come to the description of engraved gems in Part IV.

inscribed on the silver at their sides, and one of them, accompanied by a pig (see the explanatory paragraph further on), is labelled as that of Epicurus himself. Epicurus (that is to say, his skeleton) has a philosopher's wallet ("scrip" of the New Testament) slung from the left shoulder, and holds a long philosopher's staff in the left hand, whilst he lays his right hand on what seems to be a large cake on a tripod table. The pig at his feet is likewise endeavouring to get at the cake. Above the cake is the inscription, ΤΟ ΤΕΛΟC ΗΔΟΝΗ ("Pleasure is the final object"). On the other side of the tripod stands the skeleton of Zeno (founder of the Stoic philosophy), with wallet and staff, in an attitude of disdain (see Fig. 4). The inscription, ΚΛΩΘΩ, on the cup in question shows that a small figure mounted on a column was intended by the artist to represent Clotho, one of the three Fates (Moirae or Parcae). In this connexion, as a personification of Fate, Destiny, or Doom, she is almost equivalent to a goddess of Death. Other inscriptions on the same cup are: *Ζῶν μετάλαβε, τὸ γὰρ αὔριον ἄδηλόν ἐστι* ("Seize the present whilst you have life, for the morrow is uncertain"); and *Τέρπε Ζῶν σεατόν* ("Enjoy yourself whilst you are alive"). On the other cup one of a group of three anonymous skeletons is represented as piously bringing offerings for the dead to another of the group. The accompanying satirical inscription is ΕΥCΕΒΟΥ CΚΥΒΑΛΑ ("Be reverent to dung"). The third skeleton is Hamlet-wise philosophising on a human skull which he holds in his left hand: ΤΟΥΤ ΑΝΤΡΩΠΟC ("Such is man"). Another inscription is ΕΥΦΡΑΙΝΟΥ Ο [*sic*] ΖΗC ΧΡΟΝΟΝ ("Be happy as long as you live"). In regard to the analogy between these scenes and the scenes in Lucian's "Dialogues of the Dead" see ADDENDUM.

What the popular conception of so-called followers of Epicurus was in Horace's time, and how in the mind of the people Epicurus came to be associated with a pig, is plain from the lines—

> "Me pinguem et nitidum bene curata cute vises,
> Cum ridere voles, Epicuri de grege porcum."
> (Hor., *Epist.*, lib. i. 4, lines 15, 16.)

It seems that in reality Epicurus and the personal friends and disciples who shared the life in his "garden" (the Κῆποι Ἐπικούρου at Athens, were temperate and contented with the simplest and plainest diet (compare A. E. Taylor's *Epicurus*, London, 1911, p. 13). It has even been suggested, I believe, that Epicurus was something of a dyspeptic. Cicero (*Tusc. Disput.*, lib. iii., xx. 49) wrote: "Negat Epicurus, jucunde posse vivi, nisi cum virtute vivatur." Epicurus in short advised man, since he was human, to enjoy the pleasures of human life and to bear its evils cheerfully—what cannot be prevented must be endured—he should not waste his short life in vain regrets and expectations. Menander (B.C. 342–291) the Athenian poet of comedies, who was a friend and admirer of Epicurus, wrote, in an epigram on the latter, that "as Themistocles rescued Greece from slavery so Epicurus rescued Greece from unreason." It was on the same grounds that Lucretius designated Epicurus as a god, and this also reminds one of the hexameter line from Manilius already quoted (*Astronomicon*, i. 104), referring to Epicurus:—

> "Eripuitque Jovi fulmen, viresque tonandi."

One of the fragments of Menander (as quoted by W. Lucas Collins from 203 in Meineke's *Fragmenta*, Berlin, 1841) tells us:—

> "Being a mortal, ask not of the gods
> Escape from suffering; ask but to endure;
> For if thou seekest to be ever free
> From pain and evil, then thou seekest this,—
> To be a god, or die."

Lecky refers to *The Life of Epicurus*, by Diogenes Laërtius, in proof of his fine character and of the purity of the

philosophy which he taught and of its misrepresentation by Roman so-called followers. Lecky admits, however, that Epicureanism, though logically compatible with a very high degree of virtue, tended practically towards vice. Dante (*Inferno*, canto x.), from his religious point of view, naturally assigned Epicurus and all his followers ("who with the body make the spirit die") to hell.

The devices on the two cups were doubtless intended to signify the temporary nature of all kinds of philosophic learning and sensual pleasure alike. The meaning would then be as follows: No matter whose philosophy you follow, you will have to die like the philosophers themselves, though whilst you live you can choose between seriousness and merely sensual pleasure. But a more decidedly "Epicurean" hint was also probably intended, such as: "You may be learned and wise like these philosophers, and able to discourse on every subject under the sun; but what does it all amount to? what practical lesson do you teach? Only the lesson that these skeletons tell us, namely, *Edite! bibite! post mortem nulla voluptas!*" Doubtless, no more seriousness was suggested than the English poet, John Gay (died 1732), probably intended by the lines (written during a temporary poetical "mood"?) forming his own epitaph at Westminster Abbey—

> "Life is a jest, and all things show it;
> I thought so once, and now I know it."

On the cup on which Epicurus is represented is an inscription confirming this interpretation. The inscription in question is [Σ]KHNH O BIOC ("Life is a stage"), probably a proverbial saying of the time, which likewise forms part of the following (later) epigram (by Palladas) in the Greek Anthology: *Σκηνὴ πᾶς ὁ βίος καὶ παίγνιον·*

ἢ μάθε παίζειν τὴν σπουδὴν μεταθείς ἢ φέρε τὰς ὀδύνας ("All life is a stage and a game: either learn to play like a child, laying earnestness aside, or bear its griefs").

Cf. the well-known passage in Shakespeare's *As You Like It* (Act. ii., Scene 7)—"All the world's a stage," &c.—and somewhat similar passages, quoted by Steevens, Malone, and other Shakespeare commentators and critics, from various English writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Malone quotes from a play (*Damon and Pythias*) earlier than those of Shakespeare:—

> "Pythagoras said that this world was like a stage,
> Whereon many play their parts."

Totus mundus agit histrionem (from one of the fragments of Petronius) is said to have been the motto over Shakespeare's theatre, the "Globe," in London. Sir Walter Raleigh elaborated the simile, as follows:—

> "What is our life? A play of passion.
> Our mirth? The music of division.
> Our mothers' wombs, the tiring houses be;
> Where we are dressed for this short comedy.
> Heaven the judicious sharp spectator is,
> That sits, and marks still, Who do act amiss?
> Our graves, that hide us from the searching sun,
> Are like drawn curtains, when the play is done.
> Thus march we, playing, to our latest rest;
> Only we die in earnest: That's no jest."

In Shakespeare's *Tempest* (Act iv., Scene 1) what Prospero says about the actors, the gorgeous palaces, and all the scenery of the revels dissolving into thin air, suggests a dream of life and the comparison of life to a dream:—

> "We are such stuff
> As dreams are made on, and our little life
> Is rounded with a sleep."

In Part IV. I shall again discuss the subject of "Epicureanism" and "Hedonism" in the ancient art and

literature of the Greeks and Romans, referring to the Boscoreale wine-cups, when considering the "Epicurean" significance of the representation of skeletons on engraved gems, cups, vases, &c., of Roman and Graeco-Roman times. The Boscoreale cups and the various objects referred to in Part IV. show conclusively that though during the best period of Greek art the realistic representation of skeletons and corpses was avoided, the ancients in Roman and Graeco-Roman periods sometimes represented their dead as "larvae" under the form of skeletons or shrivelled figures of skin and bone (the German *Hautskelett*). But it remained for Mediaeval art to personify death itself under this form. Amongst the ancients the personification of Death, or "Thanatos," was certainly not pictured in that way (see Part IV.), and so far G. E. Lessing was right in his famous essay (1769), "Wie die Alten den Tod gebildet."

I believe that the representations on the Boscoreale cups and all similar late Roman and Graeco-Roman representations (see Part IV.) are practically equivalent to cynical caricatures, from the grossly sensual point of view, of the delights to be expected after death by the blessed in Elysium. Some of them may have been suggested by the custom of "piously" offering gifts at the tombs of the departed—food, wine, garlands, fillets, &c.

Many passages of the Greek Anthology[30] give advice of the *carpe diem* kind, for instance, the anonymous verses commencing: *Πῖνε καὶ εὐφραίνου, τί γὰρ αὔριον, ἢ τί τὸ μέλλον, οὐδεὶς γινώσκει.*[31] The following English version,

[30] Compare J. W. Mackail's *Select Epigrams from the Greek Anthology*, London, 1906: Verses on the subject of life, pp. 285, 286. The epigram commencing *Σκηνὴ πᾶς ὁ βίος* is given on page 301, No. xliv.

[31] *Epigram. Anthol. Palat.*, Didot edition, Paris, vol. ii. 1872, p. 294.

after Bland and Wellesley, is given by Lord Neaves (*The Greek Anthology*, Edinburgh, 1874, p. 108):—

"Drink and be glad: to-morrow what may be,
Or what thereafter, none of us can see.
Haste not nor fret: but now as well's you may,
Feast and be merry; freely give away;
Remember joys can last but with the breath,
And think how short a space parts life and death;
An instant:—seize what good may now befall;
Dead, thou hast nothing, and another all."

Lord Neaves (*op. cit.*, p. 108) quotes an epigram of similar significance by Palladas (English partly after Hay):—

"To die is due by all; no mortal knows
Whether to-morrow's dawn his life may close.
Knowing this well, O man, let cheering wine,
That sweet forgetfulness of death, be thine.
Give way to love too: live from day to day,
And yield to Fate o'er all things else the sway."[32]

Anacreon of Teos, the celebrated Greek lyric poet, who died at the age of 85 years, about B.C. 478, sang much of love and wine, and of the advisability of enjoying life whilst enjoyment was possible. Julianus Aegyptus, in an epitaph (or pseudo-epitaph) in the Greek Anthology, makes him repeat this advice to mortals from the tomb (translation by Francis Faukes, 1760):—

"What oft alive I sung, now dead I cry
Loud from the tomb: 'Drink, mortals, ere you die.'"

Amongst the verses attributed to Anacreon we have (*Od.*, xv. 10):—

Τὸ σήμερον μέλει μοι,
Τὸ δ' αὔριον τὶς οἶδε;

[32] A short epigram in the Greek Anthology, in the form of an epitaph, is thus given by Lord Neaves (*op. cit.*, p. 190):—

"Sober Eubulus, friends, lies here below;
So then, let's drink: to Hades all must go."

Anacreon has, of course, given his name to a whole class of poems—"Anacreontics," *i.e.* short poems on love, wine, games, and the advantages of accepting the joys which life offers to mortals, and of obtaining all the happiness out of life which the fates permit. Cf. *The Anacreontea and Principal Remains of Anacreon of Teos, in English Verse*, by J. F. Davidson, London, 1915, pp. 77 and 114. The translation given on p. 77 ends thus:—

> "Then while fair halcyon hours are thine,
> Dice, and quaff mirth-enkindling wine,
> Ere death with icy tones shall say:
> 'Drink thou no longer—come away!'"

The lines of Euripides (*Alcestis*, 788) tell one the same—

> Εὔφραινε σαυτόν, πῖνε, τὸν καθ' ἡμέραν
> Βίον λογίζου σόν, τάδ' ἄλλα τῆς τύχης

("Enjoy yourself, drink, reckon your daily life your own, everything else is fortune's.")

St. Paul refers to this view of life in the First Epistle to the Corinthians (xv. 32, Revised Version of 1881): "If the dead are not raised, let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die." Isaiah (xxii. 13) also alluded to it.

Amongst Latin authors Horace may be especially quoted in this respect. See, for instance, his *Ode*, ii. 3:—

> "Huc vina et unguenta et nimium brevis
> Flores amoenae ferre jube rosae,
> Dum res et aetas et sororum
> Fila trium patiuntur atra."

> "Cedes coemptis saltibus et domo
> Villâque, flavus quam Tiberis lavit,
> Cedes et exstructis in altum
> Divitiis potietur heres."

Amongst other Latin passages having a *memento mori*

significance of the "Epicurean" type—the Roman idea of "Dum vivimus, vivamus"[33]—the following are noteworthy:—

"Frange toros, pete vina, rosas cape, tinguere nardo:
Ipse jubet mortis te meminisse deus."

(Martial, *Epigram*, lib. ii. No. 59.)

"Deus" refers to the deified Roman Emperor. In another place (lib. v. No. 64) Martial draws an argument in favour of enjoying wine from the existence of the mausoleum of Augustus, showing, as it does, that all, even deified Emperors, must die.

"Pone merum et talos, pereat qui crastina curat!
Mors auram vellens; 'Vivite,' ait, 'venio.'"

(*Copa Syrisca*, attributed to Virgil.)

"Indulge genio: carpamus dulcia; nostrum est
Quod vivis: cinis et manes et fabula fies."

(Persius, *Sat.*, v. 151.)

"Dum fata sinunt, vivite laeti!"

(Seneca, *Hercules Furens*, 177.)

"Dum licet, in rebus jucundis vive beatus:
Vive memor quam sis aevi brevis."

(Horace, *Sat.* II., vi. 96.)

"Sapias, vina liques, et spatio brevi
Spem longam reseces. Dum loquimur fugerit invida
Aetas: carpe diem, quam minimum credula postero."[34]

(Horace, *Od.*, i. 11. 6.)

[33] See the collection of quotations on this subject given by Caetani Lovatelli, *Thanatos*, Rome, 1888, pp. 11 *et seq.* Many passages of the same class are referred to by the learned Bishop Jeremy Taylor, in his work on *Holy Dying* (1651). This reminds me that a certain antivivisectionist publication gave a kind of directory of vivisectionists (with lists of their investigations), which was really of use to other workers engaged in the same field of scientific experimental research.

[34] Part of this passage might serve as a sun-dial inscription. Compare: "Dum loquor hora fugit" (Ovid); "Fugit hora, hoc quod loquor, inde est" (Persius); "Le moment où je parle est déjà loin de moi" (Boileau).

". . . Ille potens sui
Laetusque deget, cui licet in diem
Dixisse: Vixi!" (Horace, *Od.*, iii. 29. 41.)

[The expression, *Vixit*, as a kind of euphemism, came, like *Fuit* (the French word *feu*, *i.e.* defunct, may be perhaps derived from the Latin *fui*), to signify that a person had died, and Cicero, in the year of his consulship (B.C. 63), when he had had the Catiline conspirators strangled in the Tullianum dungeon, announced their execution to the Roman crowd by the single word *Vixerunt*. The Roman Emperor, Marcus Aurelius, used of course not the word *Vixi*, but its Greek equivalent, when, in the eleventh book of his *Meditations*, he refers to a soul at the end of life being able to say: "I have lived; neither want I anything of that which properly did belong unto me." To collections of epitaphs belong most sayings of the *Vixi* class, for instance: "Vixi et amavi," "Vixi, peccavi, . . .," "Vixi dum vixi bene . . . Vivite ut vixi bene." Cf. Terence, *Hecyra*, iii. 5. 9:—"Sane hercle homo voluptati obsequens fuit, dum vixit: et qui sic sunt, haud multum heredem juvant, sibi vero hanc relinquunt laudem 'Vixit, dum vixit, bene.'"

In regard to the *Bene vixit*, cf. the saying, "Bene vixit, qui bene latuit," or as Ovid (*Tristia*, iii. 4. 25) put it, "Bene qui latuit bene vixit." Horace (*Epist.*, i. 17. 10) has the same idea ("Nec vixit male, qui natus moriensque fefellit"), which is said to be derived from advice given (according to Plutarch) by Epicurus: λάθε βιώσας. Surely this maxim might lead to "hiding a light under a bushel," and is very different from the teaching in St. Matthew v. 15 and 16. In Charles Leadbetter's *Mechanick Dialling* (first edition, London, 1737, chapter xxiii. No. 25) a sun-dial motto in Lincoln's Inn, London, is mentioned, after St. Matthew v. 16: "Let your Light so shine that men may see your good Works." In regard to dying opportunely cf. Publius Syrus: "Bene vixit is qui potuit cum voluit mori."

"Vixi, et quem dederat cursum fortuna, peregi:
Et nunc magna mei sub terras currit imago."
(Virgil, *Aeneid*, iv. 653.)

William Camden recorded the following epitaph without a name: "Vixi, peccavi, pœnitui, naturae cessi." It was in the cloister on the north side of old St. Paul's Cathedral in

London (Thomas Hearne's *Discourses*, vol. i. p. 338; quoted by T. J. Pettigrew, *Chronicles of the Tombs*, London, 1857, p. 69). The epitaph in Westminster Abbey on John Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham (died 1721): "Dubius sed non improbus vixi," &c.—may be contrasted with older ones: "Vixi dubius, anxius morior, nescio quo vado"; "Foedus intravi, anxius vixi, perturbatus egredior"; "Invitus ingredior, perturbatus egredior," &c. It is said to have suggested the following verses written by Lawrence Shirley, fourth Earl of Ferrers (the so-called "wicked Lord Ferrers"), before his execution in 1760 (*vide* John Timbs, *Ancestral Stories*, London, 1869, p. 128):—

> "In doubt I lived, in doubt I die,
> Yet stand prepared the vast abyss to try,
> And, undismayed, expect eternity."

On the saying, *Vixi et amavi*, are founded the lines of Schiller (in his *Piccolomini*):—

> "Ich habe genossen das irdische Glück;
> Ich habe gelebt und geliebet."

A remarkable little poem (by "L. S.," in the *Sydney Bulletin*), founded on the same saying, ends thus—

> "And all these things—but two things—
> Were emptiness and pain;
> And Love—it was the best of them;
> And Sleep—worth all the rest of them."

An ephemeral May-fly kind of life suggests itself when one reads S. T. Coleridge's rendering of the above-quoted passage from Schiller's *Piccolomini*:—

> "I've lived and loved, and that was to-day;
> Make ready my grave-clothes to-morrow."

But cf. Dryden (after Horace):—

"To-morrow do thy worst, for I have lived to-day."

Here, by the way, we may mention that the Hon. Mrs. C. E. S. Norton (Lady Maxwell) attributed the supposed

"one-day life" of the May-flies to the gnats also, in her well-known lines:—

"The thin-winged gnats their transient time employ,
Reeling through sunbeams in a dance of joy."

As to this, A. E. Shipley (*British Medical Journal*, February 13th, 1915, p. 284) remarks: "In the old days we used to collect gnats, keep them in a receptacle unprovided with food, and when they died of starvation after a couple of days, we wrotê poems or essays on the 'Transitoriness of Life' and the 'Evanescence of Time.' Nowadays we feed them . . . . and they live in captivity for weeks."

The original idea of the saying, *Vixi et amavi*, seems to me to have been probably derived from the Greek elegiac poems of Mimnermus of Colophon (second half of the seventh century B.C.), which complained of the fate of man: the vicissitudes of human circumstances, the instability of happiness, the miseries of sickness and old age, and the certain approach of death; love was practically the only consolation, and was all that made life worth living. In one of his letters Horace (*Epist.*, i. 6. 65) referred to the opinions of Mimnermus, as follows:—

"Si, Mimnermus uti censet, sine amore jocisque
Nil est jucundum, vivas in amore jocisque."

In regard to the idea of love, notably love of one's fellow human beings (*i.e.* love and friendship, in the largest sense), being one (or the) great redeeming feature in the life of man, compare James Beattie's beautiful epitaph:—

"Like thee I once have stemm'd the sea of life,
Like thee have languish'd after empty joys,
Like thee have labour'd in the stormy strife,
Been grieved for trifles, and amused with toys.

Forget my frailties; thou art also frail:
Forgive my lapses; for thyself may'st fall:
Nor read unmoved my artless tender tale—
I was a friend, O man, to thee, to all."

The contrast between love and the transitoriness of human life are well expressed by Meleager's epitaph on the bride who died on her wedding-day (*Greek Anthology*, vii. No. 182, Tauchnitz edition, Leipzig, vol. i. p. 263). Cf. also Capulet's account of Juliet's death, in Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*; also Robert Herrick's lines, commencing:—

"That morne which saw me made a bride,
The ev'ning witnest that I dy'd."

With respect to the employment of euphemisms for the words *death* and *dead*, Isaac D'Israeli (*Curiosities of Literature*) mentions that the Romans used the euphemistic expressions, *Discessit e vitâ*, and *Vixit*. "We are told," he writes, "that when the Emperor of Morocco inquires after anyone who has recently died, it is against etiquette to mention the word *death*: the answer is, *His destiny is closed*. But this tenderness is only reserved for 'the elect' of the Moslems. A Jew's death is at once plainly expressed, 'He is dead, Sir, asking your pardon for mentioning such a contemptible wretch.' A Christian's death is described by, 'The infidel is dead,' or, 'The cuckold is dead.'" A burial-ground was called by the Greeks a cemetery, that is to say, κοιμητήριον (a sleeping-chamber). We still employ a Roman euphemism when we speak of "the deceased" or "the departed one."]

". . . Sine amore jocisque
"Nil est jucundum; vivas in amore, jocisque."[35]
(Horace, *Epist.*, i. 6. 65.)

"Non est, crede mihi, sapientis dicere 'Vivam':
Sera nimis vita est crastina: vive hodie."
(Martial, *Epigram*, lib. i. No. 15.)

"Cras te victurum, cras dicis, Postume, semper.
Dic mihi, cras istud, Postume, quando venit?. . . . .
Cras vives? hodie jam vivere, Postume, serum est:
Ille sapit quisquis, Postume, vixit heri."
(Martial, *Epigram*, lib. v. No. 58.)

[35] This passage gives "Epicurean" advice for life, but is of course not really of the *memento mori* kind. Neither is the following:—

"Nunc vino pellite curas;
Cras ingens iterabimus aequor."
(Horace, *Od.*, i. 7. 31.)

"Amici, dum vivimus, vivamus."
(From an epitaph, *Corp. Inscr. Lat.*, vol. xii. No. 4548.)

"Vita dum vives, vive, et cura post obitum necessaria."
(From an epitaph, *Corp. Inscr. Lat.*, vol. vi. No. 15233.)

"Tu qui legis bona vita vive sodalis, quare post obitum nec risus nec lusus nec ulla voluptas erit." (Epitaph in *Corp. Inscr. Lat.*, vol. ix. No. 3473.)

This last resembles a Latin "devil's maxim," quoted in Eustachius Schildo's *Spilteufel* (Frankfurt an der Oder, 1557): "Ede, bibe, lude, post mortem nulla voluptas" (see Max Osborn, *Die Teufellitteratur des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1893, p. 81, and Max Friedlaender, *Das deutsche Lied im XVIII. Jahrhundert*, Stuttgart, 1902, vol. 2, p. 325). With this may be compared the Latin portion of the following German students' song:—

"Ça ça geschmauset,
Lasst uns nicht rappelköpfig sein!
Wer nicht mit brauset,
Der bleib daheim!
Edite, bibite, collegiales,
Post multa saecula pocula nulla."

This version occurs, I gather, in Christian Wilhelm Kindleben's collection of students' songs (1781), but Max Friedlaender (*loc. cit.*) gives the following earlier eighteenth-century words:—

"Bibite, bibite, collegiales,
Per secula plurima pocula nulla."

According to the chorus of the popular German drinking song by Carl Müchler, first published in 1797 (see Büchmann's *Geflügelte Worte*), Martin Luther is credited with the following saying:—

"Wer nicht liebt Wein, Weib und Gesang,
Der bleibt ein Narr sein Leben lang."

Cf. the English version by W. M. Thackeray:—

"Then sing as Martin Luther sang,
As Doctor Martin Luther sang:
'Who loves not wine, woman, and song,
He is a fool his whole life long.'"

The same attribution is given likewise in Herder's *Volkslieder* of 1778, and in some verses published in the *Wandsbecker Bothen*, 1775, No. 75:—

"Dir Wünsch' ich Wein und Mädchenkuss,
Und deinem Klepper Pegasus
Die Krippe stets voll Futter!
Wer nicht liebt Wein, Weib und Gesang,
Der bleibt ein Narr sein Lebenlang,
Sagt Doktor Martin Luther."

Büchmann's *Geflügelte Worte* (22nd edition, Berlin, 1905, pp. 128–130) discusses the question at length, and quotes a passage from *Epist. Obscurorum Virorum*, in which Ulrich von Hutten writes, "Quamvis Salomon dicat: Musica, mulier et vinum laetificant cor hominis . . ." (This is apparently the result of the jumbling together of the following passages: Ecclesiasticus xl. 20; Proverbs xii. 4; and Psalm civ. 15.) Cf. the modern version of the whole idea by Richard Garnett (1835–1906):—

"Thou art in danger, Cincius, on my word,
To die ere thou hast lived, which were absurd.
Open thy ears to song, thy throat to wine,
Thy arms unto that pretty wife of thine.
Philosophy, I have nowise forgot,
Is deathless, but philosophers are not."

To Walter Map or Mapes (fl. 1200), a native of Herefordshire in England, has been attributed (probably wrongly—see article on his life in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, Smith, Elder & Co., London) the famous Mediaeval Latin so-called "drinking song"—

"Meum est propositum in tabernâ mori,
Vinum sit appositum morientis ori,
Ut dicant cum venerint angelorum chori,
Deus sit propitius huic potatori," &c.[36]

[36] A slightly different version is given in *The Latin Poems commonly attributed to Walter Mapes*, collected and edited by Thomas Wright, published by the Camden Society, London, 1841, Introduction, p. xlv.

[This reminds one of the comparison of man's life to a visit to, or short sojourn at, a tavern ("the world's an inn"), and of the many verses written in praise of a good inn, e.g. the well-known lines written by William Shenstone at an inn:—

"Whoe'er has travelled life's dull round,
Where'er his stages may have been,
May sigh to think he still has found
The warmest welcome at an inn."

Dr. (Samuel) Johnson, who was Shenstone's contemporary at the University of Oxford, said that nothing had yet been contrived by man "by which so much happiness is produced as by a good tavern or inn," and Robert Leighton, Archbishop of Glasgow (died 1684), often said that if he were to choose a place to die in, it should be an inn. Montaigne said that he never entered an inn, when on his travels, without asking himself whether he could be taken ill and die there comfortably (W. Lucas Collins, *Montaigne*, 1879, p. 127). Dr. John Brown (died 1882), in his *Horae Subsecivae*, compared human life to a visit to a tavern: "One doth but breakfast here, another dines, he that liveth longest doth but sup; we must all go to bed in another world." Cicero (*De Senectute*, xxiii.) compared life to a resting-place or an inn, rather than to a permanent habitation for the soul. John Dryden (*Palamon and Arcite*, Book iii., line 888) wrote:

For comparison we will here quote the wine song of the Saracen chieftain Abu Midjan, who distinguished himself greatly at the battle of Cadesia (A.D. 636), where the Saracens, under Saad ibn Abi Wakkas, defeated the Persians under Rustem. The wine song has been preserved by Musudi, and the following English version is given in Simon Ockley's *History of the Saracens* (fourth edition, Bohn's Standard Library, London, 1847, p. 149):—

"When the angel of death shall close my eye
Let my grave be midst the vines on the hill;
For though deep in the earth my bones may lie,
The juice of the grape shall nourish them still.

Oh, bury me not in unfruitful land,
Or death to me will be terror and gloom,
Whilst fearless and bold I shall wait his hand
If cheered by the hope of the vine's perfume."

"The world's an inn, and death the journey's end." There are various old English epitaphs (some on inn-keepers?) comparing life to a traveller's short stay at an inn. They are all apparently versions of the following (said in Benham's *Book of Quotations* to have been attributed to Joseph Henshaw, Bishop of Peterborough, who died in 1678):—

"Man's life is like unto a summer's day:
Some break their fast and so away;
Others stay dinner then depart full fed;
The longest age but sups and goes to bed:
O reader, then, behold and see
As we are now, so must you be."

Cf. Horace, *Epist.*, ii. 2. 214:—

"Lusisti satis, edisti satis, atque bibisti;
Tempus abire tibi est."

("You have played enough, eaten enough, and drunk enough; it is time for you to depart.")

In this passage Horace somewhat reminds one of older verses by Lucretius (*De Rerum Naturâ*, iii. 951):—

"Cur non ut plenus vitae conviva recedis
Aequo animoque capis securam, stulte, quietem?"

Cf. also William Watson (born in 1858):—

"'Not ours,' say some, 'the thought of death to dread;
Asking no heaven, we fear no fabled hell:
Life is a feast, and we have banqueted—
Shall not the worms as well?'"

Thomas Campion (1567–1620), a poet, musician, and apparently physician, ended a short poem on "The Man of Life Upright" with the stanza:—

"Good thoughts his only friends,
His wealth a well-spent age,
The earth his sober inn
And quiet pilgrimage."

In regard to the popular religious simile of life to a pilgrimage, &c., cf. Hannah More (*King Hezekiah*) :—

> "The soul on earth is an immortal guest,
> Compelled to starve at an unreal feast ;
> . . . . . .
> A pilgrim panting for the rest to come ;
> An exile anxious for his native home ;
> A drop dissevered from the boundless sea ;
> A moment parted from eternity."

Allied to the simile of resting at an inn is that of warming oneself at the "fire of life." Cf. Walter Savage Landor (1775–1864) :—

> "I strove with none ; for none was worth my strife.
> Nature I loved and, next to Nature, Art ;
> I warmed both hands before the fire of life ;
> It sinks, and I am ready to depart."

In some respects one may compare the simile of passing over a bridge. It is said that Charles Lister (1887–1915), who died of wounds received at Gallipoli, in the Great European War, used as a favourite phrase that of the inscription of the Great Mogul Emperor, Akbar, in India (1542–1605) : "Said Jesus, on whom be Peace, *The world is a bridge ; pass over it but build no house on it.*" (*Charles Lister : Letters and Recollections ; with a memoir by his father, Lord Ribblesdale*, London, 1916).]

Possibly the most popular of all students' songs is that beginning—

> "Gaudeamus igitur, juvenes dum sumus,
> Post jucundam juventutem,
> Post molestam senectutem,
> Nos habebit humus."

Amongst older versions of the Latin portion of the words an eighteenth century one (see Ludwig Erk and

F. M. Böhme, *Deutscher Liederhort*, Leipzig, 1894, vol. 3, p. 489) runs—

"Gaudeamus igitur,
Juvenes dum sumus;
Post molestam senectutem
Nos habebit tumulus.
Ubi sunt, qui ante nos
In mundo vixere?
Abeas ad tumulos,
Si vis hos videre.
Vita nostra brevis est,
Brevi finietur:
Venit mors velocitur,
Neminem veretur."

This portion of the song has been supposed to date back to the time of the travelling students of the thirteenth century. At any rate, it had an ecclesiastical origin in verses intended to point out the vanity and instability of all earthly possessions and delights. Édélestand du Méril (*Poésies populaires latines du moyen âge*, Paris, 1847, p. 125) has published a manuscript poem, dated 1267, containing the following verses:—

"Scribere proposui de contemptu mundano,
Tam est hora surgere de somno mortis vano."

"Vita brevis, brevitas in brevi finietur;
Mors venit velociter et neminem veretur."

"Ubi sunt, qui ante nos in hoc mundo fuere?
Venies ad tumulos, si eos vis videre."

The *Rubaiyat* of Omar Khayyam (*c.* 1060–1120) is full of "Epicurean" sentiments, showing also a tinge of "learned melancholy" and pessimism. Thus, we take from Edward FitzGerald's translation (4th edition, stanza 74):—

"Drink! for you know not whence you came, nor why;
Drink! for you know not why you go, nor where."

From some newly-discovered verses of Omar Khayyam (Miss J. Kilmer's translation, *New York Evening Times*) we quote:—

"And wherefore then should you and I be sad
Because to life no minute we can add? . . .
So drink! For this blue sullen vault of sky
Hates our white souls and waits to watch us die.
Rest on the soft green grass, my love, for soon
We shall be dust together, you and I."

Dr. Oliver Codrington kindly tells me that FitzGerald's English translation imparts to the verses of the *Rubaiyat* a deeper "Epicurean" tinge than they in reality possess. Omar was certainly familiar with Greek literature. In a contribution to the *Royal Asiatic Society Journal* (London, 1898, p. 349), to which Dr. Codrington has referred me, Dr. E. D. Ross quotes (p. 354) the following passage from Ibn-al-Kifty, who wrote in the seventh century of the Hejira: Omar was "the most learned man of his day, and was versed in the science of the Greeks. He encouraged the search after the One Judge by means of the purification of the inclinations of the flesh for the sake of the elevation of the human soul." It seems to me that a learned man with a Faust-like imagination is certain to have "Epicurean moods" at some period or other of his life, and such moods (frequently revealing a shade also of pessimism) may be the only ones well expressed by him in poetry.

More justifiable advice of the kind occurs in the "Shih Ching," the classic of Chinese poetry. As an example one may take the "Carpe diem" poem, which ends:—

"Think—all-destroying death comes creeping near,
When our most cherished goods, our hoarded stores,
Shall be the stranger's, who shall take our gear,
Shall spend our riches, and shall tread our floors."[37]

[37] *The Book of Chinese Poetry, being the Shih Ching*, metrically translated by C. F. R. Allen, London, 1891, pp. 145–146.

The sentence in the Apocrypha, "Let us crown ourselves with rose-buds before they be withered" (Wisdom of Solomon, ch. ii. 8), perhaps suggested the beautiful lines of R. Herrick (1591–1674) :—

"Gather ye rose-buds while ye may,
Old Time is still a-flying,
And this same flower that smiles to-day,
To-morrow will be dying."[38]

"The glorious lamp of heaven, the Sun,
The higher he's a-getting,
The sooner will his race be run,
The neerer he's to setting."

The sun's course from east to west doubtless gave rise to the phrase "going west," signifying dying. Cf. the letter by I. Gollancz, in *The Times*, London, January 8th, 1915, p. 9. The life of man has often been compared to the sun in its daily course, with its gradual rise, its meridian height, and its setting, but the setting of man's life has the appearance of a final exit. Cf. Catullus (*Carm.*, v. 4) :—

"Soles occidere et redire possunt :
Nobis, cum semel occidit brevis lux,
Nox est perpetua una dormienda."

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[38] Cf. Spenser's *Faërie Queene*, Book ii., Canto 12, st. 75 :—

"Gather the rose of love whilest yet is time."

Herrick's above-quoted advice "To the Virgins to make much of Time," may be compared and contrasted with the following translation (given in E. W. Peattie's *Poems You Ought to Know*, 1903, p. 143) from "The Rose," by the French poet, Pierre de Ronsard (1524–1585) :—

"Ah, my Mignonne, trust to me;
While your youth as yet is seen
In its freshest, fairest green,
Seize the moments to enjoy;
Old age hastens to destroy
Roses, beauty, youth, and thee."

So Torquato Tasso (*Aminta*, Act i., Scene 2):—

"Amiam, che 'l Sol si muove, e poi rinasce,
A noi sua breve luce
S' asconde, e 'l sonno eterna notte adduce";

and Samuel Daniel (1562–1619):—

"Let's love, the sun doth set and rise again;
But when as our short light
Comes once to set, it makes eternal night."[39]

Herrick also compared the life of man to a watch:—

"Man is a watch, wound up at first, but never
Wound up again: once down, he's down for ever.
The watch once downe, all motions then do cease;
And man's pulse stopt, all passions cease in peace."

Sir G. M. Humphry (*Old Age*, Cambridge, 1889, p. 54) likewise, from his point of view, compared human life to a watch that has been wound up for a longer or shorter run. "No one," he wrote, "can make his family history better than it is, or make his body to be wound up for a longer period than its normal life's span; but it is the duty of each to endeavour to make it cover that span and to go as long as its appointed time."

The following lines are by the Spanish poet, Garcilasso de la Vega (1539–1616), as translated by Felicia Dorothea Hemans:—

"Enjoy the sweets of life's luxuriant May,
Ere envious age is hastening on his way
With snowy wreaths to crown the beauteous brow:
The rose will fade when storms assail the year,
And Time, who changeth not his swift career,
Constant in this, will change all else below!"

Very similar are the words of the German popular song (Johann Martin Usteri, 1793):—

"Freut euch des Lebens,
Weil noch das Lämpchen glüht;
Pflücket die Rose,
Eh sie verblüht."

[39] Cf. Sir Sidney Lee's *Annual Shakespeare Lecture*, 1915.

One writer in *Notes and Queries* quotes the analogous English :—

"Enjoy your life, my brother,
Is grey old Reason's song;
One has so little time to live,
And one is dead so long."

Another has heard of a similar inscription over a cottage in Scotland :—

"Be happy whilst ye're leevin,
For ye're a lang time deid."

Two of J. F. Davidson's "Anacreontics" (in both of which death is referred to) begin respectively :—

"To the lute's voluptuous sound
Let the rosy bowl go round";

and,

"Comrades, joyous be to-night;
After death is no delight."[40]

A curious "Anacreontic" song, quoted by Isaac D'Israeli, in his *Curiosities of Literature* (1791), was written by William Oldys (1696–1761). The song is "on a fly drinking out of a cup of ale" :—

"Busy, curious, thirsty fly!
Drink with me, and drink as I!
. . . . . .
Make the most of life you may;
Life is short and wears away!
. . . . . .
Thine's a summer, mine no more,
Though repeated to threescore!
Threescore summers when they're gone,
Will appear as short as one."

It is also given by H. P. Dodd (*Epigrammatists*, London, 1870, pp. 353–354), who, in the same connexion, quotes

[40] J. F. Davidson, *The Anacreontea*, London, 1915, pp. 194, 195.

the last stanza of Dr. Johnson's "Ode on Winter," with its *carpe diem* sentiment (suitable for a sun-dial inscription) expressed in a way that can offend none:—

"Catch then, O! catch the transient hour,
Improve each moment as it flies;
Life's a short summer—man a flower:
He dies—alas! how soon he dies!"

The following (after Kastner) is from an old French vaudeville:—

"Buvons, chers amis, buvons;
Le temps qui fuit nous y convie.
Profitons de la vie
Autant que nous pourrons."[41]

A decastich by the French poet, Clément Marot (died 1544), in which a famishing man tells of a man who died in a state of drunkenness, ends:—

"Las! dit-il, j'ai, moi langoureux,
Faim sans fin, l'autre eut fin sans faim."

Some of the so-called "Moralische Pfenninge" of the town of Basel, which I shall further on describe, represent roses and Death's-heads, with the inscription, "Heut

[41] In regard to drinking there are, of course, innumerable eulogistic inscriptions to be found on old bottles, jugs and drinking-vessels. I have seen the following painted on an old leather "black-jack" for beer:—

"I wish in Heaven
his soul may dwell
Who first devis'd
the leather Bottel."

In whimsical extravagance this is quite surpassed by the inscription on a treasured rock-crystal wine-cup which belonged to "the good" King René d'Anjou (1409–1480):—

"Qui bien beurra
Dieu voira.
Qui beurra tout d'une baleine
Voira Dieu et la Madeleine."

rodt, Morgen dodt" ("To-day red, to-morrow dead"), or "Heut send (sind) wier rot und Morgen todt" ("To-day we are red and to-morrow dead").

Human life has been very often compared, from early times in the world's history, to a rose or other flowers, but the comparison sounds rather curious in the epitaph on a monument for Richard Humble, Alderman of London, and his two wives, erected (1616) in Southwark Cathedral (St. Saviour's), formerly St. Mary Overies Priory Church. The epitaph, which seems to be derived from a poem, attributed to Francis Quarles, though he lived 1592–1644, commences:—

> "Like to the damaske rose you see,
> Or like the blossom on the tree . . ."

Lord Neaves gives the following translation of an anonymous epigram in the Greek Anthology:—

> "Short is the rose's bloom; another morn
> Will show no rose, but in its stead a thorn."

In regard to the comparison of youth, life, and beauty with roses and the short-lived flowers one may refer to the epigrams of Rufinus, Strato, &c., in the *Greek Anthology*, as quoted by H. P. Dodd, in his *Epigrammatists*, 1870, pp. 52, 53. Dodd likewise refers, in the same connexion, to Pope's Epistle to Martha Blount, and to the passage in Spenser's *Faërie Queene*, Book ii., Canto 12, 74. Cf. also further on (footnote in Part I. E.), poetical comparisons of female beauty with a rose.

B.

Orthodox Religious Teaching of Mediaeval Europe.
The Morality Tales and Morality Plays.
The Legend of the Three Living and the Three Dead.
The "Vado Mori" Poems.
The Dance of Death (Danse Macabre).
The "Ars Moriendi" Designs.

It was in Mediaeval Europe, under the auspices of the Catholic Church, that descriptions and representations of the terrors of death and hell began to take on their most horrible aspects.[42]

Isaac D'Israeli (*Curiosities of Literature*) writes: "When the Christian religion spread over Europe, the world changed: the certainty of a future state of existence, by the artifices of wicked worldly men, terrified instead of consoling human nature; and in the resurrection the ignorant multitude seemed rather to have dreaded retribution, than to have hoped for remuneration. . . . The horrors with which Christianity was afterwards disguised arose in the corruptions of Christianity among those insane ascetics, who . . . imagined that to secure an existence in the other world,

[42] In this connexion it may be remarked that whilst some of the so-called "parting scenes" on Greek sepulchral marble reliefs are sorrowful in a simple and beautiful way of their own, the mural paintings in Etruscan tombs invest the idea of death (and the parting scenes represented) with horrors equal to those conjured up by Mediaeval superstition and Mediaeval art. The brutal-looking Etruscan "Charun" with his hammer, and occasionally other malignant-looking demons, like Gorgons or Furies (though usually represented as males), sometimes holding snakes in their hands, play an important part in Etruscan death scenes. The Etruscan representations of infernal deities remind one of some of the figures and emblems of the Hindoo deity Siva or Shiva and his terrible wife Kali, with their serpents, skulls, &c.

it was necessary not to exist in the one in which God had placed them. The dominion of mankind fell into the usurping hands of those imperious monks whose artifices trafficked with the terrors of ignorant and hypochondriac 'Kaisers and kings.' The scene was darkened by penances and by pilgrimages, by midnight vigils, by miraculous shrines, and bloody flagellations. . . . The people were frightened, as they viewed everywhere hung before their eyes, in the twilight of their cathedrals, and their 'pale cloisters,' the most revolting emblems of death. They startled the traveller on the bridge; they stared on the sinner in the carvings of his table or his chair; the spectre moved in the hangings of the apartment; it stood in the niche, and was the picture of their sitting-room; it was worn in their rings, while the illuminator shaded the bony phantom in the margins of their *horae*, their primers, and their breviaries." Gerard Legh, the writer on heraldry (died 1563), told how the German Emperor, Maximilian I (1493–1519), on one occasion had the skeleton-like figure of Death on a monastery painted over and the figure of a Fool substituted in its place, notwithstanding the protests of the monks of the monastery in question. In that connexion D'Israeli (*loc. cit.*) refers to an old woodcut representing a Fool sitting between the bony legs of Death.

Artists of late Mediaeval and later periods have delighted in contrasting death and the emblems of death with the strenuous ambitions, careless indulgences, vices and follies of everyday life. They have delighted in representing the universal power of death, how it carries off rich and poor alike, kings and peasants, wise men and fools, good and bad, old and young, beautiful and ugly. As examples we may refer to the many series of the "Dance of Death" ("Danse Macabre") made by various artists during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The best-known designs, *i.e.* the series attributed to Holbein (the Lyons woodcuts of 1538), end with the "Arms of Death" (see

Fig. 5), representing a man and woman (*i.e.* life) supporting a shield with a Death's-head as armorial bearing (death is fed by life and love). In the Victoria and Albert Museum is a German sixteenth-century ivory statuette, 9¼ inches in height (Fig. 6), apparently from a "Dance of Death" group. It represents a skeleton-like figure, in a spirited attitude, with the hands, holding

FIG. 5.—The "Arms of Death," from Holbein's "Dance of Death" series.

drumsticks, raised excitedly above the head, on which is a broad hat with three large feathers. In this statuette the grotesque contrast of the "skin and bone figure" (German *Hautskelett*), representing Death, with the animated action of the drummer and the broad gallant's hat of the period, could not be brought out more strongly.[43]

[43] See account in *A Description of the Ivories, Ancient and Modern, in the South Kensington Museum*, by W. Maskell, London, 1872, p. 10.

In the Museum of Basel there is a, probably slightly earlier, wooden statuette of Death (the

FIG. 6.—Ivory statuette, apparently from a "Dance of Death" group.

Hautskelett type) holding up an hour-glass in his right hand.

Albrecht Dürer's well-known copper-plate engraving (1513), which he himself called "Der Reuter" (*i.e.* soldier on horseback), representing a knight on horseback with Death (on a pale and emaciated steed) by his side and the devil behind him,[44] is typical of this great artist's work. Lionel Cust (*The Engravings of Albrecht Dürer*, London, 1894, p. 62) says that this engraving "shows the Christian, clad in the armour of faith and courage, riding to his goal, conscious of, but undisturbed by, the menace of death or the horrible suggestions of the devil."

> "Across my path though Hell should stride,
> Through Death and Devil I will ride."

Further on (in Part II., Heading xvi.) I shall refer to the German original of these lines.

Amongst the celebrated designs, relating more or less to death, those from Dürer's Apocalypse series illustrating the sixth and ninth chapters of Revelation should be mentioned, especially the large woodcut (published in 1498) representing "the riders on the four horses" (Revelation vi.), the emaciated "pale horse" of Death being the one nearest to the spectator. Dürer's unsigned early (before 1495) engraving of "Death as a Ravisher"[45] is as hideous and forcible as can be imagined, and represents Death in the primitive guise of the uncouth "Wilder Mann," with shaggy hair. His early engraving, "The

[44] Cf. Revelation vi. 8: "And I looked, and behold, a pale horse, and his name that sat on him was Death, and Hell followed." This engraving by Dürer inspired the story, *Sintram und seine Gefährten*, by the German writer, De la Motte-Fouqué, 1777–1843.

[45] In poetry and epigrams death has often been represented as a ravisher, or as coming as, or in the guise of, or in place of, a bridegroom. Cf. some sepulchral epigrams in the *Greek Anthology*, vii. Nos. 182, 183, 185, 186, 188.

FIG. 7.—"The Promenade"—an early engraving by Dürer. From behind the tree a small figure of Death, holding an hour-glass on his head, is watching, or spying on, the gallant couple.

Promenade" (Fig. 7), represents a fine couple of young lovers quite unaware that a malignant little figure of Death is watching them from his lurking-place behind a tree.

[In regard to the lurking figure of Death, the following verses from *The Odes of Confucius* (rendered by L. Cranmer-Byng, London, 1904, p. 21) may be compared, though they perhaps referred to some special tragedy that had happened :—

"Two youths into their boats descend,
Two lives go drifting far from me;
Between the willow glooms I see
Death lurking at the river's bend."

The contrast between the thoughtless gaiety of youth and the apparently cruel severity of "fate" has often served as a theme for artists and poets. Cf. Thomas Gray :—

"Gay hope is theirs by fancy fed . . . .
. . . . . .
Alas! regardless of their doom,
The little victims play;
No sense have they of ills to come,
Nor care beyond to-day";

and, also from Gray (*The Bard*, II., ii., line 9):—

"Fair laughs the morn, and soft the zephyr blows;
While proudly riding o'er the azure realm
In gallant trim the gilded vessel goes,
Youth on the prow, and Pleasure at the helm;
Regardless of the sweeping whirlwind's sway,
That hush'd in grim repose expects his evening prey."

It is only to the few that there comes early in life a pang of sadness in regard to "beauty that must die and joy, whose hand is ever at his lips bidding adieu."]

A woodcut of 1491, representing three armed knights attacked by skeletons (emblematic perhaps of the powers of darkness), is supposed by some to be an early work of Dürer. A well-known woodcut of "Death and a Fool"

is one of the illustrations to Sebastian Brant's *Stultifera Navis* ("Narrenschiff," or "Ship of Fools") that have been ascribed by some critics to the youthful Dürer. The first edition of Brant's satirical poem was printed at Basel in 1494, by J. Bergmann von Olpe. Fresh illustrations were added in later editions (up to 1497).

By Dürer also are the following: A woodcut (1510) of Death and a soldier; a rough drawing (in the British Museum) of Death holding a scythe, riding on a lean horse (perhaps emblematic of a spreading pestilence), with the inscription, ME(M)ENTO MEI and the date 1505; an early drawing of Death swooping down upon a rider, who is being thrown from his horse (emblematic of sudden and unexpected death).

In Dürer's "Wappen des Todes" (Fig. 8), a copper-plate engraving dated 1503, a shield bearing the device of a skull as the emblem of death is surmounted by a helmet and the wings of the "angel of death." Death himself, who supports these arms, is represented as a hairy satyr-like "man of the woods" (like a "savage man" in heraldry) in the act of kissing a lady, who appears to be pregnant. Thus the lady may be taken as representing Life, helping through Love to feed Death by giving birth to children. She does indeed support death, for without life there could be no death, and her unborn child is already, by the pledge of that kiss, predestined, like every living being, to yield to the universal conqueror.

Cf. Edward Bulwer Lytton (1805–1873), the novelist, in his poem on *Love and Death*:—

> "From Love, if the infant
> Receiveth his breath,
> The love that gave life
> Yields a subject to Death."

A biological paradox is thus expressed by Anatole France: "All union of the sexes is a sign of [coming] death; and we could not know love were we to live indefinitely."

FIG. 8.—Dürer's so-called "Wappen des Todes." (Engraving in the British Museum.)

In an engraving[46] by the "Meister H.W.," dated

[46] Illustrated by Hermann Peters, in his work, *Der Arzt und die Heilkunst in der deutschen Vergangenheit*, Leipzig, 1900, p. 130.

1482 (Fig. 9), Death, a hideous shrivelled figure of skin and bones (the German *Hautskelett*), is seen striding through the country, and as he goes he hurls his poisoned darts at all he meets. In the background is one of those picturesque Mediaeval fortified towns with many spires and turrets, cramped up within its narrow walls, and

Fig. 9.—The March of Death. Possibly an allegorical representation of the fatal spreading of an epidemic. (Engraving by the "Meister H.W.," 1482.) Note the youth climbing a tree to escape.

likely to be visited by one of those fatal epidemics, spreading through the land from one town to another, like that of which, perhaps, the engraving in question is an allegorical representation. A copperplate engraving of the end of the fifteenth century shows death (a skeleton just covered with skin, the usual *Hautskelett* type) playing chess with a king or prince. A pope, a bishop,

and other ecclesiastics and noblemen are grouped around the table, at the head of which stands an angel, holding an hour-glass.[47]

An engraving by the "Meister des Amsterdamer Kabinets" ("Meister von 1480") represents Death (in the form of the emaciated *Hautskelett*, with toad and snake) warning a fashionably dressed youth. The subject of another engraving by the same master is the story of the three living kings coming upon three dead ones (see Fig. 10).

Of the thirteenth-century tale or legend ("morality" story) of three living men meeting three dead men ("les trois morts et les trois vifs"), various versions exist. One in Latin rhyming verse narrates—

> "Cum apertam sepulturam
> Viri tres aspicerent
> Ac orribilem figuram
> Intus ibi cernerent," &c.

It formed a favourite subject for artists, and at one time it was supposed to have inspired the preliminary versions of the "Dance of Death" ("Danse Macabre," or, in Latin, "Chorea Machabaeorum," "Chorea Leti," "Chorea Mortis"), a subject which became so popular in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

"Le dit des trois morts et des trois vifs," and the doleful talk of the dead to the living, may well be contrasted with a story of the Chinese mystic, Chuang Tzŭ,[48] to which my attention was kindly drawn by Mr. John Allan: One day the Chinese philosopher came upon a bleached human skull and (Hamlet-wise) mused as to what kind of a man it had once formed part of. In the night he dreamt that the skull appeared to him and told him that after death there were no troubles,

[47] Illustrated by F. X. Kraus, *Geschichte der Christlichen Kunst*, 1897, vol. ii. pt. i. p. 449, fig. 270.

[48] *Musings of a Chinese Mystic*, London, 1906, p. 84.

that existence was bounded only by eternity, and that the happiness of a king among men did not exceed that enjoyed by the dead. One of

Fig. 10.—The Three Living and the Three Dead Kings, from an engraving in the British Museum, by the "Meister des Amsterdamer Kabinets" ("Meister von 1480").

Gabr. Symeoni's emblematic devices is a human skull crowned with a wreath and the inscription, "Victoria limes." Symeoni adds[49]:

[49] *The Heroicall Devices of M. C. Paradin, &c.*, English translation by P. S., London, 1591, p. 319.

"Epictetus the Philosopher being asked upon a time of Adrianus the Emperor wherefore the deade were crowned with garlands, answered, that they might declare, how that by death they had overcome the labors, sorrows and imminent heape of the cares of this life. Plinie also speaketh of the same crowning of the dead." But the following story, narrated by Pausanias in regard to Delphi,[50] quite rivals the horrible superstition of Mediaeval times: "Scarcely, it is said, had he (Phaylus) entered on the command when he saw a vision in a dream, and it was this: Amongst Apollo's votive offerings (at Delphi) was a bronze effigy of a mouldering corpse, the flesh all wasted away, nothing left but the bones. It was said by the Delphians to be an offering of Hippocrates, the physician. Now in his dream Phaylus thought that he resembled this effigy; and immediately he was attacked by a wasting sickness that fulfilled the augury of the dream."

Mediaeval "morality plays," as well as modern ones of the revival movement, still attract attention. If the Doppelgänger tales of German folk-lore are in any way connected with the Mediaeval legend of "Les trois morts et les trois vifs," then it is possible (as suggested to me by Dr. C. F. L. Leipoldt) that the design of Dante Gabriel Rossetti's sketch entitled "How They met Themselves," was to some extent inspired by the Mediaeval legend in question.[51] Cf. Oliver Wendell Holmes: "We not rarely find our personality doubled in our dreams and do battle with ourselves, unconscious that we are our own antagonists." During "dreamy states" in disease a similar modified doubled personality is met with. Thus, Seymour Taylor[52] has well described how he himself, during an attack of influenza, experienced a kind of dual personality, a symptom which he had already heard described by patients. He imagined himself in good health coming to visit a patient, whom he recognised to be himself; at one time his two selves seemed to be on a high Balkan mountain, at another time at Didcot Junction, on the Great Western Railway, in England.

Dr. W. F. Storck, whose very careful writings I shall refer to farther on in this book, has collected strong literary and other evidence to show that the "Dance of Death" subject originated independently of "the Tale of the Three Dead and the Three Living." The two series of ideas seem to have separately grown out of the common

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[50] Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, bk. x.—on Phocis—ch. ii. 4; J. G. Frazer's translation, London, 1898, vol. i. p. 501.

[51] Cf. *Dante Rossetti and the Pre-Raphaelite Movement*, by Esther Wood, London, 1894, pp. 224, 225.

[52] Seymour Taylor, *Clinical Journal*, London, 1917, vol. 46, p. 126.

soil of Mediaeval orthodox religious teaching, the evolution of the one growth overlapping and to some extent running parallel to the evolution of the other growth. The essence of the "Dance of Death" and the feature in which it chiefly differs from the idea of "the Three Dead and the Three Living" (who are generally pictured as kings, princes, noblemen, or gallants, with the attributes of wealth and worldly power—the "great" of this world), seems to consist in the variation in the aspect of Death according to the age, sex, habits, occupation, and social position of the individual who is to die. Obviously, therefore, the "Dance of Death" had a special significance, which the "Tale of the Three Dead and the Three Living" had not, during periods of fatal epidemics, when poor and rich and all classes were being carried off by the deadly visitant. On the literary side, moreover, the "Dance of Death" designs are more or less represented by the series of "Vado mori" poems which had their origin in the thirteenth century. In such poems or "carmina de morte" a distich is put into the mouth of each type of individual, young and old, poor and rich, learned and unlearned, layman and cleric, of low or high social grade. Each distich begins and ends with the words "Vado mori." As specimens, I will quote two distichs given in a paper by Dr. Storck.[53] The physician and the logician say respectively—

"Vado mori medicus, medicamine non redimendus,
Quidquid agat medici pocio. Vado mori."

"Vado mori logicus; aliis concludere novi.
Conclusit breviter mors michi: vado mori."

In a curious variety of the sixteenth century, men-

[53] Storck, *Zeitschrift für Deutsche Philologie*, Stuttgart, vol. 42, p. 427.

tioned by Dr. Storck,[54] each "Vado mori" distich is followed by a couple of similarly constructed lines, commencing with the words "Vive deo."

Cf. the partly poetical epistle written by Paulinus, Bishop of Nola (who lived about A.D. 354–431, and was educated by the poet Ausonius), to Licentius.[55] The letter ends with the exhortation :—

"Vive, precor, sed vive Deo: nam vivere mundo
Mortis opus; vera est vivere vita Deo."

Echoes and developmental extensions of the feeling of such verses occur in later admonitory epitaphs, &c., such as the inscription on a sepulchral monument (1628) in Cuckfield Church, Sussex :—

"Vive diu, sed vive Deo: nam vivere mundo
Mortis opus; viva est vivere vita Deo."

A mortuary medal (1670) of William VII, Landgraf of Hesse, has the inscription, "Vixit diu, quia bene vixit."

A "Vado mori" poem has been attributed to the Englishman Walter Map or Mapes (fl. 1200), and a Spanish poem, "Danza de la Muerte," to Rabbi Santo, a Jew, who lived about 1360; but these attributions are doubtful. The Spanish poem has been said by some to be the earliest actual "Dance of Death" poem in existence.

In regard to the dancing attitude given to the horrid harlequin-like figure in the "Dance of Death" designs, it must not be forgotten that formerly (in Mediaeval and later times) festive dancing in the open air was more

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[54] *Ibid.*, p. 424.

[55] Migne's *Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Latina*, vol. lxi. columns 181–184.

frequent among the common people (and more a feature of everyday life, to "strike the eye" of the traveller) than it now is. This may likewise help to explain, I believe, why hysterical seizures in past times, more frequently than at present, took the form of dancing, as evidenced by the old "epidemics" of "Dancing Mania" (fourteenth century and later),[56] of which such curious descriptions and illustrations have been preserved.

Probably the "Dance of Death" originated in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, as a kind of "morality" representation or "play," consisting of dialogues between Death and living characters typical of various stations in life, various occupations, &c. By such means the religious authorities in France, Germany, and (later) England, &c., hoped to impress the sense of the power of death on the minds of the poor and uneducated peasantry, as well as the richer, educated, and scholarly classes, for whom other warnings (including "the Tale of the Three Dead and the Three Living") would have suited equally well. Such "morality" representations were probably at first acted in or near churches by the religious orders and persons instructed by them, sometimes accompanied by music. Afterwards the subject became a favourite one—or, at least, a not infrequent

[56] Epidemic chorea, Chorea magna, Chorea major, Choromania, Chorea-daemonomania. The term St. Vitus's dance or Chorea Sancti Viti was originally applied to Epidemic dancing mania, because it was supposed to be cured by the help of St. Vitus, but now the term is used as a synonym of ordinary chorea (Chorea minor, Chorea Anglorum, or Sydenham's chorea). A dancing mania in the sixteenth century in Italy was called Tarentism or Tarantulism, because it was supposed to be produced by the bite of the Tarantula spider. The name of the whirling South Italian dance, "Tarantella," may have been connected with this.

one—for frescoes on the walls of religious buildings, paintings, tapestries,[57] prints, &c.

About the end of the fourteenth century some of the fanatic "Flagellants" had skeletons depicted on their clothing, which added superstitious fear to the excitement caused by their mad doings. Similarly, some of the "fakirs" of Southern India have a white skeleton painted on their dark skin, as a recognised sign or device of their religious calling. E. L. Arnold, in a magazine article, entitled, "In the Shade of the Fig Tree," has told a true story of his unexpectedly coming upon one of these "skeleton-fakirs" in a dark and lonely spot in Southern India.

On the literary side also, the pathetic and burlesque aspects of the subject were somewhat cleverly combined by the French poet, Jacques Jacques, Canon of Embrun, in his (1657) *Le Faut-Mourir et les Excuses Inutiles qu'on apporte à cette Nécessité—Le tout en vers burlesques.* The writer said he wanted to tell some of the most important truths in laughing, for he had nothing double about him excepting his name. Isaac D'Israeli (*Curiosities of Literature*) wrote: "This veil of gaiety in the old Canon of Ambrun covers deeper and more philosophical thoughts than the singular mode of treating so solemn a theme. He has introduced many scenes of human life which still interest."

Isaac D'Israeli (*loc. cit.*), speaking of the typical "dance of death" designs, observes: "The prevailing character of all these works is unquestionably grotesque and ludicrous; not, however, that genius, however barbarous, could refrain in this large subject of human life from inventing scenes often imagined with great delicacy of conception and even great pathos. . . . The skeleton, skeleton as it is, in the creation of genius, gesticulates and mimics, while even its hideous skull is made to express every diversified character, and the

[57] There was some tapestry with a "Macaber Dance" in the Tower of London. See F. Douce, *Holbein's Dance of Death, &c.*, London (Bohn's Illustrated Library), 1858, pp. 46, 47. Douce refers on this subject to the *History of English Poetry*, by Thomas Warton the Younger.

result is hard to describe; for we are at once amused and disgusted with so much genius founded on so much barbarism. When the artist succeeded in conveying to the eye the most ludicrous notions of death, the poets also discovered in it a fertile source of the burlesque."

On the whole it seems by no means unlikely that in morality plays of the "Dance of Death" type a serio-comic (boisterous and farcical) element was soon introduced when the minds of the superstitious and ignorant people became accustomed to the horrible and ghastly representations exhibited to them, that is to say, by the ecclesiastical authorities, in their efforts to work on the popular imagination (partly, perhaps, for objects of their own—namely, to increase the worldly power of the Church). Figures were doubtless sometimes introduced in "morality" scenes (to represent Death or the dead) clothed in a tight-fitting black dress with a white skeleton painted on it, like the "jockeys of death" in modern circus-performances (cf. Part II. Headings v. and xxi.). In tournaments also similar skeleton disguises may have been occasionally employed to produce spectacular effects, resembling that at "Castle Perilous," in Tennyson's *Gareth and Lynette*. Shakespeare, in *Measure for Measure* (Act iii., Scene 1), seems to refer to a farcical morality play of the Mediaeval "Dance of Death" kind, when he makes Duke Vincentio say:—

> "Merely, thou art Death's fool;
> For him thou labourest, by thy flight, to shun,
> And yet runn'st toward him still."

A commentary on this passage[58] explains the allusion to "Death and his fool" very clearly:—"In the simplicity of the ancient shows upon our stage, it was common to bring in two figures, one representing a fool, and the other, Death or Fate [or Time or the Devil]; the turn and contrivance of the piece was, to make the fool lay many stratagems to avoid Death, which yet brought him more immediately into the jaws of it." Cf. Shakespeare's *Pericles*, Act iii., Scene 2:—

> "Or tie my treasure up in silken bags
> To please the fool and death."

[58] Quoted by Richard Dagley.

Cf. also Shakespeare's *King Henry IV, First Part*, Act v., Scene 4:—"Life, Time's fool." As mentioned already, the various editions, in German, Latin, English, and other languages, of Sebastian Brant's *Ship of Fools* (*Stultifera Navis*, German, *Narrenschiff*), which was first printed, in 1494, at Basel, contain a woodcut representing Death and a Fool; which, however, was intended to illustrate a special form of human folly referred to in the text of this famous satirical poem. Isaac D'Israeli (*Curiosities of Literature*) mentions an old woodcut representing a Fool seated between the legs of a skeleton-like figure of Death.

As R. Dagley [59] points out, the pathetic and burlesque aspects of the "dance of death" and allied subjects (literary and pictorial) are concentrated in the following passage, taken from Shakespeare's *King Richard II* (Act iii., Scene 2); it gives us the very spirit of the late Mediaeval "Imagines mortis":—

> "For within the hollow crown
> That rounds the mortal temples of a king,
> Keeps Death his court: and there the antick sits,
> Mocking his state and grinning at his pomp;
> Allowing him a breath, a little scene
> To monarchize, be fear'd, and kill with looks;
> Infusing him with self and vain conceit,—
> As if this flesh, which walls about his life,
> Were brass impregnable: and, humoured thus,
> Comes at the last, and with a little pin
> Bores through his castle-wall, and—farewell king!"

In regard to Mediaeval representations of Death being in Shakespeare's mind one may quote his *King Henry VI, First Part*, Act iv., Scene 7:—

> "Thou antick, death, which laugh'st us here to scorn";

and his *Venus and Adonis*:—

> "'Hard-favoured tyrant, ugly, meagre, lean,
> Hateful divorce of love,' thus chides she death,
> 'Grim-grinning ghost, earth's worm.'"

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[59] R. Dagley, *Death's Doings*, second edition, London, 1827, p. 6.

The best-known series of "Dance of Death" designs, sometimes termed "Imagines mortis" or "Icones mortis," is the "Holbein series," *i.e.* that of the Lyons woodcuts of 1538, and of the numerous later copies and variations, including those by Wenceslaus Hollar (middle of the seventeenth century), Christian von Mechel (1780), and the Bewicks (1789). Amongst earlier series are that (probably of the fifteenth century) which formerly existed in the Dominican cemetery of Gross-Basel, in Switzerland (which was at one time absurdly supposed to be the work of Holbein), and that (dating from the fourteenth century) on the cloister wall of the Klingenthal Convent in Klein-Basel, on the other side of the Rhine. The originals of the latter series were destroyed about 1806. A famous French "Danse Macabre," accompanied by verses in French, was painted about 1425 on the wall of the churchyard of the Monastery of the Innocents at Paris, where the Dance of Death drama was probably acted. About 1430 similar pictures, with a translation (which has been preserved [60]) by John Lydgate (who at that time was residing at Bury Monastery) of the French poem, were introduced into the great cloister on the north side of Old St. Paul's Cathedral at London. Afterwards "Dances of Death" existed at other places in England—certainly in Salisbury Cathedral, at Wortley Hall (Gloucestershire), at Hexham (Northumberland), and in the Archiepiscopal Palace at Croydon.

For detailed information in regard to the origin and various series of the "Dance of Death," and in regard to the

[60] Lydgate's verses were printed at the end of Tottell's edition (folio, 1554) of his translation of the *Fall of Princes* from Boccaccio, and they were again, about a century later, printed in Sir William Dugdale's *History of St. Paul's Cathedral.*

iconography[61] of death in Mediaeval and later art, I would refer the reader to the various monographs on the subject, especially the following: E. H. Langlois, *Essai historique, philosophique, et pittoresque sur les Danses des Morts*, Rouen, 1851; J. Georges Kastner, *Les Danses des Morts*, Paris, 1852; F. Douce, *Holbein's Dance of Death, &c.*, London (Bohn's Illustrated Library), 1858; the facsimile reproductions published by the Holbein Society, Manchester; Dr. Theodor Frimmel's series of articles in *Mittheilungen d. k. k. Central-Commission . . . der Denkmale*, Neue Folge, Vienna, 1884 to 1890, vols. x.–xvi.; G. E. Sears, *A Collection of Works illustrative of the Dance of Death*, privately printed, New York, 1889; W. Seelmann, *Die Totentänze des Mittelalters*, published by the Verein f. Niederdeut. Sprachforschung of Hamburg (Bremen, 1892); Alexander Goette, *Holbeins Totentanz und seine Vorbilder*, Strassburg, 1897; Emile Mâle, *L'Art religieux de la Fin du Moyen Age en France*, Paris, 1908, pp. 375 *et seq.*; Carl Kuenstle, *Die Legende der drei Lebenden und der drei Toten, und der Totentanz*, Freiburg i. Br., 1908; and, above all, the recent writings by W. F. Storck, "Aspects of Death in English Art and Poetry," *Burlington Magazine*, London, 1912, vol. xxi. pp. 249, 314; his "Inaugural-Dissertation," Tübingen, 1910; and his complete work, which he tells me will soon be published, entitled, *Die Legende von den drei Lebenden und den drei Toten und das Problem des Totentanzes.*

Various woodcuts of Death, of the Three Dead, and of the Dance of Death, were included in early printed Books of Hours and in Almanacks, such as *Le compost et kalendrier des bergiers* (printed by Guiot Marchant,[62] at Paris, in 1493)—"The Shepherds' Calendar"—just as miniatures of similar subjects were included in illuminated manuscript Books of Hours, breviaries, missals, &c. Many books and broadsides of different kinds contained illustrations more or less relating to the subject. Thus, in the various editions, in German, Latin,

[61] In regard to the iconography of death, the various works on Sepulchral Monuments should also be consulted.

[62] A copy of the *Danse Macabre des Hommes*, printed by Guiot Marchant, at Paris, in 1492, is in the British Museum (Huth Bequest).

English, and other languages, of Sebastian Brant's *Narrenschiff* (*Ship of Fools*), which was first printed in 1494 at Basel, there is, as I have stated, a woodcut of Death and a Fool. The figure of Death appears, of course, amongst the illustrations of Aesopic fable literature. A book of the kind, *Dialogus creaturarum moralisatus jocundis fabulis plenus*, printed at Gouda (Holland) in 1482, contains, on page 102, a woodcut of "Death and the Youth." A rough woodcut of Death shooting an arrow at human beings occurs at the head of a *Liedt von dem Todt*, printed at Nürnberg by Jobst Gutknecht, in 1516; the hymn in question commences: "Ich stund an einem morgen." The great influence which the idea of the "Dance of Death" exerted on literature and artistic designs up to comparatively recent times is perhaps best illustrated by sepulchral memorials. Thus, a seventeenth-century tomb in the choir of the Gothic church of Handschuchsheim (near Heidelberg) records that a certain young lady, the last of her line, became the bride of Death. This suggestion of Death coming in the form of a bridegroom to carry off a beautiful maiden and wed her (cf. Part II., ii., in regard to Death coming as a ravisher or as, or in place of, a bridegroom) in the dark damp tomb, is probably an echo of the spirit underlying the Dance of Death designs and poems.

In the pictures of "Le dit des trois morts et des trois vifs," three men (rarely women and rarely ecclesiastics), generally wearing crowns or the rich apparel of princes, noblemen, and "gallants," generally on horseback, and generally engaged in the pastime of hunting or hawking, are represented as being suddenly reminded of death by coming upon three decaying corpses (being "eaten by worms"[63]), or dried up "skin and bone" figures (the German *Hautskelett* type), or skeletons.

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[63] Concerning the idea of representing the decaying body as being occupied by long worms, snakes, toads, &c. (*i.e.* as being "eaten by worms," according to a phrase still in use in some countries), see later Part II., Heading xix.

An early fourteenth-century illuminated manuscript of the Arundel Collection in the British Museum (No. 83, fol. 127) has a miniature of three kings, one of whom

FIG. 11.—The Three Dead and the Three Living Kings, from a manuscript in the British Museum.

carries a falcon, and three skeleton-like corpses (see Fig. 11, for which I am indebted to the kindness of Dr. W. F. Storck). Over the kings are the following inscriptions: "Ich am afert"; "Lo whet ich se"; "Me

thinketh hit beth develes thre." Over the three corpses are: "Ich wes wel fair"; "Such scheltou be"; "For Godes love, be wer by me." The manuscript belonged in the fifteenth century to the famous Priory of St. Bartholomew (Smithfield, London), and Dr. Storck has pointed out that the miniature in question resembles in almost every detail the representation of the same subject in a French manuscript of the thirteenth century (Paris, Arsénal MS. 3142, f. 311). The same story evidently suggested an early fourteenth-century mural painting (with the inscription, "Mors sceptra ligonibus aequat") which formerly existed at Battle Church, in Sussex,[64] and also a mural painting in the church of Ditchingham, Norfolk.[65]

The same story forms part of the "Triumph of Death" (fourteenth century), in the Campo Santo of Pisa, a fresco doubtfully attributed to Orcagna or Lorenzetti; it is the subject of a sketch by Jacopo Bellini (about 1450),[66] preserved in the Louvre at Paris; and occurs in A. Vérard's "Dance of Death" series published in 1492.[67] In the Pisan fresco, a party of men engaged in hunting, three of whom wear crowns, are represented as coming suddenly upon three open coffins, in each of which is a corpse or skeleton, one with a crown on its head. The "Macaber Dance" ("Danse Macabre"),

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[64] See *Journ. Archaeol. Assoc.*, London, 1847, vol. 2, p. 151.

[65] See *Archaeological Journal*, London, 1848, vol. 5, p. 69. On the representations of "Le dit des trois morts et des trois vifs" in England, see especially W. F. Storck, *Burlington Magazine*, London, 1912, vol. xxi. pp. 249, 314.

[66] It has been also attributed to Benozzo Gozzoli (1420–1497). See W. F. Storck, *Die Legende von den drei Lebenden und von den drei Toten*, Inaugural-Dissertation, Tübingen, 1910, p. 40, No. 88.

[67] See Paul Richer's *L'Art et la Médecine*, Paris, 1902, pp. 525–531.

i.e. the "Dance of Death," has been supposed (but on incorrect grounds—see back) to derive its name from St. Macarius, the Egyptian anchorite of the fourth century (Macarius Aegyptius), who is represented on the Pisan fresco pointing out the open coffins to the hunting party.

This fresco of the Pisan Campo Santo is of about the date 1350 and, though ascribed by Vasari to Andrea Orcagna, was by others thought to be the work of Pietro Lorenzetti—or Pietro and Ambrogio Lorenzetti —of Siena. Very much has been written on the subject and various other attributions have been suggested. The whole device has rightly been regarded as representing not merely or chiefly the triumph of death, but still more so the triumph of the Mediaeval Christian idea of religious asceticism.

Macarius (Greek, Μακάριος) means happy, blessed. I believe that the most likely derivation of the term, "Macaber Dance," or "Danse Macabre," is from the Greek word Μάκαρες = the blessed (the dead), meaning that it is the dance of the dead, χορεία (chorea in Latin) μακάρων. At first sight the Latin term, *chorea Machabaeorum*, seems to negative this view, but I think that *Macabre* and *Machabaeorum* are both corruptions, due to mistaken Mediaeval etymology. In regard to "Dance of Death" poems it is surprising to find the following statement still given in Charles Knight's *London*[68]: "Machabree, the author of the original verses, was a German physician, who is supposed to have written them from the sight of the picture, which was found in many of the Continental edifices about the latter part of the fourteenth century.

On the lower portion of one of the miniatures in *Les trés riches heures de Jean de France, duc de Berry*, three live men on horseback are represented fleeing from three dead men on foot; and another miniature pictures a large company of armed soldiers in a cemetery put to flight by the apparition of a band of dead men armed with scythes, &c.[69]

[68] Published by H. G. Bohn, London, 1851, vol. iv. p. 261.

[69] See the reproduction of *Les trés riches heures de Jean de France, duc de Berry*, published at Paris by Plon-Nourrit & Cie., 1904, folio, Plates xlv., xlvi. Death often constituted the subject of some of the miniatures in illuminated Books of Hours. It served an admonitory (*memento mori*) purpose in such manuscript books, as it did also in old printed calendars and other works intended for frequent reference.

In the famous "Sagro Speco" at Subiaco, in Italy, is a fourteenth century wall-painting, representing three richly-dressed young noblemen on horseback, with hawk on wrist, passing a cemetery. An aged hermit directs their attention towards three half-open tombs, in two of which are respectively the decomposing corpses of a king and a princess, and in the third is a skeleton. The gay hawking party is warned by the hermit in characteristic Mediaeval orthodox style :—

> "Vide quid eris quomodo gaudia quaeris ;
> Per nullam sortem poteris evadere mortem,
> Nec modo laeteris, quia forsan cras morieris."

In another portion of the fresco Death is pictured riding on a white horse, as in the Apocalypse (*Revelation*, vi. 8).

In the *Contemplacyon of Synners*, printed by Wynkyn de Worde, at Westminster, in 1499, a woodcut (the third contemplation) shows three shrivelled corpses frightening three gallants and their horses. A hermit, quietly seated on the ground, points to a crucifix between the group of the living and the group of the dead.

"Les trois morts" are again met with in an original drawing (British Museum) of the school of Augsburg (early sixteenth century), which pictures the Pope and a group of ecclesiastical dignitaries being interrupted in some procession or ceremony by three skeleton-like figures (with decomposing viscera and remains of skin and flesh), one of whom wears a crown (Fig. 12).

I have already stated that in the representations of "Les trois morts et les trois vifs" both the live men and the dead men generally bear the attributes of worldly power and wealth; the moral which it was intended by the ecclesiastics to bring home to all (that is to say, to

all that kind of which Edward Young, in his *Night Thoughts*, afterwards said: "All men think all men mortal, but themselves"), and especially to the rich, by introducing such pictures into churches all over the country, in small villages and large towns and cities alike, may be summed up in the following jingling Mediaeval Latin ("Leonine") hexameters:—

"O dominus dives, non omni tempore vives;
Fac bona dum vivis, post mortem vivere si vis."

FIG. 12.—The Three Dead meeting the Pope and Ecclesiastics. Original drawing in the British Museum.

The same idea is summed up by William Dunbar (about 1465 to 1530), in one of the stanzas of his magnificent "Lament for the Makaris"[70] (with the refrain, *Timor mortis conturbat me*), which breathes the spirit of the earlier "Dance of Death" and similar admonitory poems and paintings:—

"Our pleasance here is all vain glory,
This false world is but transitory,
The flesh is bruckle, the fiend is slee [sly].
Timor mortis conturbat me."

[70] Written about 1508. "Makaris" is an old Scotch form of "makers," *i.e.* poets. (Cf. Greek ποιητής = a maker or a poet.)

With this may be compared the later famous dirge-like poem by James Shirley (1596–1666), commencing :—

> "The glories of our blood and state
> Are shadows, not substantial things;
> There is no armour against fate;
> Death lays his icy hand on kings."

In the Mediaeval "morality play," entitled *The Summoning of Everyman*,[71] recently revived in London, Fellowship and Kindred, Worldly Possessions (Goods), Strength, Beauty, Knowledge, Discretion, can none of them accompany Everyman on his last journey. "Good Deeds" alone stands by him and promises to speak for him. According to the sentiment of the play in question, knowledge and discretion should furnish every man with good deeds in this life, and these, rather than mere faith, are to obtain happiness for him in the life to come. "Hie weislich, dort glücklich" ("Here — on earth — prudently, there—after death—happily") was a Mediaeval motto of the Bernstorff family. I must now again refer to Albrecht Dürer's famous engraving (1513) of "The Knight, Death and the Devil." In lonely scenery Death explains the significance of an unpleasant emblem of mortality (an exposed human skull) to a knightly horseman in splendid armour. Death is on a pale horse, and the Devil is behind him as in the Apocalypse (*Revelation*, vi. 8). But the "true knight" (who carries a fox's skin on his lance—possibly either as an emblem of sagacity or as having overcome the cunning of the fox) will proceed to the end and do his duty, not dismayed by threats of

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[71] A copy printed by John Scot, in London, about the year 1530, has on the title-page the device of "Everyman" being summoned by a skeleton-like figure rising from a tomb.

death, nor disturbed by the unclean suggestions of the swinish devil (see further on, Fig. 37):—

"Wer dem Tod nicht in's Auge schauen kann,
Der ist fürwahr kein rechter mann." [72]

A variety in the representation of the legend of the three dead and three living is furnished by a most interesting Italian picture of the fourteenth-century

Fig. 13.—The "Three Living" and the Three Fates, on a fourteenth-century picture at Pisa.

(Fig. 13), preserved in the Museo Civico at Pisa. On this picture the three living men in the course of their ride come upon three seated females instead of the usual "skin and skeleton" dead men. Dr. W. F. Storck,[73] to

[72] Cf. as Schiller (*Wallensteins Lager*, Elfter Auftritt) expresses it:—

"Der dem Tod ins Angesicht schauen kann,
Der Soldat allein, ist der freie Mann."

[73] Storck, *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, vol. xxxiii. p. 493.

whom I am indebted for permission to reproduce his illustration, points out that the allegorical figures of the three women who replace the "three dead," are derived by the early Italian Renaissance artist from the old heathen idea of the three Fates (Parcae or Moirae): Clotho, Lachesis, and Atropos. Dr. Storck also refers to analogous symbolical representations of the three Fates. The Renaissance artists of the "Triumph of Death" and the "Triumph of Fame over Death," after Petrarch's *Trionfi*, frequently introduced the three Fates into their designs to replace the Mediaeval figure of death; but to this subject I shall return further on.[74]

We now come to the question: What was the origin of the Mediaeval and later representation of death as a skeleton or a "skin-and-bone figure," the German *Hautskelett*? It is, of course, in the first place, quite obvious that this Christian demon-like, or gruesome harlequin-like, personification of death, or "King Death," is merely taken from the animated skeleton-like or shrivelled corpse-like figures representing the dead themselves (or their ghosts), as in the pictures of the Mediaeval tale of "the Three Dead and the Three Living." In either case, both when the skeleton, or *Hautskelett*, was used in such pictures to represent a personification of death, and when it represented merely a dead person (or his ghost), the Mediaeval significance

[74] In regard to female figures of the "skin and skeleton type" representing a kind of mixture of the Mediaeval representation of Death and the Renaissance idea of Atropos, see Dr. Theodor Frimmel, *Mittheilungen d. k. k. Central-Commission der Denkmale*, Vienna, New Series, 1885, vol. xi. p. lxxxviii. Death is represented by an old woman with scythe and coffin in a miniature in one of the manuscripts of the A. H. Huth Bequest in the British Museum (see the official descriptive catalogue of the Huth Bequest issued by the British Museum).

of the representation was intended to be a *memento mori* one. The "Dance of the Dead" (see Fig. 14), in the

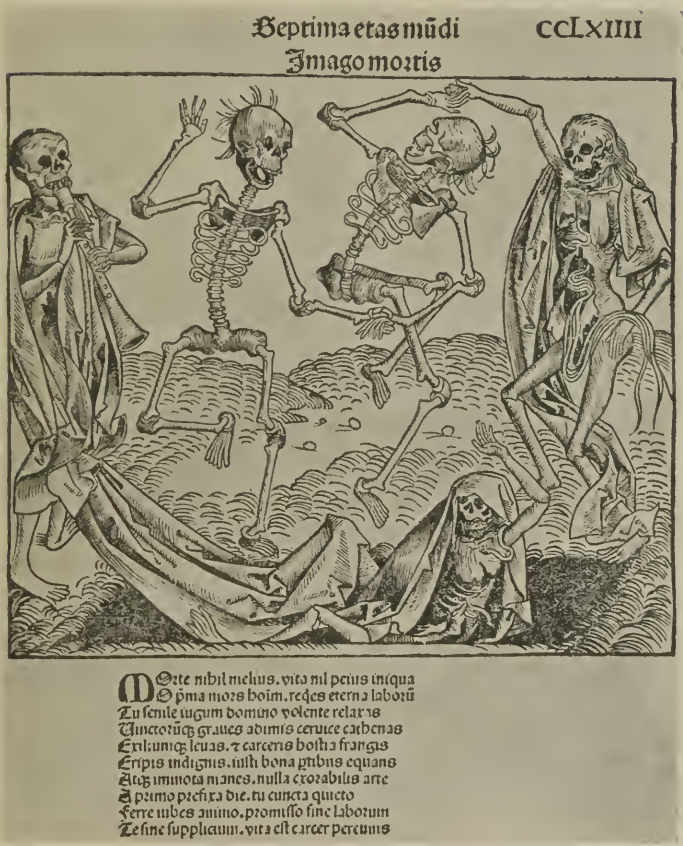

FIG. 14.—A "Dance of the Dead," from a woodcut of the *Nuremberg Chronicle* (copy in the British Museum), published in 1493 by Anthoni Koberger of Nuremberg, with the help of a physician, Hartmann Schedel, and two artists, Michael Wolgemut (the master of A. Dürer) and Wilhelm Pleydenwurf. The design is very spirited, though the anatomy is not quite correct. The Latin verses below the woodcut seem to show that the design was an enlightened outcome, perhaps suggested by the physician Hartmann Schedel, of the ordinary Mediaeval teaching of the "Dance of Death."

Nuremberg Chronicle, published by A. Koberger in 1493, seems to me to be an enlightened outcome, perhaps suggested by the physician Hartmann Schedel, of the ordinary Mediaeval teaching of the "Dance of Death," but is not to be confused with a true "Dance of Death."

Now, it is quite certain that the ancients, in later Roman and Graeco-Roman art (witness the Boscoreale wine-cups already described, and the cups, gems, and other objects which will be described in Part IV.), represented their ghosts or "larvae" in the form of skeletons or shrivelled mummy-like "animated corpses" (the German *Hautskelett*), though they never personified death itself in this way (nor fate—doom—either, unless the minute figure of Clotho on one of the Boscoreale cups is taken to be a *Hautskelett* of this kind). Moreover, the ancient significance of such larva-figures, as is sufficiently manifest (see back, and further on, in Part IV.), was generally likewise a *memento mori* one, though the Roman *memento mori* meant something very different from the Mediaeval Christian *memento mori*; it usually meant a so-called "Epicurean" suggestion to "enjoy life," and to make the play in life's theatre pleasant before death closes the scene and puts an end to all corporeal enjoyment. In late Roman and Graeco-Roman art we have the skeleton-like "larvae" figuring from this *memento mori* point of view. They occur, singly, as on various gems described in Part IV. (in one case at least the skeleton holds a knife or dagger, and is assuming a threatening attitude), or two or three of them together, or many together—a regular "danse des morts" scene—as on the Boscoreale wine-cups (already described), &c. It seems to me almost certain that *Mediaeval Christian art*, as C. W. King suggests, *derived its idea of representing*

death in the above-mentioned way from the late Roman and Graeco-Roman method of representing "larvae" (especially malevolent larvae) *as skeletons or skin-and-bone figures.*

The "Ars Moriendi" Designs.

Like the "Tale of the Three Dead and the Three Living," and the "Dance of Death" poems, and the "morality" plays of these types, the Mediaeval treatise termed the *Ars Moriendi* formed an important subject for woodcuts and engravings of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Lionel Cust writes[75]: "The *Ars Moriendi*, or *Speculum Artis bene Moriendi*, the 'Art of Good or Evil Dying,' was a religious treatise, used with conspicuous force and authority by the Church during its long ascendancy in the Middle Ages. At this date the keys of knowledge, as of salvation, were entirely in the hands of the Church, and the lay public, both high and low were, generally speaking, ignorant and illiterate. One of the secrets of the great power exercised by the Church lay in its ability to represent the life of man as environed from the outset by legions of horrible and insidious demons, who beset his path throughout life at every stage up to his very last breath, and are eminently active and often triumphant when man's fortitude is undermined by sickness, suffering, and the prospect of dissolution. From such attacks and pitfalls only the continuous presence and protection of the Church could protect the hapless pilgrim through life. In aid of such a mission certain doctrines were adopted by the leaders of

[75] Lionel Cust, *The Master E.S. and the Ars Moriendi: A Chapter in the History of Engraving during the XVth Century*, Oxford (Clarendon Press), 1898, p. 9. I am indebted to Mr. Cust for his kind permission to quote this passage and to the Oxford University Press for kind permission to copy the four illustrations which I have figured here.

the Church, and inculcated in treatises drawn up by the most eminent divines of the day, such as the famous Jean Gerson, Chancellor of the University of Paris. In this teaching the *Ars Moriendi*, linked as it was with the doctrine of eternal punishment, played a most important part. It was on his death-bed that a man was most amenable to advice, and in need of consolation to give him hope at the moment when his soul was about to depart into the unknown. When pictorial art began to lend its aid to the minister of religion, it was of great service, for often, when the mind was too illiterate to understand or the ear too feeble to comprehend the good doctrine which was being expounded at the bedside, the eye could follow in the print or illuminated page the subject to which the patient's thoughts were to be directed."

The illustrations of the *Ars Moriendi* amply justify these views. To convince ourselves we need only examine those of the famous block-book of the middle of the fifteenth century (printed in the Netherlands about 1460) now in the British Museum, a reproduction of which was published in 1881 by the Holbein Society in London, edited by W. H. Rylands, with an introduction by George Bullen.[76] The illustrations of this block-book served as prototypes for the woodcuts illustrating many printed editions of the *Ars Moriendi* issued in

[76] *The Ars Moriendi* (*Editio Princeps, circa* 1450)—*A Reproduction of the Copy in the British Museum*, edited by W. H. Rylands, F.S.A. with an introduction by George Bullen, F.S.A. Printed for the Holbein Society by Wyman & Sons, London, 1881. In his introduction Mr. Bullen gives also a good deal of information concerning the probable origin of the text of the *Ars Moriendi*. There are various Latin versions and various English versions of the literary matter. Cf. *The Book of The Craft of Dying and other Early English Tracts concerning Death*, edited by F. M. M. Comper, with preface by Rev. G. Congreve, London, 1917.

various countries of Europe, but Lionel Cust thinks that the designs in the block-book were themselves only modified versions of a series of copper-plate prints by the "Master E.S.," also known as the "Master of 1466," a German engraver of the middle of the fifteenth century. A complete series of these engravings by the "Master E.S.," illustrating the *Ars Moriendi*, forms part of the Francis Douce Collection in the University Galleries at Oxford. The illustrations in the British Museum block-book of the temptation by pride or vain-glory, the fourth temptation to which the dying man is exposed (see Fig. 15) gives a fair idea of the significance and scope of the *Ars Moriendi* treatise and of how greatly its teaching was strengthened by the addition of such forcible illustrations. The dying man, lying in his bed, is assailed by five hideous demons, three of whom offer him crowns. One of them, as we learn from the attached scroll, tells him that he has deserved a crown: "Coronam meruisti." Another exhorts him to boast: "Gloriare"; and another to exalt himself: "Exaltate ipsum." The remaining two also flatter him with the words: "In paciencia perseverasti" ("You have persevered in patience"), and "Tu es firmus in fida" ("You are firm in faith"). On the far side of the bed are figures of God the Father, Jesus Christ, and the Virgin Mary; also three little children, emblematic of simplicity. In the next illustration (see Fig. 16), representing the triumph over vain-glory, three angels stand around the bed with advice and comfort for the dying man. One tells him to humble himself: "Sis humilis"; another is in an attitude of prayer; whilst the third points to three human figures (one with the tonsure of a monk) engulfed in the wide-open flaming mouth of a monster (emblematic

of the "jaws of hell"), above which is a scroll with the inscription: "Superbos punio" ("I punish the proud").

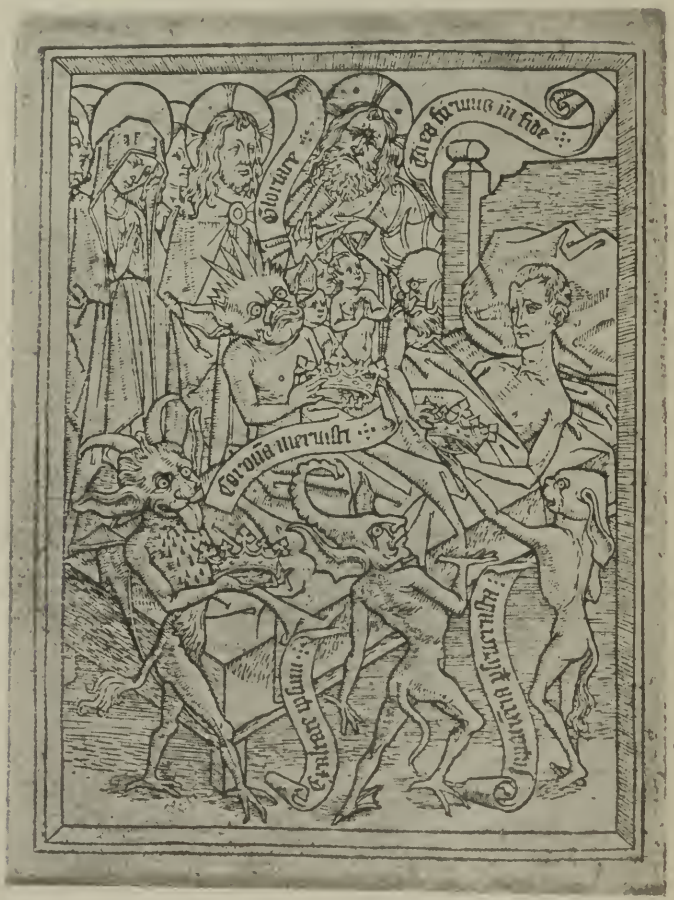

FIG. 15.—The "Ars Moriendi."—The temptation by vain-glory, from the British Museum block-book (about 1460).

In the front of the picture a demon is represented prostrate on the ground, with the inscription: "Victus sum" ("I am conquered"); another demon takes refuge

by hiding himself under the bedstead. In the background of the picture are figures of God the Father,

FIG. 16.—The "Ars Moriendi."—The triumph over vain-glory, from the British Museum block-book (about 1460).

Jesus Christ, a dove (representing the Holy Ghost), and St. Anthony the Hermit (as a type of humility). The block-book illustration of the third temptation, the

temptation by impatience, represents the dying man discontented with his attendants and his doctor. He has already upset the table with the food and medicine on it, and is unceremoniously pushing the doctor away with his foot, whilst a lady (his wife?) expostulates or

FIG. 17.—The "Ars Moriendi."—The temptation by impatience, by the Master E.S.

(according to the words of the label) excuses him on account of his suffering. A demon with bat's wings, by the bed, is (as the attached label tells us) rejoicing at having successfully deceived the sufferer (see Fig. 17, from the similar Master E.S. series). The last scene of the series represents the final triumph over all temptations

at the hour of death. The dying man, lying in bed, holds a lighted taper, which is placed in his hand by a monk.[77] His soul, issuing from his mouth in the form of a naked child, is being received by a company of angels above his head. On one side of the bed are the discomfited demons with scrolls attached to them, bearing such inscriptions as: "Spes nobis nulla." On the other side are the crucified Christ, the Virgin Mary, St. John the Evangelist, and other saints (see Fig. 18, from the similar Master E.S. series).

This last scene may be compared to that of the "Sinner's death," from the *Hortus Deliciarum*, by the Abbess Herrade von Landsberg, a twelfth-century manuscript destroyed during the siege of Strassburg in 1870 (fol. 123, Pl. xxxiii. of the reproductions by the Society for the Preservation of the Historical Monuments of Alsace). By the death-bed stand two hideous devils, one of whom grasps the soul as it escapes, in the form of a little naked human figure, from the mouth of the dying man. Another representation of death from the Christian religious point of view, from a fourteenth-century manuscript in the British Museum,[78] shows a bony figure of Death spearing a man on his death-bed. An angel stands at the head of the bed ready to receive the dying man's soul, which is escaping from his mouth in the form of a minute nude human figure (in the attitude of an *orans*). At the foot of the bed a devil likewise waits to seize the soul.

With the admonitory significance of the illustrations of the *Ars Moriendi* may be compared the *memento mori* purpose of the designs

[77] The original significance of lighted tapers, candles, torches, and candelabra in connexion with death-scenes, laying out of the body, tombs and sepulchral monuments, both in Christian (cf. the lighted tapers used in connexion with the *Viaticum* of the Roman Catholic Church) and pre-Christian times, was doubtless in part the idea of keeping away evil spirits and the powers of darkness, that were supposed to be afraid of light. But cf. the paper on the subject, by G. McN. Rushforth, "Funeral Lights in Roman Sepulchral Monuments," *Journal of Roman Studies*, London, 1915, vol. 5, p. 149. Mrs. Arthur Strong and others contributed to the discussion on Rushforth's paper. In regard to the uses of torches and lights at funerals in Great Britain, see Brand's *Popular Antiquities of Great Britain*, revised by Sir Henry Ellis, edition of 1849, vol. ii. pp. 276–279.

[78] See L. Twining, *Symbols and Emblems of Early and Mediaeval Christian Art*, London, new edition, 1885, Pl. 68, Fig. 3.

(skeletons, admonitory verses, &c.) frequently introduced in illuminated Books of Hours, and in old printed calendars (cf. the original of the "Shepherds' Calendar," *Le compost et kalendrier des bergiers*, printed by Guiot Marchant, at Paris, in 1493) and other works intended for frequent reference.

In some respects the *Ars Moriendi*, as a kind of handbook or guide to holy dying, reminds one of the Ancient Egyptian *guide-books to the*

FIG. 18.—The "Ars Moriendi."—The final scene, by the Master E.S.

other world. In an account of the Egyptian collections in the British Museum we read: "An important section of the Religious Literature of Egypt is formed by works which were intended to be used as Guides to the Other World. The oldest of these is a work in which pictures are given of portions of Restau, in the kingdom of the god Seker, and of several parts of the Sekhethetep, or Elysian Fields, and their positions in respect of the celestial Nile are shown."

C.

Sepulchral Monuments and Sepulchral Inscriptions of Admonitory Character. The "Gisant" Type of Monument of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries. The Horror-inspiring Aspect of "Memento Mori" Religious Art.

It is quite natural that advantage should have been taken of the opportunities afforded (more frequented formerly than now), by tombs and monuments and other works of art in cloisters, burial-places, churches, and cathedrals, for purposes of religious teaching, especially of the admonitory and *memento mori* kind.

In the so-called *gisant* type of sepulchral monument of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the deceased is usually sculptured with all the attributes of worldly wealth and power and high social standing, and on a lower slab or compartment a skeleton or corpse or emaciated or decaying body (the so-called *gisant*) is represented—often being "eaten by worms"—to warn the rich and great, and comfort the poor and unfortunate, of this world, by reminding them of the vanity of wealth and earthly titles in the presence of Death, the leveller of all distinctions of social rank, personal beauty, and bodily strength. J. Guiart quotes a poet of the epoch—

"Et dans ces grands tombeaux, où leurs âmes hautaines
Font encore les vaines
Ils sont mangés des vers."

(In regard to these lines compare also the poem by Pèter Patrix, entitled, "A Dream," which is quoted further on, in Part II., viii. Patrix satirically represents the corpse of a rich man as resenting the burial of a beggar by his side.)

The *gisant* monuments, like many other tomb-devices and innumerable sepulchral inscriptions, were intended to have an admonitory effect on the living, similar to that exerted at an earlier period by *Le Dit des Trois Morts et des Trois Vifs*, &c.

In Part III. I shall describe certain analogous admonitory medals, such as those having the portrait of a beautiful woman on the obverse and a skeleton on the reverse; and in Part IV. I shall refer to various carved ivory beads, wooden or wax statuettes, &c., intended in the same way and with the same object to contrast life, vigour, and beauty with death, powerlessness, and putrefaction.

Of sepulchral monuments of the *gisant* type—designed to serve as a *memento mori* to the living as well as a memorial of the dead—we may instance, as a good and early example in England, the fine one in Canterbury Cathedral of Henry Chichele (died 1443), Archbishop of Canterbury, and founder of All Souls' College, Oxford. On a table, under an elaborate canopy, is a recumbent figure, representing the Archbishop during life in full canonicals. On a slab below the table an emaciated dead body (wrongly described as a skeleton)[79] is represented (see Fig. 19). Round the verge at the bottom of the monument is the jingling *memento mori* inscription—

> "Quisquis eris qui transieris rogo memoreris,
> Tu quod eris mihi consimilis qui post morieris,
> Omnibus horribilis, pulvis, vermis, caro vilis."

The *gisant* tomb of Cardinal Lagrange (who died in 1402), in the museum at Avignon, is probably one of the earliest sepulchre-monuments on which the deceased is represented as an emaciated corpse.[80] Of the fifteenth

[79] See R. Gough's *Sepulchral Monuments of Great Britain*, vol. ii. (1796), p. 129.

[80] See Émile Mâle's well-known work, *L'Art Religieux de la fin du Moyen Age en France*, Paris, 1908, p. 377, Fig. 181.

century is also the design (mentioned elsewhere) for a tomb by Jacopo Bellini in the Louvre Museum at Paris, representing a sarcophagus on which is stretched a decaying corpse. Above the corpse are the following Latin lines, with the date 1557 :—

"Olim formoso fueram qui corpore putri
Nunc sum. Tu simili corpore lector eris."

In regard to inscriptions one may compare that for-

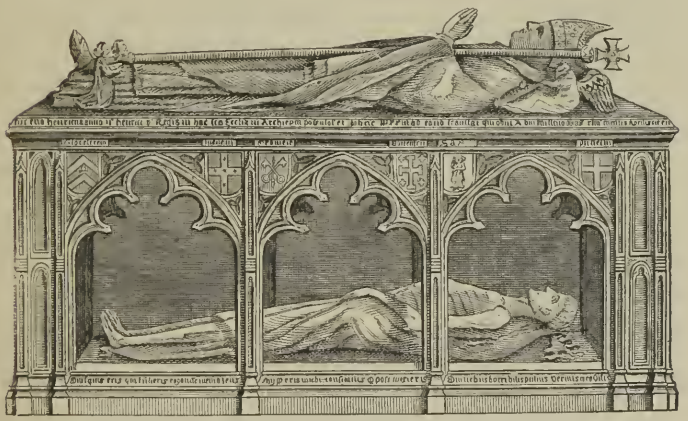

Fig. 19.—The Tomb of Archbishop Chichele (died 1443) in Canterbury Cathedral. A good and early example of the so-called *gisant* type of sepulchral monument in England.

merly legible on the *cadaver* monument (possibly only a *memento mori* imitation of a tomb) near the tombs of Bishop Stapeldon and his brother in Exeter Cathedral—

"Ista figura docet nos omnes meditari
Qualiter ipsa nocet mors quando venit dominari";

also the traditional "Leonine" and grimly punning epitaph on "Fair Rosamund," the mistress of King Henry II of England (said to have originally referred

to another Rosamunda, a beautiful but wicked Lombard queen of the sixth century, who is supposed to have assisted in the murder of her husband, Alboin, A.D. 573):—

"Hic jacet in tumbâ Rosa mundi, non Rosa munda;
Non redolet, sed olet, quae redolere solet."

These lines have a Mediaeval jingle, like the "Leonine" hexameter on the tomb of Bede (died 735 A.D.) in Durham Cathedral—

"Hâc sunt in fossâ Baedae venerabilis ossa";

that on the tombstone of Bishop Peter de Quivil (died 1291) in Exeter Cathedral—

"Petra tegit Petrum, nihil officiat sibi tetrum";

that on the beautiful Chapter-house of York Minster—

"Ut rosa flos florum, sic est domus ista domorum";

and the proverb ("Leonine" with "false quantities")—

"Audi, vide, tace, si tu vis vivere pace."

On a sepulchral monument in the Church of the Celestines at Herverlé, near Louvain, is the inscription, "Nunc putredo terrae et cibus verminorum." One of the woodcuts in an early French *Calendrier des Bergers* ("Shepherds' Calendar") represents a skeleton, with some flesh and hair still attached to the bones, standing upright on a tomb, holding a huge dart in the right hand, and in the left a mirror, on which a death's-head is reflected. At the sides are Latin "Leonine" verses:—

"Qui speculum cernis, cur non mortalia spernis?
Tali nanque domo clauditur omnis homo.
Cum fex, cum limus, cum res vilissima simus,
Unde superbimus? Ad terram terra redimus."

Below are French verses of the ordinary sepulchral admonitory kind:—

"Regarde moy, souspire et pleure:
Qui mort attens, et ne sçais l'heure:
Prie pour moy qui suis en cendre:
Pense que là te faut descendre."

On the sepulchral monument of the *gisant* type, in Rouen Cathedral, of Louis Brézé (died 1530), Grand Seneschal of Normandy, the husband of Diane de Poitiers, above is a statue of De Brézé on horseback and in full armour; below is a sarcophagus of black marble, on which lies a representation of his shrivelled corpse. The same idea is evidenced in Germain Pilon's *gisant* monument of Valentina Balbiani, wife of the Chancellor De Birague in the Louvre Museum at Paris. In the old church of St. James at Clerkenwell (London) there was an elaborate monument, with a "skin-and-bones" recumbent figure, of Sir William Weston, who died in 1540, the last prior but one of the Knights of St. John in England (cf. J. Weever's *Ancient Funeral Monuments*, 1631, p. 430). In old St. Paul's Cathedral, London, there was a sepulchral monument of John Colet (1467–1519), Dean of St. Paul's Cathedral and founder of St. Paul's School (London), representing a skeleton reclining on a mat under a canopy; in a niche at the top was a bust of the Dean. Many sepulchral monuments of the kind [81] are referred to in Richard Gough's *Sepulchral Monuments of Great Britain*, London, 1786–1796, vol. i. pp. cx.–cxii., and vol. ii. pp. cxviii.–cxx.

For illustrations of French sepulchral monuments by French and Italian sculptors, more or less bearing on this subject, see Paul Richer's *L'Art et la Médecine*, Paris,

[81] With sepulchral monuments of this kind, those of Greek times, with their simple (and in the best examples, very beautiful) so-called "parting scenes" may be contrasted. But on the mural paintings of Etruscan tombs, the representation of the brutal-looking Etruscan "Charun" (as the messenger of death), and sometimes other horrible Gorgon-like "demons," holding snakes, &c., invest death and the parting scenes depicted with horrors equal to those suggested by Mediaeval art and legends.

1902, pp. 511-519; and Jules Guiart's series of articles on "Le Macabre dans l'Art," in *Aesculape*, Paris, 1912–1913. Compare also T. J. Pettigrew's *Chronicles of the Tombs*, London, 1857, pp. 40–43, for French "admonitory" epitaphs on Edward, the "Black Prince," who died in 1376, and John de Warenne, Earl of Surrey, who died in 1304. That on Edward, the Black Prince, is obviously on the model of what the dead kings say in the various versions of the *Dit des Trois Morts et des Trois Vifs*; it commences as follows:—

"Tu qi passez oue bouche close:
Par la ou ce corps repose:
Entent ce qe te dirai:
Sicome le dire le say:
Tiel come tu es je au tiel fu:
Tu serras tiel come je su:
De la mort ne pensai je mye:
Tant come jauoi la vie."

That on John de Warenne, Earl of Surrey, is somewhat similar—

"Vous que passez ou bouche close
Pries pur cely ke cy repose:
En vie come vous estis jadis fu,
Et vous tiel serietz come je su:
Sire Johan count de Gareyn gyst icy:
Dieu da sa alme est mercy.
Ky pur sa alme priera
Troiz mill jours de pardon avera."[82]

The English admonitory epitaph of William Chichele (brother of the Archbishop of Canterbury, above mentioned), and Beatrice his wife, on a brass dated 1425 (Higham Ferrers Church, Northamptonshire), commences—

"Such as ye be, such wer we;
Such as we be, such shal ye be."

[82] Cf. also Pettigrew, *op. cit.*, p. 45 and pp. 62–68.

Amongst the numerous admonitory sepulchral inscriptions of this class (not really Christian in origin—see further on) are the following (some of which have been already mentioned):—

"Quod es fui, quod sum eris."

"Quod tu es, ego fui, quod ego sum, tu eris."

"Quod sumus hoc eritis, fuimus quandoque quod estis."[83]

"Quod fuimus, estis, quod sumus, vos eritis."

"Mox eris quod ego nunc." (Cf. the Latin Vulgate version of Ecclesiasticus, xxxviii. 22: "Hodie mihi, cras tibi.")

"Sum quod eris, modicum cineris."

"Olim formoso fueram qui corpore, putri
Nunc sum. Tu similis corpore, lector, eris."

This last inscription occurs on a tomb dated 1557 in the Cathedral of Moulins, bearing the representation of a decaying corpse being "eaten by worms."[84] In the Church of the Cappuccini at Rome, founded by Cardinal Fr. Barberini (brother of Pope Urban VIII), in 1624, is the inscription on the tomb of the founder: "Hic jacet pulvis, cinis et nihil." Similar epitaphs are recorded on an Archbishop at Toledo and other prelates, for instance, on Cardinal Onuphrio at Rome: "Hic jacet umbra, cinis, nihil."

In the Church of Gisors, in Normandy, there is a sepulchral monument, formerly wrongly supposed to be the work of Jean Goujon. On this monument a peculiar representation of a corpse in a coffin is accompanied by the following inscriptions:—

"Quisquis ades, tu morte cades, sta, respice, plora.
Sum quod eris, modicum cineris, pro me, precor, ora."

"Fay maintenant ce que tu voudras
Avoir fait quand tu mourras."

"Je fus mis en ce lieu l'an 1526."

[83] This hexameter line occurs as the legend on the reverse of the *memento mori* medal with the portrait of Virgil, described in Part III.

[84] See Émile Mâle, *op. cit.*

The following variation is given by G. B. de Rossi, *Inscript. Christ. Urbis Romae* (Rome, 1888, vol. ii. p. 223):—

"Quisquis ades, qui morte cades, sta, perlege, plora.
Sum quod eris, quod es ante fui, pro me, precor, ora."

With this may be compared the last two lines of the following epitaph on Eadulph, Bishop of Devon, who died 932 A.D.[85]:—

"Sis testis Christe, quod non jacet hic lapis iste,
Corpus ut ornetur, sed spiritus ut memoretur.
Quisquis eris qui transiris, sta, perlege, plora;
Sum quod eris, fueramque quod es; pro me, precor, ora."

Words almost the same as those of the last line occur on Prior Sylke's tomb (about 1500) in Exeter Cathedral. The next epitaph is quoted by G. B. de Rossi[86]—

"Vos qui transitis, nostri memores, rogo, sitis.
Quod sum hic eritis; fuimus quandoque quod estis."

With this may be compared the modern epitaph at Houff on M. W. and W. F. and H. D. Ferguson, quoted by T. J. Pettigrew[87]—

"Vos qui transitis, memores nostri, rogo, sitis;
Estis, quod fuimus; quod sumus, hoc eritis;
Omnia transibunt; nos ivimus, ibitis, ibunt
Ignari, gnari, conditione pari.
Hoc scio, quod vivit, qui me moriendo redemit,
Spes manet hoc membris indubitata meis."

In the *Catalogue of Sculpture in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum*,[88] the relief from a Greek cippus, probably of the third century A.D., representing a skeleton lying at full length, is

[85] It is given by T. J. Pettigrew, *Chronicles of the Tombs*, London, 1857, p. 65.

[86] Rossi, *loc. cit.*, p. 223. An English version of this kind of epitaph was formerly inscribed over one of the entrances to the Greyfriars burying-ground at Edinburgh:—

"Remember, man as thou goes by:
As thou art now, so once was I.
As I am now, so shalt thou be;
Remember, man, that thou must die [*dee*]."

[87] Pettigrew, *Chronicles of the Tombs*, London, 1857, p. 66.

[88] By A. H. Smith, London, 1904, vol. 3, p. 363, No. 2391.

described and figured. Above the skeleton the following distich is inscribed, asking the passer-by if he can tell from the bare skeleton whether the living person had been a Hylas or a Thersites (the proverbial types of beauty and ugliness) :—

"Εἰπεῖν τίς δύναται σκῆνος λιπόσαρκον ἀθρήσας
εἴπερ Ὕλας ἦ Θερσείτης ἦν, ὦ παροδεῖτα."

The monument in question is interesting in regard to the present subject, though its significance is different from the Christian *memento mori* devices and admonitory epitaphs of Mediaeval and later times.

The following epitaphs are printed in *D. M. Ausonii Burdigalensis Opuscula*, the Teubner edition, Leipzig, 1886, p. 419. The first (from a tomb on the *Via Latina*) is attributed to Ausonius :—

"Non nomen, non quo genitus, non unde, quid egi :
Mutus in aeternum sum : cinis, ossa, nihil.
Nec sum nec fueram genitus, tamen e nihilo sum ;
Mitte nec exprobres singula : talis eris."

"Olim non fuimus, nati sumus ; unde quieti
Nunc sumus, ut fuimus : cura relicta : vale."

Numerous epitaphs of the *non fueram—non sum* style, after the ideas of Pliny, Lucretius, &c., on the meaning of death, are to be found in collections of Latin and Greek inscriptions (cf. Part I. A.). It is obvious that many of the Mediaeval and later Christian *memento mori* epitaphs have been modelled on old Roman non-Christian epitaphs of this *non fueram—non sum* class.

The stone sepulchral slab of Robert Tousé (1422), formerly in the old cloister of the Cathedral of Rouen, represented the deceased as a decaying corpse, being eaten by worms. The words (on a scroll), proceeding from his mouth, tell the passer-by that he (Tousé) awaits

the resurrection of the dead: "Expecto resurrectionem mortuorum."

Compare Job xix. 25 and 26: "For I know that my redeemer liveth, and that he shall stand at the latter day upon the earth: and though after my skin worms destroy this body, yet in my flesh shall I see God." This monument is figured by E. H. Langlois, in his famous *Essai sur les Danses des Morts* (Rouen, 1852, p. 137, Pl. xxxvii.) and by Jules Guiart, in his article on "Le Macabre dans l'Art" (*Aesculape*, Paris, 1912–1913), from the latter of which works I have obtained much information about the following tombs and inscriptions.

A *gisant* sepulchral monument[89] of a certain Canon Étienne Yver, of Paris and Rouen, who died in 1467, had on the upper part a representation of the last judgment; on the lower part the soul of the Canon is represented, in human form, rising from his tomb, whilst his dead body, "eaten by worms," is lying prostrate on the ground. Two sepulchral figures of the *gisant* type for the tomb of Queen Catharine de' Mediei exist, both executed before her death, one by Girolamo della Robbia, unfinished owing to the artist's death, and the other, by Germain Pilon, still to be seen at the side of that of her husband, Henri II (likewise by Germain Pilon), at Saint-Denis, the burial church of the sovereigns of France. The same church likewise contains nude sepulchral figures of Louis XII and Anne of Brittany by Jean Juste, and of Francis I and his wife Claude de France, by Pierre Bontemps.[90]

Guiart[91] refers to an interesting painting, destroyed

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[89] Figured by Guiart, *op. cit.*, after Witkowski.

[90] See Paul Richer, *L'Art et la Médecine*, Paris, 1902, figs. 320–323.

[91] Guiart, *op. cit.*

during the great French Revolution, but formerly in the Celestine Convent at Avignon, of which René of Anjou (titular King of Naples), who died in 1480, was the founder. Charles Debrosses described it in the eighteenth century as representing an upright skeleton-like shrouded figure, eaten with worms. The coffin from which the figure had risen was represented open, resting against the cross of the cemetery, and full of spiders' webs. According to De Quatrefages, the artist of the picture was an Italian named François, who painted it by order of King René. On the middle of the picture were some verses attributed to King René himself—

"Une fois (fut) sur toute femme belle,
Mais par la mort suis devenue telle ;
Ma chaire estoit très belle, fraische et tendre,
Or, est-elle toute tournée encendre," &c.

"The good" King René d'Anjou (1409–1480), of whose artistic and literary productions some still remain, was the pupil in painting of the brothers Hubert and Jan van Eyck (notably the latter), and was doubtless greatly influenced by the famous Italian painters of the time; probably he was assisted in some of his miniatures, &c., by Jean Foucquet, of Tours, and Nicolas Froment, of Avignon. Of his writings the subject of one has some connexion with that of the present book. I refer to the manuscript of a "morality," the *Mortifiement de Vaine Plaisance* (*Tracte entre l'Ame devote et le Coeur*), in which he was aided by a priest of Varronsgues, Jehan Coppre. Its frontispiece, by King René himself, representing the king painting in his studio, is reproduced in Edgcumbe Staley's volume, *King René d'Anjou* (London, 1912, facing page 280).

With René's verses may be compared the following epitaph from the tomb of a lady in Picardy [92] :—

"Ce qu'or es je la fue
Et vous serez ce qu'or je sui ;
Priez pour nous.
Celle qui dit ces vers
Est mangié des vers,
Et serez-vous."

[92] Quoted by Guiart, *op. cit.*

Compare also the following from the *Grande Danse Macabre des Hommes et des Femmes* (first published in the latter part of the fifteenth century by Guiot Marchand at Paris) :—

"Quoi sont vos corps, je vous demande,
Femmes jolies, tant bien parées,
Ils sont, pour certains la viande
Qu' un jour sera aux vers donnée.
Des vers sera donc dévorée
Vostre char, qui est fresche et tendre ;
Ja, il n'en demourra goullée,
Vos vers après deviendront cendre."

Cf. such sayings as :—"Forma bonum fragile est" (Ovid, *Ars Amat.*, ii. 113); "Forma flos, fama flatus"; "Forma perit, virus remanet."

It is not surprising that in the land of chivalry and the troubadours the poetry which adored and idealized lovely woman, should have frequently referred to the painful idea of feminine beauty being transformed by death into a loathsome mass of corruption. Pierre de Ronsard is one of the many French poets of various periods (cf. C. P. Baudelaire amongst moderns) who have pictured this idea in their verses—

"Ton test n'aura plus de peau
Et ton visage si beau
N'aura veines ni artères ;
Tu n'auras plus que des dents
Telle qu'on les voit dedans
Les têtes des cimetières."

Compare the vignette of the engraved title-page of Richard Dagley's *Death's Doings* (London, 1826), representing three (female) skeletons, standing on a tomb in a traditional attitude of the Three Graces in classical sculpture. Above are the words : "The Last of the Graces."

In crowded graveyards of olden times a visitor or passer-by had, like Hamlet and the poet François Villon (1431–1484?), frequent opportunities of seeing human skulls and human bones, as the gravedigger often turned out the contents of old graves into pits or charnel-houses to make room for the fresh arrivals. Villon (whom R. L. Stevenson considered "certainly the sorriest figure on the rolls of fame"), in his *Grand Testament*, referred to seeing skulls heaped up in charnel-houses. A charnel-house figures in certain *memento mori* designs of the fifteenth century "dance of death" style. In one also of the Holbein woodcuts, skeletons before a charnel-house play on noisy musical instruments to attract the attention of the living.

Cf. also L. Larmand, *Les Poëtes de la Mort*, preface and p. 20. On

p. 1 Larmand prints the anonymous fifteenth-century *Complainte de la Demoiselle*, commencing—

"Une fois fut sur toute autres belle,
Mais par mort suis ores devenue telle.
Ma chair était très douce, fraiche et tendre,
Ores elle est toute tournée en cendre.
Mon corps était très plaisant et très gent,
Or est hideux à voir à toutes gens." [93]

In his *Ballade des dames du temps jadis* (included in his *Grand Testament*), well-known for its refrain, *Mais où sont les neiges d'antan?* [94] Villon asks where all the beautiful and famous women of past times (including Joan of Arc "qu' Anglois bruslèrent à Rouen") now are—just as Saint Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux, in his famous Latin hymn, *Rythmus de Contemptu Mundi*, asked where all the famous men of Biblical and Classical antiquity had gone to :—

"Dic, ubi Salomon, olim tam nobilis?
Vel ubi Samson est, dux invincibilis?
Vel pulcher Absalon, vultu mirabilis?
Vel dulcis Jonathas, multum amabilis?"
&c.

Another picture described and figured by Guiart (*op. cit.*), is one painted in 1461 by Nicolas Froment, of Avignon, and now preserved at Florence. It represents the resurrection of Lazarus. The decomposition of the body is shown very realistically, and some of the spectators in the scene are imagined holding linen to their noses on account of the smell. Lucien Nass [95]

[93] How much modern taste prefers to dwell on the living beauty and virtue of the deceased, as Ben Jonson (1573–1637) did (with poetical exaggeration) :—

"Underneath this stone doth lie
As much beauty as could die;
Which in life did harbour give
To more virtue than doth live."

[94] Rabelais quoted Villon's question (*Where are last year's snows?*), in regard to the answer given by Panurge (when Epistemon asked him where the money and jewels were): "By St. John! they are far enough off now if they keep on travelling."

[95] Lucien Nass, *Curiosités Médico-Artistiques*, Paris, first series, pp. 284–291.

refers to a representation of the same resurrection by a miniature-painter in *Les très riches heures de Jean de France, duc de Berry*, and also to another one (a painting at Padua), by Giotto, the "Dante of Painting."

This reminds me of the "Finis Gloriae Mundi" picture (I shall refer to it again further on) by the Spanish artist, Juan de Valdes Leal (1630–1691), which I have seen at the Caridad Hospital at Seville, and which represents the decaying corpses of a bishop and a Calatrava knight with horrible realism. Murillo is said to have remarked of it that it was so forcibly painted that one had to hold one's nose when looking at it. In the Bargello Museum at Florence are two reliefs in coloured wax by Gaetano Giulio Zumbo (1656–1701), which are figured by Paul Richer.[96] They represent decomposing bodies amidst ruined buildings and tombs. In one of them a figure of Time points to the hideous spectacle of putrefaction. In the other a figure of Grief or Melancholy is seated on a high tomb, dominating the scene. A similar relief by the same artist refers to a plague-epidemic, and, indeed, the rats on those just mentioned remind one of descriptions of such epidemics.

To the same class belong coloured wax models of skeletons and decomposing human bodies in tombs, charnel-vaults, or other desolate surroundings, possibly made in various countries at various periods, and doubtless valued as specimens of clever work of a dismal kind of realistic art, quite as much as for true *memento mori* reasons. In the "curio-room" in the museum of the Royal College of Surgeons, London, is a wax model, supposed to be of Italian workmanship of the seventeenth century, representing the inside of a tomb, with a human skeleton and living sepulchral fauna. According to a label attached to the back of the model it is the work of Zumbo himself. It was presented to the Royal College of Surgeons in 1859, by Daniel Barker, M.R.C.S.

[96] Paul Richer, *L'Art et la Médecine*, Paris, 1902, pp. 534, 535, figs. 337, 338.

Richer also mentions a picture of the same kind by Houasse, a pupil of Le Brun. Disagreeable realism of a somewhat similar style was likewise carried to an extreme by the seventeenth-century sculptor Agrate, in his statue of the flayed St. Bartholomew at Milan, which he proudly signed with the following hexameter: "Non me Praxiteles sed Marcus finxit Agrates." I have alluded elsewhere in this book to such figures (like anatomical "muscle-men" or *écorché* manikins) and to certain wooden statuettes of skeleton-like corpses covered with ragged skin (see Part I. E., and Fig. 27 further on).

In regard to realistic representations of the horrors and melancholic ideas connected with death, Mr. W. Wale has kindly drawn my attention to a story, given in Giorgio Vasari's *Lives of the Painters* (English translation, Bohn's Standard Library, 1851, vol. 2, p. 305), of an Italian painter, Fivizzano, who represented the fearfulness of death so realistically on canvas that he died from the effect of the contemplation of his own production. The following Latin epigram is said by Vasari to have been inscribed below the picture:—

"Me veram pictor divinus mente recepit,
Admota est operi deinde perita manus.
Dumque opere in facto defigit lumina pictor,
Intentus nimium, palluit et moritur.
Viva igitur sum mors, non mortua mortis imago,
Si fungor, quo mors fungitur, officio."

Somewhat similar in character to the above-mentioned picture by Valdes Leal is a sixteenth-century stained-glass window in the Church of St. Vincent at Rouen, apparently representing the putrefying body of the donor, being "eaten by worms." [97] Many of the best artists of the sixteenth century have left behind them representations of corpses or skeleton-like figures. Even of Michael Angelo there exists in the St. Petersburg Museum a very realistic study in wax of mummified skeleton-like

[97] Figured by Guiart, *op. cit.*

figures. Guiart[98] likewise figures the extraordinary sepulchral statue (in the Louvre Museum at Paris) of Jeanne de Bourbon, Countess of Burgundy and Auvergne, who died in 1511 (the decaying corpse of a woman, partially draped, being "eaten by worms"), and the sixteenth-century statue of Death (of the Mediaeval "skin and bones" type, like the German *Hautskelett*) by Germain Pilon (likewise now in the Louvre Museum), which formerly stood in the Cimetière des Saints-Innocents at Paris.

There are many queer stories as to the reason why such ghastly memorials were made. To one of these stories Jeremy Taylor refers in his famous work, *The Rule and Exercises of Holy Dying* (1651, Section ii.): "I have read of a fair young German gentleman, who, living, often refused to be pictured, but put off the importunity of his friends' desire, by giving way, that, after a few days' burial, they might send a painter to his vault, and, if they saw cause for it, draw the image of his death unto the life. They did so, and found his face half eaten, and his midriff and backbone full of serpents; and so he stands pictured among his armed ancestors."

The sixteenth-century masterpiece of this nature was apparently the sepulchral statue of René de Chalon, Prince of Orange, who was killed in 1544 at the siege of Saint-Dizier. Before his death he is said to have expressed a wish that a likeness should be made of him, not as he appeared when alive, but as his body would appear a considerable time after his death. His widow, Anne de Lorraine, employed the Lorraine sculptor, Ligier Richier, who made a remarkable statue of a decaying corpse, erect, in a noble attitude, with the left arm stretched up to heaven, as if confident of the resurrection of the dead (cf. Job xix. 25–27). According to Marcel Lallemand, the raised-up hand originally held an

[98] Guiart, *op. cit.*

hour-glass, as if the deceased were addressing God in the words of the Psalmist (Psalm xxxix. 5, Latin Vulgate version): "Ecce mensurabiles posuisti dies meos et substantia mea tanquam nihilum ante te."[99] The statue is still to be seen in the Church of Saint-Pierre, at Bar-le-Duc.[100] In the sepulchral monument (which formerly existed at Joinville, Haute Marne), erected in 1552, in memory of Claude de Lorraine, first Duke of Guise, his corpse and that of his wife, Antoinette de Bourbon, were represented by Ligier Richier, on a sarcophagus, as they would have appeared after embalming.

Henry Maudsley (*Religion and Realities*, London, 1918, p. 8) quotes the following tale from an apocryphal collection of supposed sayings of Jesus Christ:—"As He and His disciples went along the road they came on the stinking body of a putrefying dog. His disciples turned away their faces in disgust, but Jesus, looking steadily at the rotten carcase, bade them observe the beauty of the white and pearly teeth and learn the moral." I suppose that this *memento mori* story is of Mediaeval origin, and due to the orthodox Christian religious teaching of the Mediaeval monasteries.

[99] Cf. Paul Richer, *L'Art et la Médecine*, Paris, 1902, p. 521.

[100] See Paul Denis, *Ligier Richier*, Paris, 1911, Pl. 29 and Pl. 30, and Jules Guiart, *op. cit.*

D.

Italian Renaissance Ideas, and Later. Influence of Petrarch's "Trionfi." The "Triumph of Death" Designs. The "Memento Mori" Subject continued, especially in regard to the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries.

We now come to the very different subject of the Renaissance designs of the "Triumph of Death" and of "Fame triumphing over Death," after Petrarch's *Trionfi*. The poems of Francesco Petrarca (1304–1374), who helped greatly in the revival of classical learning (the Italian Renaissance), had a great influence on art, notably his *Trionfi*[101] (first printed in 1470). According to Petrarch's arrangement in his *Trionfi*—

> "Amor vincit mundum
> Pudicitia vincit amorem
> Mors vincit pudicitiam
> Fama vincit mortem
> Tempus vincit famam
> Divinitas seu Eternitas omnia vincit."

One cannot be astonished at Italian and other artists and craftsmen of the Renaissance period eagerly seizing on this theme to obtain subjects for their designs in preference to always keeping to the narrow limits of orthodox Mediaeval Church subjects, such as, "The Tale of the Three Dead and the Three Living," and

[101] See *Pétrarque, ses Études d'Art, son influence sur les Artistes, l'Illustration de ses Écrits*, by Prince d'Essling and Eugène Müntz, Paris, 1902. See also *The Triumphs of Francesco Petrarch*, translated by H. Boyd, with notes upon the illustrations (which are from original Renaissance designs) by Sir Sidney Colvin, London, 1906; also the *Catalogue of Early Italian Engravings in the British Museum*, by A. M. Hind and Sir Sidney Colvin, London, 1910, pp. 10–16 and pp. 115–121.

the *Ars Moriendi*. The authors of the *Catalogue of Early Italian Engravings in the British Museum*[102] write—

"No theme outside the Stories of Scripture gave more frequent employment to artists and craftsmen of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries than Petrarch's famous series of poems, the *Trionfi*. It is found treated alike in illumination, in tapestry, in the painted decoration of marriage-chests and birth-trays, in pottery and enamel, in relief-sculptures of bronze, marble, or ivory, in engravings whether on metal or on wood. About the second quarter of the fifteenth century the scheme and character of such designs became curiously fixed and uniform, within certain narrow limits of variation. In telling of the successive Triumphs of Love, of Chastity, of Death, of Fame, of Time, and of Eternity, Petrarch himself only in one instance, that of Love, brings before us one of the powers personified and riding on a chariot accompanied by attendant figures. But artists almost unanimously, without regard to the text, personify all six powers, mount each on a chariot, and escort its march with various figures or groups of figures, some of which may, in particular instances, be suggested by passages in the poem itself, but others are quite freely invented."

This is not the place to discuss the influence of Petrarch's *Trionfi* on the poetry and literature of the world, but we may here point out that to some extent two English epitaphs, of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries respectively, illustrate the long and wide-reaching influence in the literary world of the idea of the succession of triumphs (Fame over Death, Time over Fame, Eternity over all things), expressed by Petrarch. The first is the famous epitaph, probably by William Browne (1591–1643)—though often ascribed to Ben Jonson—on Sir Philip Sidney's sister, the Countess of Pembroke ("Sidney's sister, Pembroke's mother"—who died in 1621):—

> "Underneath this sable hearse
> Lies the subject of all verse,—
> Sidney's sister, Pembroke's mother.
> Death, ere thou hast slain another
> Fair and learn'd and good as she,
> Time shall throw a dart at thee."

[102] *Op. cit.*, 1910, p. 10.

The other is the epitaph by Aaron Hill (1685–1750) on his wife (who died in 1731), with the lines:—

> "But ere mankind a wife more perfect see,
> Eternity, O Time! shall bury thee."

The triumphal car of Death was generally represented as a heavy oxen-drawn vehicle, beneath the wheels of which human beings of both sexes, of all ages, and of all ranks are being crushed to death—in fact, a kind of "Juggernaut car," according to the popular use of that term. Far too many paintings, tapestries, miniatures from manuscripts, drawings, prints, &c., of the "Triumph of Death," after Petrarch's *Trionfi*, exist to be described in this connexion.

In the Victoria and Albert Museum is the facsimile[103] of an ivory plaque (Fig. 20), probably the panel of a casket, of North Italian work, about 1480, representing a "Triumphal Car of Death," after Petrarch's idea. A car, in the shape of a large oblong box on wheels, with four skeletons hand-in-hand carved on its side, is drawn along by two bullocks with rings in their noses. On the ground a number of bodies are lying, over which the wheels are rolling, including a king, a pope, a priest, and many others, male and female, young and old. A Florentine fifteenth-century marriage-coffer in the Victoria and Albert Museum (London) has representations in relief of the Triumphs of Love, Chastity, and Death, after Petrarch.

At the Royal Palace of Madrid, in Hampton Court, and in the Victoria and Albert Museum (London), are splendid early sixteenth-century Flemish tapestries with

[103] See *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Fictile Ivories in the South Kensington Museum*, by J. O. Westwood, London, 1876, p. 324. See also Prince d'Essling and E. Müntz, *op. cit.*, p. 179. An original of this kind is in the Cathedral of Gratz in Styria.

designs inspired by Petrarch's *Trionfi*, notably the Triumph of Death. Amongst many other designs in-

FIG. 20.—Ivory panel from a casket (Italian, about 1480), with the "Triumph of Death," after Petrarch.

spired by Petrarch are a "Triumph of Death"[104] by

[104] Prince d'Essling and E. Müntz, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

Lorenzo Costa (died 1583), in the Church of St. James Major at Bologna, and a painting[105] of the same subject by Bonifazio Veneziano (died 1553). On a design of the "Triumph of Death," by Marten van Heemskerk (1498–1574), Death holding his scythe is mounted on an ox-drawn chariot.[106]

In the designs after Petrarch's *Trionfi* the three Fates (Parcae or Moirae), namely, Clotho, Lachesis, and Atropos, the three dreaded sisters of the ancient classical world, frequently appear, generally all together, replacing the Mediaeval "skin and skeleton" figure of Death with the scythe, hour-glass, &c.

On these Renaissance designs the "Three Sisters" practically symbolize death, just as in classical Roman times they did, when Horace sang—

> "Huc vina et unguenta et nimium brevis
> Flores amoenae ferre jube rosae,
> Dum res et actas et *sororum*
> Fila *trium* patiuntur atra";

and when later Roman or Graeco-Roman art represented one of the "sisters," namely Clotho, on a silver wine-cup of the Boscoreale treasure, already alluded to.

On the sixteenth-century Flemish tapestry representing the "Triumph of Death," in the Royal Palace of Madrid,[107] the three Fates ride on the back of a winged monster, which is harnessed to the aërial chariot of Death. On another tapestry of the same symbolical subject (early sixteenth-century Flemish tapestry in the Victoria and Albert Museum) the three Fates are seated in the triumphal car of Death with Chastity at their feet.[108] On the

[105] *Ibid.*, p. 187.

[106] An engraving figured by Prince d'Essling and E. Müntz, *op. cit.*, p. 257.

[107] Prince d'Essling and E. Müntz, *op. cit.*, plate facing p. 214.

[108] *Ibid.*, plate facing p. 208.

first portion (the left) of the same tapestry, representing the "Triumphal Death of Chastity," the three Fates are of course likewise represented, and Atropos is spearing Chastity.[109] A similar early sixteenth-century Flemish tapestry exists at Hampton Court. On another tapestry in the Victoria and Albert Museum the three Fates are seen standing on a prostrate female figure, which is evidently meant to represent Chastity, for there exists a similar French sixteenth-century design[110] on which the prostrate figure is clearly labelled as representing Chastity. A companion French sixteenth-century design[111] pictures "Good Fame" standing victorious over the prostrate figures of the three Fates. On one of the early sixteenth-century Flemish tapestries at Hampton Court Fame is shown triumphing over Death.[112] The Fates are falling on their triumphal car at the trumpet-blast of Fame, whilst, all around, the heroes of ancient history and legend—Priam, Menelaus, Jason, Lucretia, King Arthur, Tristan, Charlemagne, Roland, &c.—are seen rising from their tombs. On an engraving printed at Paris by Charles le Vigoureux, in the last part of the sixteenth century (see Fig. 21), the triumphal car of Death again contains, not a figure of the Mediaeval skeleton type, but the three Fates with their respective labels, "Clotho," "Lachesis," and "Atropos."[113] On the companion design of the Triumph of Fame over Death, the three Fates are being crushed beneath the wheels of the car on which Fame stands victorious, blowing her long trumpet.[114]

[109] *Ibid.*, plate facing p. 206.
[110] *Ibid.*, p. 235.
[111] *Ibid.*, p. 235.
[112] *Ibid.*, plate facing p. 210.
[113] *Ibid.*, p. 249.
[114] *Ibid.*, p. 251.

I shall now continue the general *memento mori* subject, especially in regard to the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

FIG. 21.—French print of the sixteenth century, with the Triumph of Death (or rather, of the Three Fates) over Chastity, after Petrarch. (Photograph.)

Hans Burgkmair (about 1510) pictures Death strangling (or rather, in a peculiar kind of way, suffocating) a lover, whose lady flees in terror. Hans Sebald Beham (1522) shows Death approaching a woman on a couch,

whose husband or lover lies dead on the floor of the room. By the same artist is the engraving (1541) of Death accosting a lady with an hour-glass in her hands, who is walking in a garden, with the inscription, "Omnem in homine venustatem mors abolet." His brother, Barthel Beham (1502–1540), engraved a *memento mori* design of a baby, hour-glass, and human skulls; there are two varieties, one with three skulls, dated 1529, and

FIG. 22.—Baby, with the four skulls. Engraving by Barthel Beham, in the British Museum.

one with four skulls, bearing the inscription, "Mors omnia aequat" (*vide* Fig. 22).

The design better illustrates the oft-quoted line of Manilius: "Nascentes morimur, finisque ab origine pendet" (cf. Bishop J. Hall's *Epistles* (Dec. 3, Ep. 2): "Death borders upon our birth, and our cradle stands in the grave"). The actual words, "Omnia mors aequat," occur in Claudian's *Raptus Proserpinae*, book 2, line 302.

Another engraving (Fig. 23) by Barthel Beham represents a mother giving her baby the breast (perhaps the Madonna and Infant Christ); on the table and window-sill are a Death's-head and an hour-glass.

A fifteenth-century *memento mori* design (Louvre Museum at Paris) by Jacopo Bellini, probably suggested to him by the death of some professor at the University of Padua, represents a sarcophagus on which is stretched out a decaying corpse, the head resting on a closed book. On the side of the sarcophagus is pictured the interior of a large room in which a professor is lecturing to many pupils.[115]

Death is pictured on an engraving by Marcantonio Raimondi (early sixteenth century) as a skeleton with

FIG. 23.—Mother and child, with skull and hour-glass. Engraving by Barthel Beham, in the British Museum.

wings and a scythe. On an engraving representing the "Hour of Death," by Raimondi's pupil, Agostino Veneziano, an aged woman with bent back, leaning on a staff and carrying a basket of sticks, approaches an open grave, from which a hand of a skeleton holds out a winged hour-glass.

There are other German, Flemish, or Italian engravings and paintings of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, representing fairly simple

[115] See Victor Goloubew, *Les Dessins de Jacopo Bellini*, Deuxième partie, Bruxelles, 1908, No. vii.

memento mori devices (such as a Death's-head in an architectural setting with inscriptions, or a skeleton in various attitudes) to which I cannot allude in this place. See, for instance, three pictures of the school of Hans Memling (two of them at Strassburg and one at Valenciennes), figured by Salomon Reinach, *Répertoire de peintres du moyen âge et de la Renaissance*, Paris, 1910, vol. 3, pp. 748, 749.

A stone relief of the Renaissance period, figured by Julius von Schlosser,[116] represents Death as a skeleton (with his attributes of bow, arrows, and hour-glass), meditating over the apple of the garden of paradise. The last design was suggested by a woodcut in Vesalius's famous work on Anatomy, *De Humani Corporis Fabrica* (first edition, printed by J. Oporinus, at Basel, 1543, page 164), representing a skeleton meditating over a skull and leaning on an altar or *cippus*, inscribed, "Vivitur ingenio, caetera mortis erunt."[117] (See Fig. 144.) This woodcut, which is now generally admitted to be the work of Jan von Calcar, a pupil of Titian, suggested the design on various *memento mori* medals, &c. Cf. Part III., medals of the Occo family of physicians of Augsburg (Fig. 143), and Danish and German *memento mori* medals of about 1634.

In an anonymous Dutch engraving of the seventeenth century, Death is seen conducting a sick man to have his urine examined by a physician, as in one (see Fig. 24) of Holbein's "Dance of Death" series, but Death has probably also come to fetch the doctor himself. In a "Dance of Death" engraved by Zimmermann in a Swiss almanac, Death brings his urine to the doctor for inspection, whilst in the "Totentanz" (where the doctor is pictured wearing eye-glasses), printed by Jacob Meyden-

[116] J. von Schlosser, *Werke der Kleinplastik*, Vienna, 1910, vol. i. Plate li.

[117] Cf. the pentameter line: "Excipe virtutem, cetera mortis erunt."

bach at Mainz in 1491, and in the "Danse Macabre" by Cousteau published by Antoine Vérard in 1492, and in some other series, Death calls for the doctor just as the latter is engaged in inspecting a flask of urine; in a French eighteenth-century series (1788) the doctor lets the flask of urine fall to the ground, when Death catches hold of his coat.

An engraving by Andreas Stock after a painting by

Fig. 24.—Death and the Physician, from Holbein's "Dance of Death" series.

J. de Gheyn, shows Pieter Paaw or Pauw (Pavius), demonstrating in the Leiden anatomical theatre; a skeleton is mounted upright in a conspicuous part of the room, holding a banner with the inscription, "Mors ultima linea rerum" (Horace). In another engraving of the theatre, by W. Swanenburg after J. C. Woudanus, in 1610, skeletons are represented holding up *memento mori* and kindred quotations, such as "Mors ultima linea rerum,"

"Nascentes morimur" (Manilius); "Principium moriendi natale est"; "Mors sceptra ligonibus aequat"; "Nosce te ipsum"; "Pulvis et umbra sumus" (Horace). These sayings were introduced less probably for the benefit and instruction of the medical students than for the edification of the learned men, lawyers, travelling noblemen, fashionable ladies and sight-seers, who in former times used to visit the anatomical theatres out of curiosity or in search of emotional distractions. Note the miscellaneous crowd watching Vesalius dissecting, on the title-page (by Jan von Calcar, but formerly attributed to Calcar's master, Titian) of his great anatomical work, *De Humani Corporis Fabrica*, first edition, printed by J. Oporinus at Basel, 1543. Philosophical considerations on life and death were likewise introduced into anatomical lectures and demonstrations (cf. Fig. 144, from the woodcut, *ibid.*, p. 164).

At one time the illustrations in Vesalius's great anatomical work were wrongly attributed to Titian, but it is now definitely settled that they are by Jan von Calcar, a pupil of Titian, whose paintings were said to be almost indistinguishable from those of that master. An original sketch by Calcar for the title-page has been recently reproduced by Paul Kristeller.[118] Jan (Johann Stephan) von Calcar lived about 1500 to 1546. Amongst the paintings of the Venetian School in the National Gallery, London, he is represented by a fine picture of "Three Venetian Gentlemen and a Child."

On the famous picture, the "Triumph of Death" by Peter Brueghel the Elder (1525–1569), in the National Museum (Museo del Prado) at Madrid, Death is seen with his scythe, riding on a lean phantom-like horse, at the head of a ghastly, horrible company of armed

[118] Paul Kristeller, "Eine Zeichnung von Johann Stephan von Calcar zum Titelblatte der Anatomie des Andreas Vesalius," *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für vervielfältigende Kunst—Beilage der graphischen Künste*, Vienna, 1908, No. 2, pp. 17–24.

skeletons, bringing destruction to the living. In the foreground on the left the vanity of worldly possessions is represented by a purple-robed king falling down whilst his hoarded treasures are being seized by a skeleton in armour. On the right a group of men and women, in the midst of their feasting and merrymaking, are being scared by the approach of the skeleton-soldiers of Death. In a conspicuous part of the foreground is the death-cart rolling along collecting the victims. In the landscape of the background are representations of shipwreck, accidental deaths by sea and land, executions by hanging, decapitation, &c.

What may be termed "the *memento mori* age" included the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries, and the popularity of *memento mori* devices certainly culminated in the "Dance of Death" designs of the sixteenth century. One must not forget that, owing to the prevalence of, and greater mortality from, epidemic diseases, the saying, "To-day red, to-morrow dead," was still more applicable to human life then than it is in quite modern times. *Memento mori* devices occurred everywhere, on paintings and prints, on sepulchral monuments, as architectural ornaments, on all kinds of jewelry (especially on memorial finger-rings), in books of emblems, in books of hours and other kinds of devotional books, on devotional objects (such as rosary beads in the form of Death's-heads), and on medals. A monkish life of contemplation with "Innocentia et memoria mortis," or "Mors omnibus communis," or "Vita est meditatio," as a motto, was regarded by many as the ideal life to lead, even by those who themselves took a large and active share in the practical work of the world.

To illustrate this feeling we need only quote Sir

Thomas More, who was familiar with epigrams relating to death,[119] the patron of Holbein, and the friend of Erasmus the great scholar, whose *memento mori* device as represented on his medals and favourite seal, we shall have later on to refer to. When imprisoned in the Tower of London, seeing from the window some monks going to execution, More said to his favourite daughter, Margaret Roper, who was there beside him: "Dost thou not see, Meg, that these blessed fathers be now as cheerfully going to their deaths as bridegrooms to their marriages? Wherefore, thereby mayst thou see, mine own dear daughter, what a great difference there is between such as have in effect spent all their days in a straight and penitential and painful life, religiously, and such as have in the world like worldly wretches (as thy poor father hath done) consumed all their time in pleasure and ease licentiously."[120]

This contrast between the life of the religious recluse and an ordinary life of worldly pursuits is exactly the same as that pictorially expressed in the famous "Triumph of Death," a fresco of the fourteenth century (already referred to) in the Campo Santo of Pisa. Compare also John Knox's discourse to the gay ladies of the Court of Mary Queen of Scots: "'Oh fair ladies!' quoth he, 'how pleasing is this life of yours if it would ever abide, and then in the end that ye pass into heaven with all this gay gear! But fie upon the knave Death, that will come whether we will or not; and when he has laid on his arrest,

[119] By Sir Thomas More are the following two Latin epigrams on the uncertainty of the time of death (*Epigrammata . . . Thomae Mori*, printed by J. Frobenius at Basel, 1520, p. 34):—

"Non ego quos rapuit mors defleo; defleo vivos
Quos urunt longo fata futura metu."

"Fleres si scires unum tua tempora mensem
Rides, quum non sit forsitan una dies."

The first of these seems to be a Latin version of the Greek epigram by Lucilius, of which an English translation is given in Dodd's *Epigrammatists*, 1870, p. 50.

[120] W. Roper's *Life of Sir Thomas More*.

the foul worms will be busy with this flesh, be it never so fair and tender; and the silly soul, I fear, shall be so feeble that it can neither carry with it gold, garnishing, targetting, pearl nor precious stones.' "

FIG. 25.—Holbein's painting of Sir Brian Tuke, in the Munich Pinakothek.

A similar train of thought is suggested by Holbein's portrait (in the Munich Pinakothek) of Sir Brian Tuke,

with a figure of Death, holding a scythe, behind him, waiting for the hour-glass to run out. Sir Brian Tuke, a contemporary of Sir Thomas More, was Secretary to Cardinal Wolsey, and afterwards Treasurer of the Household to King Henry VIII. He was a patron of learning, and was celebrated by John Leland, the "father" of English antiquaries. On the picture in question he is pointing to a passage from the Latin Vulgate version of the Bible, signifying, "Will not the small number of my days be soon ended?" (Job x. 20). (See Fig. 25.)

In this connexion it is interesting that in a modern German poem (by Conrad Ferdinand Meyer) Ulrich von Hutten, during his final illness, asks Holbein to paint him slumbering in his chair, whilst Death is to be represented, not with his dreadful scythe, but with a simple vine-knife, symbolically cutting down a ripe bunch of grapes from near the window. Cicero (*De Senectute*, xix.) makes Cato major say: "As fruits, when they are green are plucked by force from the trees, but when ripe and mellow drop off, so violence takes away their lives from youths, maturity from old men." Cicero goes on to speak of the advantage of this "ripeness" of old age. So also Shakespeare's *King Lear* (Act v., Scene 2) has it: "Ripeness is all" (cf. Part II. x.). Similarly, Milton (*Paradise Lost*, Book xi. line 535) makes the archangel Michael say to Adam and Eve, after advising them how to maintain their health by temperance in eating and drinking:—

> "So may'st thou live, till, like ripe fruit, thou drop
> Into thy mother's lap, or be with ease
> Gather'd, not harshly pluck'd, in death mature.
> This is old age."

The same ancient metaphor is found also in the following Latin epitaph inscription (*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, vol. vi. No. 7574):—

> "Quomodo mala in arbore pendunt, sic corpora nostra
> Aut matura cadunt aut cito acerva [acerba] ruunt";

and the Emperor Marcus Aurelius, in the seventh book of his *Meditations*, quoted "poets" as saying well that "our life is reaped like a ripe ear of corn."

In regard to such metaphors, cf. the Homeric simile of human lives to the leaves on trees (Homer's *Iliad*, Book vi.). The passage is thus rendered by Pope:—

> "Like leaves on trees the race of man is found,—
> Now green in youth, now withering on the ground;
> Another race the following spring supplies:
> They fall successive and successive rise."

Cf. *Ecclesiasticus*, xiv. 18: "As of the green leaves on a thick tree, some fall, and some grow." Some verses attributed to Simonides in the Greek Anthology (translation by Merivale) commence thus:—

> "All human things are subject to decay:
> And well the man of Chios [Homer] tuned his lay—
> 'Like leaves on trees the race of man is found.'"

Mimnermus, the Greek poet of Colophon, in the seventh century B.C., likewise used the same Homeric simile in his plaintive elegiac poetry on the fate of man, the miseries of old age, and the certainty of death.

Francis Quarles (1592-1644) has well summed up the *memento mori* idea of his time:—

> "If I must die, I'll snatch at every thing
> That may but mind me of my latest breath;
> Death's-heads, graves, knells, blacks,
> Tombs, all these shall bring
> Into my soul such useful thoughts of death,
> That this sable king of fears
> Shall not catch me unawares."

There are numerous references to *memento mori* objects (finger-rings, &c.) in old English literature. One of the commonest *memento mori* devices was a skull and crossed bones, generally with the inscription, "Respice finem" or "Memento mori." Shakespeare alludes several times to such devices. In the *Merchant of Venice* (act i., scene 2), Portia says: "I had rather be married to a Death's head with a bone in his mouth than to either of these." In the First Part of *Henry IV* (act iii., scene 3), Falstaff says to Bardolph: "I make as good use of it [Bardolph's face] as many a man doth of a death's head or a *memento mori*." In the Second Part of *Henry IV* (act ii., scene 4), Falstaff says to Doll Tearsheet: "Peace, good Doll! do not speak like a death's head; do not bid me remember mine end." In *Love's Labour's Lost* (act v., scene 2), Biron compares the countenance of Holofernes to "a death's face in a

ring"; and in one of Beaumont and Fletcher's plays (see later on) the following passage occurs: "I'll keep it as they keep death's heads in rings, to cry *Memento* to me."

It is to be noted that Shakespeare ridicules commonplace and hackneyed observations or quotations on the uncertainty of human life and the certainty of death. Thus, in the Second Part of *Henry IV* (act iii., scene 2) he makes Justice Shallow say, "Certain, 'tis certain; very sure, very sure: death, as the Psalmist saith, is certain to all; all shall die.—How a good yoke of bullocks at Stamford Fair?"

E.

Modern Art relating to Death. Comparison of Modern and Mediaeval Ideas.

Amongst many modern pictures bearing on the subject we may recall the "Pursuit of Fortune" (at Berlin) by R. Henneberg (1826–1876), in which a knight riding his fatal race after Fortune is attended by Death in the guise of his squire. This picture has some of the weird and ghastly fancy of G. A. Bürger's ballad *Lenore* (1774).[121] Arnold Boecklin (1827–1901), whose *Isle of the Dead* and *Vita Somnium Breve* are famous, has in a portrait (now in the National Gallery of Berlin) of himself in 1872, represented Death as a fiddler behind him (see Fig. 26), much in the same way as in the sixteenth century Sir Brian Tuke (see back, Fig. 25) had himself painted by Holbein, with Death holding a scythe behind him waiting for the hour-glass to run out. Both Holbein and Boecklin are claimed by Switzerland as Swiss artists. Boecklin paints himself without any expression of fear on his face, but rather as listening curiously to Death's tune, reminding one somewhat of W. S. Landor's verses:—

"Death stands above me, whispering low
I know not what into my ear:
Of his strange language all I know
Is, there is not a word of fear."

[121] This poem is true enough to nature, if Lenore's ghastly ride be regarded as a nightmare dream or as a delusion during the delirium period of fever in the case of a person familiar with, or rather, "steeped in," legends of vampires and such-like. This ballad was translated into English by Sir Walter Scott (1799), who doubtless admired Bürger's weird and spirited style. Bürger perhaps knew some of the ballads in Thomas Percy's "Reliques of Ancient English Poetry," which appeared in 1765.

With this may be compared the lines of Andrew Marvell (1621–1678):—

> ". . . . At my back I always hear
> Time's winged chariot hurrying near;
> And yonder all before us lie
> Deserts of vast eternity."

Boecklin was perhaps one of the numerous distinguished men, like Michel de Montaigne, whose thoughts at various periods of their lives have frequently turned to the idea of death. Montaigne, in discussing the theme that "to study philosophy is to learn to die," wrote: "There is nothing in which I have more constantly exercised my thoughts than in the idea of death, even in the most licentious season of my youth." Again, he advised: "In our feasts and revels, let there evermore occur to us, as a refrain, the thought of our condition."

By Boecklin also is "Die Pest," a picture of Death mounted on a winged monster being carried through the streets of a town, in which persons are lying dead or dying; others are fleeing in terror.

The designs of several of the numerous allegorical paintings by G. F. Watts may be mentioned as relating more or less decidedly to the subject of death (most of these are now to be seen in the National Gallery of British Art—the "Tate Gallery"—in London): "Love and Death" (a majestic figure of Death, draped in white, is represented making his way through a portal, pushing Love aside into garlands of roses); "Love Triumphant" (Love rising triumphant, apparently over time and death); "Death Crowning Innocence" (Innocence, symbolized by an infant, is tenderly held in the lap of a large-winged figure of Death); "The Messenger" (the messenger of death is a stately figure appearing to a tired-out

man reclining in his chair at the end of his long life's work); "The Court of Death" (the aged and infirm, the vigorous warrior, the young woman in all her radiant

FIG. 26.—Böcklin's portrait of himself (1872), with Death as a fiddler behind him.

beauty, the little child, and the helpless cripple, are amongst those who have to appear at the dark court of Death); "Mammon" (the ugly, vulgar, tasteless, insolent,

and cruel god of gold, noted for the sensual gratification of his own desires, and brutal oppression of those dependent on him, is obviously connected with the subject of death); "Sic Transit Gloria Mundi" (on the ground about a shrouded figure on a bier lie the emblems of human pleasure, human pride, human ambition, human love, human aspirations, human work, and splendid human life—on the curtain behind are inscribed the well-known words,[122] "What I spent, I had; what I saved, I lost; what I gave, I have"); "The Rider on the Pale Horse" of the Apocalypse (*Revelation*, vi. 8); "Time, Death and Judgement." In the last design (which has been carried out in mosaic to decorate the outside of St. Jude's Church, in Commercial Street, London, E.) Death, as a mournful woman, and Time, as a strong young man holding a scythe, are pictured, hand-in-hand, like mother and son, wandering onwards through the world together; behind them and overtaking them is Judgement, with scales (for weighing) and sword. Watts' "Happy Warrior" (now in the Neue Pinakothek Gallery at Munich) shows a saintly dying head, emblematic of the supreme sacrifice in the cause of duty. His design of "The Messenger" (symbolical of the end of life), and his design of "The Destiny" (symbolical of the beginning of life), are also represented in the Watts memorial cloister at Compton Cemetery in Surrey.

In regard to Watts' picture of the "Happy Warrior," cf. the description by Wordsworth of the happy warrior—

> "Whom neither shape of danger can dismay,
> Nor thought of tender happiness betray."

D. G. Rossetti's "Beata Beatrix" and "Dante's Dream" can perhaps likewise be mentioned in this connexion, and so also A. von Keller's "Raising from the Dead" (1885), in the Munich Pinakothek, and his "The Happy Sister" (1893). Several designs by William

[122] Cf. Part II., xiv.

Blake (1757–1827) may be regarded as having a *memento mori* character, especially his illustrations to Robert Blair's poem, *The Grave*, and to Edward Young's formerly very popular *Night Thoughts*.

Young worked at night at his *Night Thoughts*, and it is said that the Duke of Wharton presented him with a human skull having a candle fixed inside, as the most proper lamp for him to write tragedy by.[123] Isaac Hawkins Browne (1706–1760), who did not believe that the popularity of Young's *Night Thoughts* would last, wrote the following lines:—

> "His Life is lifeless and his Death shall die,
> And mortal is his Immortality."

One of Ludwig Richter's woodcuts represents a rich merchant dying at the dinner-table; below that scene is a little figure of Death as a "Spielmann," dancing and playing the fiddle, with the motto, "Heute roth, morgen todt." In Moritz Retzsch's drawing (1831) of a young man playing chess with the devil for his soul, death and the torture of the soul are symbolically suggested by accessory details of the design.

A modernized German "Dance of Death" series is that entitled "Bilder des Todes oder Todtentanz für alle Stände," designed by Carl Gottlieb Merkel (woodcuts by J. G. Flegel), published at Leipzig in 1850. "A Modern Dance of Death," by Joseph Sattler (Salon, 1893), published by J. A. Stargardt of Berlin in 1894, is a highly imaginative series of designs in a severe style of art. But amongst modern artists Alfred Rethel is quite unsurpassed in his weird and powerful representations of Death, in respect of which he may be ranked with Dürer and Holbein. His "Dance of Death in 1848,"

[123] Spence's *Anecdotes*, quoted by H. P. Dodd, *Epigrammatists*, 1870, p. 377.

showing how Death was the only real gainer from the civil war and barricade-fighting of that unsettled year, is perhaps his masterpiece. The richness of his wonderful imagination is also well shown by his Death coming as a friend (at the peaceful end of an old man's life), by his Death as a cook in a rich gourmand's kitchen, and by his representation of Death breaking up a masked ball (the idea being derived from a story of the outbreak of cholera at Paris in 1832). With Rethel might be classed the celebrated modern Dutch artist, Louis Raemaekers, in whose satirical cartoons on the Great European War (from 1914) Death figures very largely; but his designs are too recent and too well known to require discussion here.[124] Many of the cartoons of the Great European War, the work of various artists in various parts of the world (both the belligerent and the neutral countries), represent personifications of death, and of deadly diseases, &c.

John and Thomas Bewick's *Emblems of Mortality* (Clerkenwell, 1789) is only a copy of the Holbein series ("Icones" or "Imagines Mortis") from the Latin edition issued at Lyons in 1547 by Jean Frellon.

Amongst W. von Kaulbach's "Dance of Death" sketches is a design representing Ludwig I, King of Bavaria, and his mistress, the beautiful dancer Lola Montez, whom in 1847 he had made Gräfin von Lansfeld. The captivating lady's beautiful face is represented as a mask behind which a death's-head grins—suggesting the luring on of the king to his ruin (loss of his crown

[124] The clever German journalist, Maximilian Harden, said in his paper, the *Zukunft* (1916), that Raemaekers, by his anti-German, "speaking" satirical cartoons, had done more harm to Germany's cause than any other "writer."

in 1848). Another "contemporary" Dance of Death series, produced in the nineteenth century, is the interesting "English Dance of Death," by Thomas Rowlandson,[125] the famous caricaturist, with letterpress (1815–1816) by William Combe, the author of the *Tours of Dr. Syntax*. Of almost equal interest is "The Dance of Death Modernized," a series of coloured designs (on one large sheet) by George Moutard Woodward, etched by Isaac Cruikshank (father of the celebrated caricaturist, George Cruikshank), and published by W. Holland, in London, 1808. The physician is represented as a rather corpulent man holding a (gold-headed ?) cane, and saying, "Here's fine encouragement for the Faculty." A gouty old man whom Death dances off with, says, "Buzaglo's exercise was nothing to this." A lean poet thus addresses Death: "I am but a poor Poet, and always praised the Ode to your Honor, written by the late King of Prussia."

The reference is to the "Ode sur la Mort," a little French poem attributed (but probably wrongly) to Frederick the Great of Prussia (a copy was printed in London, without a date, about 1760). A. Buzaglo, mentioned by the gouty man, wrote a little pamphlet entitled, *A Treatise on the Gout: wherein the . . . cure . . . by . . . muscular exercise is established* (third edition, London, 1778).

Somewhat inferior to these two series in interest, but conceived in the same spirit, is a series of lithographs ("Death's doings," with satirical verses) designed and drawn by Edward Hull, printed by Charles Hullmandel, and published at 27, Regent Street, London, in December, 1827. Each of Hull's designs represents one of the

[125] "The English Dance of Death, from the Designs of Thomas Rowlandson, with matrical illustrations by the author of Doctor Syntax," 2 volumes, London, 1815, 1816.

stanzas of Thomas Hood's poem, "Death's Ramble," which commences:—

> "One day the dreary old King of Death
> Inclined for some sport with the carnal,
> So he tied a pack of darts on his back,
> And quietly stole from his charnel."

There are likewise illustrations (to some of which I shall refer in Part II., x.) to Southey and Coleridge's *The Devil's Walk*, and Robert Burns's *Death and Doctor Hornbook*. In the latter of these satirical poems Death is made to say:—

> "It's e'en a lang, lang time indeed
> Sin' I began to nick the thread,
> An' choke the breath:
> Folk maun do something for their bread,
> An' sae maun Death.
> Sax thousand years are near hand fled
> Sin' I was to the butching bred,
> An' mony a scheme in vain's been laid
> To stap or scar me."

In 1826 a volume, entitled *Death's Doings*, was published in London, containing a series of copper-plate designs by Richard Dagley, with writings in verse and prose by many authors, principally intended to explain and illustrate Dagley's designs. In a second and enlarged edition (1827) Dagley included a frontispiece representing "Death preaching in front of a charnel-house," after a drawing by Adr. Van de Venne, a Dutch designer, painter and poet, who died in 1650.

He is not to be confused with the well-known Flemish painter and engraver, Otho Vaenius (Otto van Veen), the master of Rubens, who, in 1608, brought out at Antwerp a volume, entitled *Amorum Emblemata*. A design by Vaenius, mentioned by Dagley, represents Death intimating his approach to an old man by the tinkling of a musical instrument.

Amongst the illustrations (some of which are by A. Van de Venne) to the book of "Emblems" by the Dutch poet, Jacob Cats (1577–1660) is one representing Death riding on a crocodile, with the inscription above, *Nescit habere modum.*[126]

Many of Hogarth's designs relate more or less to the subject of death. Some of them, like the final scene of his "Idle Apprentice," his series of "The Harlot's Progress" and "The Rake's Progress," his "Gin Lane," and his "Reward of Cruelty," were intended to have, and possibly really did have, a deterrent effect on the young in regard to vice and crime. His "Bathos" (1764) symbolizes the "End of All Things." Time, in the form of the usual winged old man, is lying near the broken sign of the "World's End" tavern, amidst the emblems of universal destruction and decay. His scythe and his *pipe* are broken, and Phoebus Apollo in the chariot of the sun is falling from the heavens: Ἐμοῦ θανόντος γαῖα μιχθήτω πυρί. This design was intended to show how a sublime or serious subject could be spoiled by the introduction of low or ridiculous details. Two curious drawings by Hogarth represent Life wrestling with Death; in one Life has the upper hand, in the other Death has the best of the struggle. Engravings after this pair of designs were made in 1782.

Cf. the Hon. Mrs. Norton: "For death and life, in ceaseless strife," &c. With the idea of Life and Death wrestling with each other the idea of Life and Death both dancing to the melody of Love may be contrasted—see *One Hundred Poems of Kabir*, translated by Rabindranath Tagore, 1914, Book ii. 103 (as quoted by Robert Bridges, *The Spirit of Man*, 1916, No. 66).

Like William Blake's designs already alluded to, so also some of the illustrations, by various artists and of various dates, to Dante's *Divina Commedia*, have naturally

[126] Jacob Cats, *Sinn-en-Minne Beelden*, 1618, p. 91, No. xlv.

a *memento mori* significance. One aspect of the mystery of the significance of death is expressed in E. Blair Leighton's picture, "The Unknown Land" (1911). A baby tenderly held by the Angel of Death, who is seated at the stern of a boat, is being rowed by a veiled figure at the prow, to the "unknown land," whilst the sorrowing mother, kneeling on the bank, holds her hands before her eyes. The idea of representing a figure of Death in association with the glories and horrors of warfare, is a very old one. In a modern design by Edgar Bundy, "Death the Conqueror" is shown as a military commander riding with his troops. The weirdly fanciful brilliant colour-sketches by Richard Cooper, picturing in a symbolical manner the deadly effects of cholera morbus, plague, diphtheria, typhoid fever, tuberculosis, syphilis, cancer, &c., should certainly be mentioned here.[127] The excessive infantile mortality amongst the labouring classes in large towns might be fitly symbolized as a "Massacre of the Innocents by Ignorance, Negligence, Poverty, and Vice." R. Dagley mentions a print, entitled "The Last Drop," representing a man draining off an enormous bowl, whilst Death stands ready to confirm the title of the design.

In regard to the danger of epidemics of cholera and other diseases during great wars, see the striking cartoon of cholera leaning on a cannon, entitled "The Cannon's Bride," published in the German satirical paper, *Ulk*, and reproduced in *The World's War Cartoons—The Balkans in Caricature*, London, 1916, page 13.

Amongst statues, pictures, prints, and drawings of the seventeenth century to the present time, I wish still to refer shortly to the following works of art connected with

[127] This contemporary artist is not to be confused with previous artists of the same name. The designs by him in the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum, 1913, were kindly pointed out to me by Mr. C. J. S. Thompson.

the idea of death, illustrations of most of which are included in Jules Guiart's admirable articles on "Le Macabre dans l'Art."[128] Stefano della Bella, a Florentine engraver, executed a kind of "Dance of Death" series in 1648, and one of his designs (Death carrying off a young woman) is figured by Guiart. The "Voyage pour l'Éternité," a series of eight engravings, by Grandville (1803–1847), constitutes a modern "Dance of Death," and has been reproduced by Lucien Nass.[129] One of the series represents a rich and plethoric baron, resting after a big meal, and telling his servant to say that he is "not at home" to a visitor, a roughly dressed porter, who demands admission. The porter is really Death, come to fetch away the baron himself, and is entering the room behind the servant without waiting for permission.

A curious design (about 1749) by Tiepolo represents a bony figure of Death, partially concealed by a kind of camail, answering the questions addressed by human beings, impelled by their curiosity to come, yet shrinking away in terror. The "Orchestra of Skeletons," executed by J. Lavalée in 1778, after a design by J. Gamelin (1738–1803), is a fanciful production, perhaps suggested by one of the Holbein "Dance of Death" woodcuts (and similar designs) where skeletons in front of a charnel-house are playing on noisy musical instruments to attract the attention of the living. In E. Trigoulet's "Chemin de la Mort"[130] persons of all kinds are wending their way towards the widely open mouth of an immense death's-

[128] Guiart, *op. cit.*

[129] Lucien Nass, *Curiosités Médico-Artistiques*, Paris, second series, pp. 247–258.

[130] See L. Nass, *op. cit.*, series i. p. 271.

head. A modern picture by Joseph Winkel represents Death, as a skeleton, playing a violin and dancing at the head of a procession of human beings. Behind him comes a young child with his little hand in that of an old woman; lovers follow, and the last figure is, I suppose, meant to be the artist himself, holding a palette and brush in his hand.

Some of the very extraordinary designs of the two Belgian artists, Antoine J. Wiertz (1806–1865)[131] and Félicien Rops (1833–1898),[132] have a bearing on the present subject, for instance, "La Mort au Bal Masqué," and "La Vice Suprême" (illustrating the work of Joseph Péladan), by Rops, which are both figured by Guiart. The latter is a hideous production in every sense of the words, but it and some of Wiertz's paintings might possibly exert a preventive effect in regard to certain vices, &c. Quite different is an engraving by that prolific earlier artist, Romain de Hooghe, depicting Death striking with the handle of his scythe against a closed door (*Le Miroir de la Bonne Mort*).

The "Nightingale Monument" (completed in 1761) by L. F. Roubiliac (Roubillac) in Westminster Abbey represents a horrible skeleton-like figure of Death emerging from a tomb and launching his dart at the dying lady (died 1731), whose husband (J. Gascoigne Nightingale) vainly endeavours to ward off the attack. By the same sculptor, likewise in Westminster Abbey, is the sepulchral monument of General William Hargrave (who died in 1750), representing Time conquering a bony

[131] See Félix Regnault's article on "The Wiertz Museum at Brussels," *Aesculape*, Paris, August, 1913, pp. 193–196.

[132] See *Félicien Rops et Son Oeuvre*, by A. Alexandre and others, Brussels, 1897.

figure of Death and breaking his arrows, whilst the deceased general descends from his sarcophagus.

The mausoleum of Marshal Saxe (died 1750), in the Protestant Church of St. Thomas at Strassburg, is perhaps the best-known work of the French sculptor, J. B. Pigalle, who completed it in 1776. The great commander is there represented as descending unflinchingly to the tomb, which is being opened for him by Death, whilst sorrowful France endeavours to detain him, and Hercules, by the side, leans mournfully on his club.

Compare this design with the anonymous epigram quoted by H. P. Dodd:—

> "Th' eternal ferryman of fate,
> When Saxe, unconquerably great,
> Approach'd within his ken,
> Scowl'd at his freight, a trembling crowd,
> And, 'Turn out ghosts,' he roar'd aloud,
> 'Here's Hercules agen.'"

The bronze statue of the Valente Celle Monument in the Campo Santo of Genoa, by the modern Italian sculptor, Jules Monteverde, represents Death, in the form of an upright shrouded corpse, seizing hold of Life, symbolized by a beautiful young woman, who endeavours to escape. A modern marble statue by the German sculptor, Elna Borch, represents a nude female figure surrendering herself with a mystic air of relief and satisfaction to a stern-looking upright shrouded figure of Death, against whom she leans.

The bronze group (Faculty of Medicine at Lyons) of "La Mort et le Bucheron," after La Fontaine's fable, by the French sculptor, Desbois, is very realistic, and Guiart remarks that one can quite easily understand that the woodcutter, though he had invoked Death, should have nevertheless been unwilling to follow such an unpleasant-

looking figure as the artist has represented. L. A. Willette painted this subject of La Fontaine's fable in 1882, and many other artistic illustrations of it (prints, &c.) exist.

It is said that La Fontaine, by his fable, *La Mort et le Bucheron*, intended to express his sympathy with the hard life and sufferings of the French peasants under the old aristocratic regime (Jules Andrieu, quoted by Lady Ritchie, in her *Madame de Sévigné*); but, of course, there is also the Aesopian fable, "Death and the Woodcutter," of ancient classical times.

Guiart figures a water-colour sketch by Villon, a young artist of Lyons, representing a grisly figure of Death laying hold of a miser, a powerful rendering of a subject which has likewise been dealt with by others (including Holbein). A spirited caricature of "La Revanche" by the modern French artist, Jean Veber (likewise figured by Guiart), represents the dead soldiers of 1870 rising from their graves to follow the skeleton drummer and once more try the issue of the fight.

A design (in the same grimly humorous spirit, though perhaps rather profane), which might be labelled "Recruiting the Dead," is suggested by an English newspaper paragraph during the Great European War (April, 1915). The paragraph in question referred to a recruiting appeal said to have been posted up on the cemetery gates in a Suffolk coast town: "A Call to Arms.—Wake up!—Your King and Country need you."—None of the inhabitants of the cemetery did "wake up," according to report.

The dreadful realism with which death and decay have sometimes been represented is well exemplified by the Spanish artist, Juan de Valdes Leal (1630–1691), in his "Finis Gloriae Mundi" picture (referred to also in Part I. C.) at the Caridad Hospital at Seville.

Murillo is said to have remarked of this picture that it was so forcibly painted that it was necessary to hold one's nose when looking at it—see Sir W. Stirling-Maxwell's *Annals of the Artists of Spain*, new edition, 1891, vol. 4, p. 1291. But as to the deliberate insistence on the thought of death being especially congenial to the ethical temper of the Spanish people, cf. Havelock Ellis's *The Soul of Spain*, London,

1908, pp. 24–26; and Emile Verhaeren's *España Negra* (translated from the French of the Belgian poet) referred to by Ellis. In regard to disagreeable realism in art, one may recall the statue of the flayed St. Bartholomew at Milan (seventeenth century) bearing the sculptor's proud inscription: "Non me Praxiteles sed Marcus finxit Agrates." Marco d'Agrate's figure, with the stripped-off skin carried like a shawl, is practically a "muscle-man," or *écorché* manikin, similar to those used for anatomical teaching. An anatomical-like figure holding the stripped-off skin exists somewhere else in Italy. Another *écorché* figure (bronze), in the Stuttgart Museum, has the base inscribed: "Homo bulla . Memento mori . Vigilate et orate." In the Victoria and Albert Museum (London) there is a horrible statuette (see Fig. 27) of Death with bow and arrows, representing him as a skeleton (osteologically incorrect), his decaying flesh and skin, "eaten with worms," hanging about his bones like ragged clothes. It is carved in boxwood, and is supposed to be of German or Dutch eighteenth-century workmanship. A somewhat similar (but earlier?) wooden statuette is figured in Paul Richer's *L'Art et la Médecine*, Paris, 1902, p. 522, fig. 327; and also as a supplement to *Aesculape*, Paris, January, 1913. In respect of painful realism the picture of the Crucified Christ by Matthias Gruenewald at Karlsruhe (*Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, Neue Folge, 1904, xv. page 153) may be also noted, but the muscles are exaggerated like those of an anatomical "muscle-man."

To Valdes Leal's ghastly realism we may contrast the hidden allusion to Death (a distorted skull) in Holbein's picture (painted in 1533), known as "The Ambassadors," in the London National Gallery. In the latter picture the presence (on the floor in the foreground) of a curious *memento mori*, namely, a human skull elongated almost beyond recognition, as it would appear if reflected from a cylindrical concave mirror,[133] is accounted for by what is known about Jean de Dinteville, Lord of Polisy, one of the two men represented. He wears in his black bonnet a jewel formed of a silver (or white enamel) skull set in gold, and there are reasons for supposing

[133] A mirror of the kind which has been sometimes amusingly employed at eating-houses, to make intending diners see themselves looking long and thin, as if they required a dinner. The perspective distortion of an image here alluded to is technically known as *anamorphosis*.

that at that time of his life (he was twenty-nine years of age when the picture was painted) he thought much of

Fig. 27.—Wooden statuette of Death, represented as a decaying corpse with bow and arrows. Incorrect anatomy.

death, and he had doubtless seen the so-called Holbein's "Dance of Death" designs, or similar designs in other

series.[134] This picture by Holbein, and Holbein's portrait of Sir Brian Tuke, to which I have already alluded, throw much light on the use of *memento mori* devices in the sixteenth century. I shall later on refer to the favourite device of Erasmus, a terminal head with the legend "Cedo nulli," or "Concedo nulli," a device chosen for his medals and for the seal with which, in the house of Jerome Frobenius at Basel, he signed his last will, dated 12th February, 1536.

With the hidden allusion to Death on Holbein's "Ambassadors" may be compared the hidden allusion to Death on a portrait in the Villa Borghese, at Rome, by the famous sixteenth-century Venetian painter, Lorenzo Lotto. Lotto's picture represents a bearded man in the prime of life, standing in a room by the side of a window; his right hand rests on some flowers on a table, and amongst the flowers is a minute death's-head, doubtless carved in ivory; his left hand is pressed to his side, as if he might be in pain.[135]

A similar but more obvious allusion of the *memento mori* kind is that in a picture by Frans van Mieris at the Amsterdam Museum, representing a beautiful lady with some roses which she has just gathered, pointing to a human skull on an open book. Pierre de Ronsard (1524–1585) wrote:—

> "Je vous envoie un bouquet . . . .
> Cela vous soit un exemple certain
> Que vos beautez, bien qu' elles soient fleuries,
> En peu de temps cherront toutes fletries,
> Et, comme fleurs, periront tout soudain."

[134] See *Holbein's Ambassadors, the Picture and the Men*, by Mary S. Hervey, London, 1900.

[135] See B. Berenson, *Lorenzo Lotto*, London, 1901, p. 190. This picture is illustrated facing p. 190.

Edmund Waller (1606–1687) commenced his poem on the sending of a rose to a coy beauty:—

"Go, lovely rose!
Tell her, that wastes her time and me,
That now she knows,
When I resemble her to thee,
How sweet and fair she seems to be";

and ended thus:—

"Then die! that she
The common fate of all things rare
May read in thee:
How small a part of time they share
That are so wondrous sweet and fair!"

In regard to poetical comparisons of human youth and beauty with the rose and perishable flowers, see also the epigrams, &c., referred to in Part I. A. H. P. Dodd (*Epigrammatists*, 1870, p. 52) gives the following English version (by C.) of an epigram by Rufinus in the Greek Anthology:—

"Take, take this flowering wreath from me,
Twined by these hands, and twined for thee.
Here blends the daffodil's soft hue,
With lilies, and the violets blue;
Here the moist wind-flower darkly blows,
Entwining with the opening rose;
And whilst it binds thy pensive brow,
Let pride to gentler feelings bow,
At thought of that no distant day,
When thou, as these, must fade away."

As an example of a *memento mori* skull accompanying a female portrait, one may instance the picture (in the Guildhall at Exeter) of Mrs. Elizabeth Flay, aet. 86 (1673), the widow of Thomas Flay, a former Mayor of Exeter and founder of "Flay's almshouses." Cf. also the figure of a girl holding a skull on the somewhat remarkable carved sepulchral monument of Rebecca Atkins, aged nine years (who died in 1661), in St. Paul's Church, Clapham.

It is almost needless to point out that the aspect of, or mental attitude towards, death must vary much with the age, sex, temporary or permanent occupation (or want of occupation), past experiences, future prospects, education, moral and religious surroundings, personal

principles and religious beliefs, aspirations, ambition, personal, hereditary or racial temperament, and the temporary state of health and enjoyment in life. It must, to some extent, vary from time to time according to the condition of the mind and body and the changing moods of the individual. Moreover, supposed proximity is likely often to modify as well as to intensify the aspect in which the idea of death presents itself.

Undoubtedly the representation of Death is generally much less repulsive in modern art than it was in typical fifteenth and sixteenth century designs—a dry skeleton has mostly superseded the worm-eaten, decaying corpse —and a comic element is frequently more or less obvious. The old *memento mori* motive in *macabre* designs has in modern art partially given place to one of merely amusing grotesqueness. (Cf. Part II. Heading xxi.)

The gradually increasing unpopularity of the old "death's head and skeleton class" of *memento mori* devices and inscriptions is nowhere better illustrated than in regard to sun-dial mottoes. Formerly it was: "I tell the hour, think of your last hour"; "This is the last hour for many, and may be your last hour"; "Death draws nigh, perhaps only a moment separates you from eternity"; "Your death is certain, but uncertain is the time of your death," and so on.

Compare the following lines from an English fifteenth-century didactic poem, printed in *The Babees Book* (Early English Text Society), London, 1868, p. 52:—

> "And deeth is euere, as y trowe,
> The moost certeyn thing that is,
> And no thing is so uncerteyn to knowe,
> As is the tyme of deeth y-wis."

This style of sun-dial inscription remained popular into the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The physician and poet,

Nathaniel Cotton (1705–1788), wrote the following lines for a sun-dial in the churchyard at Thornby (Northamptonshire):—

"Mark well my shade and seriously attend
The silent lesson of a common friend.—
Since time and life speed hastily away,
And neither can recall the former day,
Improve each fleeting hour before 'tis past,
And know, each fleeting hour may be thy last."

An ivory portable compass-dial by Hans Ducher (or Tucher) of Nürnberg, dated 1560,[136] is inscribed—

"Mors venit, hora fugit, metuas mortem venientem.
Quaelibet est index funeris hora tui."

A sun-dial, mentioned by Miss S. F. A. Caulfeild,[137] at Corby Hall (not far from Carlisle), dated 1658, and known as Sir Francis Howard's dial, bears the inscription: "Deathe, Judgment, Heaven, Hell—Upon this moment depens Eternitie. O Eternitie! O Eternitie! O Eternitie! 1658."

Another sun-dial inscription (dated 1697) reads—

"My change is sure, it may be soon,
Each hastening minute leads me on;
The awful summons draweth nigh,
And every day I live to die."

Nowadays the most popular sun-dial inscriptions are of the style of: "Horas non numero nisi serenas"; "Horas nullas nisi aureas"; "Ich zeige nur die heitern Stunden";

"Let others tell of storms and showers,
I'll only count your sunny hours";

or

"Serene I stand among the flowers,
And only count life's sunny hours."

[136] See *The Book of Sun-Dials*, by Mrs. Alfred Gatty, &c., edition of 1900.

[137] Caulfeild, *House Mottoes and Inscriptions*, new edition, 1908, p. 125.

These last mottoes would suit best of all for a modern sunshine-recorder, such as is used at modern meteorological stations. For interesting English sun-dial verses by the Rev. G. F. Chester, with somewhat similar commencement, see *The Book of Sun-Dials*, by Mrs. Alfred Gatty, &c., edition of 1900. In regard to older sun-dial inscriptions of the kind, cf. Part II., xvii. footnote 387.

Or, when a didactic text, of the "copy-book style," is preferred, as it has been on some buildings for municipal offices, &c., no gloomy reference is usually made nowadays to death, but only a cheerful enough one to doing one's daily work: "Do to-day's work to-day," and so forth. R. W. Emerson from this point of view wrote:—

"On bravely through the sunshine and the showers,
Time hath his work to do, and we have ours."

In an article on "The Dying of Death"[138] Joseph Jacobs (born 1854) writes: "Death as a motive is moribund. Perhaps the most distinctive note of the modern spirit is the practical disappearance of the thought of death as an influence directly bearing upon practical life. We insure our lives, it is true, but having done so, think no more of the matter, except in the spirit of William Micawber," when that immortal creation of the brain of Charles Dickens signed a promissory note. "There are no skeletons at our feasts nowadays, or at least they are living ones. Death has lost its terrors." So unusual now in everyday life is much preoccupation with the thought of death that at a recent debate on "Fear" at the Medical Society of London (March, 1917) one of the speakers suggested that when an apparently healthy man in ordinary life is much troubled by fear of (his own) death, the man in question is probably suffering from a psychical disorder of the "phobia" class, allied to agoraphobia, claustrophobia, &c. Very modern was Madame de Sévigné's daughter (Françoise Marguerite, afterwards Madame de Grignan) in her answer to the Abbé La Mousse, when, on account of her supposed vanity, he told her: "Remember that all your beauty will turn to dust and ashes." "Yes," she replied, "but I am not yet dust and ashes."[139]

According to Havelock Ellis,[140] however, the mediaeval conception

[138] Joseph Jacobs, *Fortnightly Review*, London, 1899, pp. 264–269.

[139] Cf. Lady Ritchie (Anne Isabella Thackeray), *Madame de Sévigné*, Edinburgh, 1881, p. 58.

[140] Havelock Ellis, *The Soul of Spain*, London, 1908, pp. 24–26. Havelock Ellis also refers to Emile Verhaeren's *España Negra* (translated from the French of the distinguished Belgian author) in support of the same views.

of dying still finds a congenial home in Spain, though it has practically passed out of the lives of other European peoples. In Spain death is still made part of the lesson of daily life. "A certain indifference to pain, even a positive delight in it, was long ago observed by Strabo to mark the Iberian. And the deliberate insistence on the thought of death, so congenial to the ethical temper of this people that, it has been said, the Spaniard has a natural passion for suicide, has always been a note of the romantic mood. . . . The Spaniard broods over and emphasizes the naked majesty of death. . . . In Barcelona Cathedral, the most solemnly impressive model of Catalan architecture, the broad and stately entrance to the crypt, the gloomy house of death, is placed in the centre of the church. . . . Every Spanish sacristan seems to possess a well-polished skull and a couple of thigh bones, with which to crown the catafalque it is his duty to erect. . . . In a church in the heart of the city of Zamora I have found, prominently placed on a pedestal, a skeleton of fine proportions holding an hour-glass in one hand and a scythe in the other, while high on the interior wall of Salamanca Cathedral one discerns a skeleton of lesser proportions with what seems to be the skin still clinging to the bones."

The significance of *memento mori* designs, which reminded people of every man's liability to sudden death, was increased by the terrible and devastating pestilences of former times, and the meaning of representations of death and decay was doubtless intensified by the frequency of public executions and violent deaths of all kinds. Joseph Jacobs[141] thinks that one of the main causes of the modern change of sentiment is the improvement in sanitation and hygiene and the increased average duration of life. "In the Middle Ages," he writes, "nothing was so uncertain as life. Duels and private wars, feuds and bandits, plagues and pestilences, made men uncertain of their lives from hour to hour." Mediaeval chivalry also helped to keep death in the minds of its followers. According to the rite of admission to knighthood the candidate, after his ceremonial bath, was clothed in a white tunic, as a symbol of his purity; then in a red robe, suggestive of the blood he was ready to

[141] Joseph Jacobs, *loc. cit.*

shed; and in a black cloak, to remind him of his death that might be near at hand. T. A. Cook, in *The Story of Rouen*,[142] writes: "Amid all this life and colour, death and the taint of death are ever present, for every church is little better than a charnel-house, and in the crowded city nearly eighty cemeteries are packed with dead. . . . Even on ordinary days there is horror enough only too visible. You need not go so far as the gibbets just above the town, where corpses are clattering in chains beneath the wind; on the Place du Vieux Marché a sacrilegious priest is being slowly strangled; in the Parvis Notre Dame a blasphemer's throat is cut; close by the churchyard, a murderer's hand is chopped off, and he is hurried away to execution on the scaffold by the Halles." With this word-picture may be compared the views of Tudor London showing the heads of executed persons stuck up on stacks of spikes at London Bridge, Temple Bar, &c.

A horrible idea it is that in the olden days a sovereign used to derive profit by the execution of his wealthy subjects. Riches undoubtedly excited the cupidity of those in power, and many of the attacks on the Jews in the Middle Ages were due to an underlying motive of this kind. The wealth of the famous Military Order of Knights Templars in France had probably a share in their undoing. The Knights were accused of heresy and immorality by King Philip IV of France, in 1307; many of them were burned alive or hanged, and the Order was finally suppressed by the Council of Vienne (under Pope Clement V), in 1312. The Grand Master Molay was burned alive at Paris in 1314. In England, under King Edward II, the Order was likewise suppressed, and the head of the Order in this country died in the Tower of London. Might not the extraordinary number of executions of great noblemen in Europe during the time of the English Tudor sovereigns (notably Henry VIII) have had something to do with an amusing conversation, as narrated by Lord Suffield (*My Memories*, London, 1913), between the Prince of Wales (afterwards King Edward VII) and Nassr-ed-Deen, Shah of Persia, in 1873? When entertained at Stafford House by the Duke of

[142] T. A. Cook, *The Story of Rouen*, London, 1899, p. 303.

Sutherland, and hearing from the Prince of Wales what a great land-owner the duke was, the Shah replied that he must be very rich. "Of course, when you come to the throne you will ——" and the Shah made an expressive gesture with his finger across his neck. This story was usually taken as illustrating barbarous despotism in Persia. But may not the Shah, during his visit, have been hearing about Shakespeare's English historical plays and about European history in the time of Henry VIII? The same or a similar story about the Shah has been told in regard to one or more of his visits to other European sovereigns.

Probably the old-time *memento mori* objects owed much also of their significance and powerful influence to what may be termed the "gambling spirit" in much of the Christianity of the time, that is to say, an unquestioning belief in the religion itself, combined with the natural tendency to put off the difficult and almost impracticable obedience to its literal teaching as long as possible (at all events until the most active period of life has been passed)—even at the risk of eternal punishment. Amongst the ordinary people there was a childish faith in the literal tenets of religion, tenets which were more or less opposed to actual and practical every-day life and to ordinary worldly ambitions and competitions. Thus, according to the Mediaeval faith in, and interpretation of, Christianity, the only logical course for the salvation of the soul was to live the life of a religious recluse, or to hope for time for repentance (even a death-bed one[143]) at the end. The religious

[143] Cf. The proverbs in various languages signifying that "the devil, when he is old (or ill or afflicted), becomes a hermit (or a saint)." I will only quote the following Mediaeval Latin couplet and its popular English paraphrase:—

"Aegrotat Daemon; monachus tunc esse volebat.
Daemon convaluit; Daemon ut ante fuit."

"The devil was sick, the devil a monk would be;
The devil was well, the devil a monk was he."

So, from the medical point of view, a man often becomes ill owing to

dogmata of the time were incompatible with ordinary active life in the world—which was a constant gambling with the devil for the soul, with hope of time for

an improper mode of life or diet; then he follows good advice, is more careful, and recovers; and, when well again, he relapses into his former pernicious habits.

This change in mentality on the part of the sick man when he recovers from his illness, reminds one also of the series of four engravings (1587) by the Dutch painter and engraver Henry Goltzius (possibly after paintings now lost), showing how the patient, when he is very ill, and "when Death with his black wings is hovering near him" ("Dum nigris aegrum prope Mors circumvolat alis"), pictures the physician as a Christ-like figure, almost as God; when somewhat better, the patient regards his physician as an angel ("the hand of God"); when the patient is convalescent, his physician sinks to the level of a mortal man, but is nevertheless πολλῶν ἀντάξιος ἄλλων (Homer, *Iliad*, xi. 514); but, finally, when the patient has quite recovered, the physician who claims his fees is satirically pictured as an ugly devil, saying to himself: "Ille Deus pridem mox cacodaemon ero." These engravings by Goltzius are of special interest inasmuch as the engraver himself (a travelled man) had suffered much from illness (pulmonary tuberculosis?) and had had much to do with doctors. There are similar series of engravings by Johannes Gelle (1609, from designs by Egbert van Paenderen, of Harlem, who followed the general idea and setting of the engravings by Goltzius), Hugo Allard or Allardt (end of the seventeenth century), and Jan van Vianen (about 1700); and similar series of paintings exist by an unknown Dutch artist (of about 1620) and by Jan Horemans (1752). An earlier Latin satirical epigram represents the physician as having only three instead of four aspects for his patient. It is included amongst some epigrams by Euricius Cordus (pseudonym for the German physician, Heinrich Solde) about 1525:—

> "Tres medicus facies habet: unam quando rogatur
> Angelicam. Mox est cum juvat ipse Deus.
> Post, ubi curato poscit sua praemia morbo,
> Horridus apparet terribilisque Satan."

A German translation of these verses is to be seen below the portrait of a Nürnberg surgeon, Jacob Baumann, on a copper-plate engraving by the Nürnberg painter and engraver, Virgil Solis, dated 1556. On the whole subject of satirical epigrams of this kind, and corresponding pictorial designs, see C. E. Daniëls, "Docteurs et malades," *Janus*, Harlem, 1900, vol. v. pp. 20, 80, 105; H. Peters, *Der Arzt und die Heilkunst in der deutschen Vergangenheit*, Leipzig, 1900, p. 73; and Eugen Holländer, *Die Karikatur und Satire in der Medizin*, Stuttgart, 1905, pp. 189–196.

repentance at the end (a period of peaceful reparation and preparation for the next world), at all events a death-bed repentance, a repentance just in time to cheat the devil. It is not to be wondered at that there existed in the Middle Ages a kind of "hand-book" on "the art to die well," the "Ars Moriendi," of the interesting (serious, yet humorous) pictorial illustrations to which I have given some examples in a preceding portion of this book. This attitude furnished a favourable soil for the *memento mori* to flourish on, and always gave a dread fascination to its message: "Think of death, are you prepared for it? Your last hour will certainly come, perhaps it is this very hour that separates you from eternity"—"Ab unâ (horâ) pendet aeternitas." The *memento mori* element still plays a great part in *The Rule and Exercises of Holy Dying* (1651), by Jeremy Taylor, the eloquent writer who might almost be called the "Chrysostom of the English Protestant Church," if one could judge of his speaking from his flowing and sparkling style of writing. But that great work is not merely an *Ars Moriendi*.

The true way to die well is to live well, and Jeremy Taylor's above-mentioned book was as much a "guide" to "holy living" as was his equally famous *The Rule and Exercises of Holy Living* (1650). According to G. S. Merriam (*The Chief End of Man*), nowadays "for holy *living and dying* we put simply holy *living*"; and that is obviously, according to modern ideas, sufficient. We do not judge of a performance by how the performer makes his exit from the stage, nor by his final bow to the audience.

In regard to the old orthodox idea of an *Ars Moriendi* Doctor Samuel Johnson once answered a question of his future biographer, Boswell, as follows: "No, Sir, let it alone. It matters not how a man dies, but how he lives. The art [or act] of dying is not of importance, it lasts so short a time." (Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, under the year 1769, when Johnson was sixty years of age.) On another occasion Johnson and Boswell (Boswell's *Tour to the Hebrides*) talked about a sane but severe man acting on the verge of death in

the way he had usually acted during life. Johnson said: "You would not think a judge died ill who should be carried off by an apoplectic fit while pronouncing sentence of death. Consider a class of men whose business it is to distribute death—soldiers, who die scattering bullets. Nobody thinks they die ill on that account." This brings one to the numerous anecdotes illustrating how, if the mind is not affected,

FIG. 28.—Italian bronze statuette (fifteenth century?), representing an allegory of life.

"personal character predominates even in death." Isaac D'Israeli (*Curiosities of Literature*) quotes the great surgeon, John Abernethy, as observing, in his Physiological Lectures, that "Shakespeare has represented Mercutio continuing to jest, though conscious that he was mortally wounded; the expiring Hotspur thinking of nothing but honour; and the dying Falstaff still cracking his jests upon Bardolph's nose." Lord Chesterfield's "good breeding only quits him with his

life," said his physician. His last words were, "Give Dayroles a chair," when that gentleman's visit was announced to him on his death-bed. D'Israeli (*loc. cit.*) writes: "The characteristic pleasantry of Sir Thomas More exhilarated his last moments, when, observing the weakness of the scaffold, he said, in mounting it, 'I pray you see me up safe, and for my coming down let me shift for myself.' Sir Walter Raleigh passed a similar jest when going to the scaffold." Similarly, a story told of Solon, if true, shows that the great Athenian legislator wished to increase his knowledge up to the very end of his conscious life. Socrates died as philosophically as he had lived, and so did the Roman Emperor Julian (A.D. 363), according to the most reliable accounts, quoted by Edward Gibbon, the historian. There are stories, I believe, of various tyrannical despots, distinguished for the harshness and cruelty of their rule, insisting, even when dying, on the immediate execution of those unfortunate persons who had incurred their displeasure.

In illustration of the "gambling spirit of Mediaeval Christianity," to which I have alluded, I may further, perhaps, refer to the uncertain inscription from the base of a little Italian bronze statuette (fifteenth century?) representing an allegory of life. This bronze statuette (Fig. 28), for permission to illustrate which I am indebted to Mr. Henry Oppenheimer, in whose collection it is, is $5{\cdot}5 \times 5 \times 2{\cdot}15$ inches in size. It represents a naked boy seated on the ground in a meditative attitude, leaning with his left elbow on an hour-glass, and with his right hand supporting a skull on his right knee; a snake issuing from the skull is coiled round the boy's arm. The base of the statuette is inscribed—

IL·TEMPO·PASSA·E·LA·MORTO(*sic*)·V(I)EN·
PERITO (?) LVI (?)·CHI (for CHE)·NON·FA·BEN·
FAC(C)IAMO·MAL·E·SPER(I)AMO·I(L)·BE(N)·
IL·TEMPO·P(A)SSA·E·LA·MO(RTE)·V(I)EN.

I at first read "guarito" instead of "perito." But if

"perito" is the true reading, the meaning of the four lines is simply as follows:—

"Time passes and death comes;
Lost is he who does not do good;
We do wrong (in this world) and we hope for good (in the life after death);
Time passes and death comes."

Cf. Matthew Arnold (1822–1888), *Empedocles on Etna*:

"We do not what we ought,
What we ought not, we do,
And lean upon the thought
That chance will bring us through."

Mr. A. M. Hind has kindly directed my attention to a somewhat similar design in a Florentine woodcut by an unknown master of the fifteenth century, reproduced by G. Hirth and R. Muther in their work on *Meister-Holzschnitte*.[144] The woodcut represents a naked boy leaning on a skull with an hour-glass on the trunk of a tree at his head and the inscription: LHORA PASSA. Cf. also the ivory statuette of a boy holding a staff which rests on a skull, and the bronze handle of a bell formed by a boy seated on a skull, described in the *Burlington Fine Arts Club Exhibition Catalogue* (of Renaissance Italian Art), London, 1912.[145] A similar allegory of human life is represented by an alabaster statuette of a naked boy with a skull and a scroll (? German, sixteenth century) in the Wallace Collection, London (Gallery X, No. 8). Another allegorical little ivory carving represents a naked infant boy reclining, with his head and arms on a human skull. It is German work of the seventeenth century, signed by an artist named W. F. Moll, about whom nothing else is known.[146]

Skulls, skeletons, and even death, are not rarely represented or alluded to on modern (notably German) *bookplates* (*ex-libris*); but this

[144] G. Hirth and R. Muther, *Meister-Holzschnitte*, München, 1893, Plate 31.

[145] P. 58, No. 8, and p. 66, No. 32.

[146] It is figured by Julius von Schlosser, *Werke der Kleinplastik in der Skulpturensammlung des allerh. Kaiserhauses*, Wien, 1910, vol. 2, Plate xlvii. No. 2.

is often not specially for the sake of any *memento mori* significance. Thus, for instance, skulls and skeletons sometimes occur as a kind of professional ornamentation on bookplates of anatomists, anthropologists, surgeons, and physicians. On a medical bookplate (of Dr. P. Janssen) by Peter Janssen, figured by W. von Zur Westen (*Exlibris*, Bielefeld, 1901, p. 30, fig. 40), Death, holding scythe and hour-glass, is seen shrinking away from a figure of Hygieia, represented as a simple peasant girl, holding the Aesculapian serpent-staff. In some cases the skulls, &c., merely form part of a play on the book-owner's name. Death is alluded to in the bookplate motto, *Sine libris vita est mors*, or, *Vita sine libris est mortis imago*. Many are the allegorical devices on modern bookplates in which skulls, skeletons, or representations of Death figure. An elaborate example of the kind is the bookplate of Wilhelm von Gebhardt by Eduard von Gebhardt (W. von Zur Westen, *op. cit.*, p. 29, fig. 39), inspired by Albrecht Dürer's famous copper-plate engraving (1513) of "The Knight, Death and the Devil" (see Fig. 37). Gebhardt represents the knight in question as riding serenely onwards, regardless of the Devil and Death, the latter of whom he has left behind him; in the field is the motto: "Das durch Ergründen des Gesetzes geläuterte Wollen ist Freiheit." A very fine bookplate is one engraved in 1878 by Charles W. Sherborn (1831–1912) for his own use, known as the "Life and Death" plate, and much valued by collectors of *ex-libris*. Of bookplate-designs having a true *memento mori* significance a good typical example is the sixteenth-century one (W. von Zur Westen, *op. cit.*, frontispiece) of the Protestant Senator of Nürnberg and patron of artists, Hieronymus von Baumgärtner (armorial, with skull, hour-glass and clock-dial as adjuncts), by Barthel Beham (1502–1540). This Baumgärtner (1498–1565) was a collector of books, and in 1538 founded the Nürnberg town-library, to which his own collection was subsequently added. Another is that of Moritz Karl Christian Woog (1684–1760), by M. Wernerin and C. F. Boetius (W. von Zur Westen, *op. cit.*, p. 17, fig. 18), representing Death, seated on a sarcophagus, holding scythe and scales. A seventeenth-century monastic bookplate (illustrated as a separate plate in Count Leiningen's *German Bookplates*, translated by G. R. Dennis, London, 1901) of Arsenius, Provost and Archdeacon of Chiemsee (1637), represents a skeleton—mitred and holding two croziers—and the arms of the monastery and the abbot. The inscription below is from the Second Book of Samuel, xiv. 14 (Latin Vulgate version): "Omnes morimur et quasi aquae dilabimur in terram." The original copperplate is signed by Lucas Kilian (1579–1637), of Augsburg, who was a pupil of his step-father, Dominik Custos (1560–1612). A modern bookplate of Alfred Anteshed, by Harold Nelson (illustrated in *Harold Nelson His Book of Bookplates*, Edinburgh, 1904), represents a standing figure, resplendent in magnificent armour, but with the face of a skeleton; the accompanying motto is: *Avise la fin* ("Consider the end").

My own interest in *memento mori* medals, &c., dates from about 1892, when I contributed a short note to the *Numismatic Chronicle* (Third Series, vol. xii. p. 253) on a curious seventeenth-century medalet in my collection, bearing the inscription, "As soone as wee to bee begunne, We did beginne to be undone," an old English version of Manilius' line, "Nascentes morimur, finisque ab origine pendet." About that time I likewise acquired fine specimens of an Italian *memento mori* medal by Giovanni Boldu, dated 1466, and of the large medal of Erasmus of Rotterdam (1519), with his favourite "terminus" design on the reverse.

PART II.

ANALYSIS AND ARRANGEMENT.

In this part of the book I have attempted to classify the various possible aspects of death and mental attitudes towards the idea of death into the following groups, the headings of which are numbered by Roman numerals. When describing the medals, &c., in Part III., I shall refer, by Roman numerals in brackets, to the group or groups (according to the arrangement in this part) which I think each one illustrates.

I. The Simple *Memento Mori* Idea.

In this group death is viewed merely as the necessary end of life, the final goal (*ultima linea*): "Mors ultima linea rerum est" (Horace, *Epist.*, i. 16, line 79); *Θανάτῳ πάντες ὀφειλόμεθα* (Simonides, *Anthol. Graec. Palat.*, x. 105). Slightly more complicated expressions of the same simple idea are: "Principium moriendi natale est"; "Lex non poena mors"; "Nascentes morimur, finisque ab origine pendet," &c.

"Zum Leben warst Du erkoren,
Zum Sterben wirst Du geboren."

In the common *memento mori* inscription, "Respice finem," the Latin word "finis," like the Greek *τέλος* and the English "end," may perhaps be taken to mean the final object as well as the final event of life. If this were so, "Respice finem" would be almost equivalent to "Live to die." So also when death is described as the "ultima linea rerum," the word "linea" (doubtless used by Horace as the goal-line in a race) may signify either the limit (end) or the object (goal). "Respice finem" need not, of course, always refer to the end of life; it may refer to the end or final result of any undertaking. Compare such sayings as: "The end crowns the work" ("Finis coronat opus"); the German, "Ende gut, alles gut"; and the Jesuitical, "The end justifies the means," or "Cui licitus est finis, etiam licent media."

The saying, "Exitus acta probat," occurs on a rare Thaler (1533) of Gabriel, Count of Ortenburg.[147] Several German coins bear the inscription, "Anfang, bedenck das Ende." Many pieces of Augustus, Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel (1634–1666), bear his motto, "Alles mit Bedacht," and on one of his interesting Thaler-types the associated words, "Jacta est alea," express the final decision. On a Florentine sandstone chimney-piece, of the early sixteenth-century period, in the Victoria and Albert Museum (London) is the hexameter: QVID · QVID . AGIS · PRVDENTER . AGAS · (ET) · RESPICE . FINEM. This was also a motto of a Hessian Landgraf in 1583. Compare No. 45 of Aesop's fables, and Ecclesiasticus, vii. 36: "Whatsoever thou takest in hand, remember the end." (Cf. Part III., regarding Dutch jetons of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, bearing the motto, *In omnibus respice finem.*)

Hans Sachs, the sixteenth-century "Meistersänger" of Nürnberg, wrote a poem entitled, *Der Tod ein End aller irdischen Ding.* In regard to the so-called "death" of all *things*, compare also—

"Data sunt ipsis quoque fata sepulchris,"

and the English equivalent—

"So far is aught from lasting aye
That tombes shal have ther dying day."

Both of these, together with several other *memento mori* sayings, are inscribed on a painted wooden memorial tablet of the year 1586 in Adderbury Church, Oxfordshire.[148] Cf. also, "Mox ruet et bustum," &c. (Petrarch's *Africa*). The line—

"Quandoquidem data sunt ipsis quoque fata sepulchris"

is from Juvenal (*Satire*, x. 146), and has been rendered by C. Badham, in his translation of Juvenal (1831)—

"For fate hath fore-ordained its day of doom
Not to the tenant only, but the tomb."

Cf. "Mors etiam saxis nominibusque venit" (Ausonius); and "Habent sua fata libelli," though the oft-quoted words regarding books were really used by the Roman poet, Terentianus Maurus (*De Literis, Syllabis, Pedibus, Metris*), in a special sense—"Pro captu lectoris habent sua fata libelli." Compare also Propertius, *Opera Omnia* (Kuinoel), lib. iii. 2, lines 19 *et seq.*—

"Nam neque Pyramidum sumptus ad sidera ducti,
Nec Jovis Elei caelum imitata domus,
Nec Mausolei dives fortuna sepulchri,
Mortis ab extremâ condicione vacant."

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[147] Madai, *Vollst. Thaler-Cabinet*, No. 4323.

[148] *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, London, 1905, 2nd Series, vol. 20, p. 221.

Shakespeare, in his fifty-fifth Sonnet, has made use of the same comparison as Propertius:—

> "Not marble, nor the gilded monuments
> Of princes, shall outlive this powerful rhyme;
> But you shall shine more bright in these contents
> Than unswept stone, besmear'd with sluttish time."

Death, like Time, Truth, Labour, Perseverance, Hope, Faith, Patience (waiting!), and Love, is said to conquer all things. The motto, *Patientia vincit omnia*, occurs on coins (1619–20) of Friedrich Christian, Count of Mansfeld.[149] The last of the seven types of "Glockenthaler" (Thaler with the representation of a bell on the reverse), issued in 1643 by Augustus, Duke of Brunswick (New Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel line), has the inscription: TANDEM PATIENTIA VICTRIX ANO 1643. The last "Glockenthaler" were struck when patience was rewarded by the departure of an objectionable garrison. The motto, *Amor vincit omnia*, has of course occasionally been chosen for a "posie" on wedding rings, betrothal rings, &c. In regard to Time conquering all things one might instance various old sun-dial inscriptions of the kind. G. F. Kunz (*Rings for the Finger*, 1917) illustrates a sixteenth century finger-ring, in the Albert Figdor collection at Vienna, with a sun-dial and a Greek inscription signifying, "Time removes all things and brings oblivion." In the Apocrypha (First Book of Esdras iv. 41, Revised Version) occurs the famous passage: "Great is Truth and strong above all things"; of which saying the equivalent from the Latin Vulgate is the proverb: "Magna est veritas et praevalet" (often quoted "praevalebit"). Yet, there is also the contrary saying, *Vi verum vincitur*, which may sometimes temporarily prove true.

Here it may be mentioned that the motto, *Vincit omnia veritas*, or *Veritas vincit omnia*, gives its name to the Brunswick "Wahrheits-Thaler," struck by Duke Henry Julius (in 1597 and 1598—probably for the same reason that he issued the so-called "Lügen-Thaler" in 1596 and 1597), which have this motto on one side and on the other side bear the interesting inscription: "Recte faciendo neminem timeas"—reminding one of Bismarck's famous saying (6th February, 1888) in the German Reichstag: "Wir Deutsche fürchten Gott, aber sonst nichts auf der Welt." This saying appears on medals of Bismarck (W. Mayer, Oertel), 1888, and on a German medal by O. Lutz, struck in 1914, at the commencement of the Great European War. The motto, "Recte faciendo neminem timeas," occurs also on coins (1715) of Frederick William I of Prussia, and on coins (1760) of John Frederick, Count of Hohenlohe-Neuenstein. A variety of the same motto, "Bene faciendo neminem timemus," occurs on certain coins of John III, King of

[149] Madai, *Vollst. Thaler-Cabinet*, No. 1792.

Sweden (1569–1592). Cf. personal or family mottoes in various languages, equivalent to: "Do right, come what may" (which should perhaps be contrasted with: "Tell the truth, come what may"). With Bismarck's utterance may be compared the last lines of an epigram by Richard Graves (in his *Euphrosyne*, 1783) quoted by H. P. Dodd (*Epigrammatists*, London, 1870, p. 277), on the reason given by an officer for avoiding a duel:—

> "I fear not man nor devil; but tho' odd,
> I'm not asham'd to own, I fear my God."

The simple *memento mori* devices corresponding to the simple *memento mori* legends include such common emblems as the following: a human skull; a human skull and crossed bones; a human skull and hour-glass; a human skull on the wheel of time;[150] a human skeleton holding an hour-glass; a winged boy holding an inverted torch;[151] a tomb or sepulchral urn; a baby or child resting on a human skull. The last device specially illustrates the above-quoted line of Manilius (*Astronomicon*, iv. 16): "Nascentes morimur, finisque ab origine pendet"; that is to say, as Bishop J. Hall (1574–1656) expressed the same idea, "Death borders upon our birth, and our cradle stands in the grave."[152] Very

[150] The typographical device of H. van den Keere, a sixteenth-century printer of Ghent, was the "wheel of time," with the twelve hours marked on it, as on the face of a clock, and a death's-head in the centre, sometimes accompanied by the motto, *Respice finem*. See L. C. Silvestre, *Marques Typographiques*, Paris, 1853–1867, Nos. 361, 645, 646, 685.

[151] A "genius of death" like this occurs often as a device on Roman sarcophagi, &c.

[152] The Greek philosopher, Theophrastus (about 372–287 B.C.), the successor of Aristotle as head of the Peripatetic school, is said when dying to have complained that "as soon as we are beginning to live we have to die," that is to say, our lives come to an end just as we are commencing to get an insight into the problems of human existence. The same thought has occurred to many since his days. And, after all, it is only a generalisation of the thought expressed in the aphorism of Hippocrates (about 460–377 B.C.): Ὁ βίος βραχύς, ἡ δὲ τέχνη μακρή.

similar are the lines in Edward Young's *Night Thoughts* (Night 5):—

> "While man is growing life is in decrease;
> And cradles rock us nearer to the tomb.
> Our birth is nothing but our death begun."

Inscriptions such as "Memento mori," "Vive memor lethi," occur on certain coins, tokens, "Sterbemünzen," and medals, and a great variety of similar inscriptions occur on memorial finger-rings and memorial jewellery, and on rosary-beads, sun-dials, &c. In one sun-dial inscription, "We shall die all," there is a play on the word, *dial*.[153]

Sudden death from injury (especially accidental injury) or disease is expressed by such devices as a rose-bush and death's-head, or a dead stag transfixed with an arrow, and by such words as "Heut rodt, Morn todt" (To-day red, to-morrow dead"), as on certain so-called "Moralische Pfenninge" struck at Basel in the seventeenth century: "Heri vidi fragile frangi; hodie mortale mori." The passage in the Church of England Burial Service, "In the midst of life we are in death," is the translation of "Mediâ vitâ in morte sumus," the commencement of a famous Latin antiphon (by the monk, Notker Balbulus, of St. Gall, 830–912 A.D.), on which one of Luther's well-known German antiphons was grounded. A "Triumph of Death" picture by the Spanish artist, Juan de Valdes Leal (1630–1691), in the Caridad Hospital at Seville, has the inscription, "In ictu oculi," meaning, "In the twinkling of an eye"

[153] It is mentioned by Miss S. F. A. Caulfeild (*House Mottoes and Inscriptions*, new edition, 1908, p. 118) as occurring over a house built by Lord Stair (Sir James Dalrymple, who lived 1619–1695).

(St. Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians, xv. 52). As I have already said, one must not forget that the terrible and devastating pestilences of former times increased the significance of all *memento mori* tokens, which reminded people of every man's liability to sudden death. Significant in this sense must have seemed the words "Cavete, nescitis horam," which may be seen inscribed on the tomb in Eyam parish church (Derbyshire) of Catherine Mompesson, the young wife of the rector of the time; she died in 1666, a noble victim of the epidemic of plague which is said to have carried off five-sixths of the inhabitants of that village.

According to individual temperaments and circumstances, as already stated, such simple aspects of death may give rise to various mental attitudes, and may exert very different effects. They may favour vital depression or excitation. They may, for instance, modify ambition, induce remorse, diminish future effort or stimulate to make the best use of life while life lasts. According also to individual temperaments and circumstances, the simple aspect of death may be as the "king of terrors" or as the "prince of peace." Some of the expressions above referred to (*e.g.* "Lex non poena mors";[154] "Principium moriendi natale est") may be regarded as carrying a certain amount of consolation (cf. under Headings viii. and xviii.) with them — a kind of consolation independent of all creeds and religious opinions.

In regard to non-Christian sepulchral inscriptions on Christian sepulchres, Harry Quilter writes: "One of the best epigrams in the English language is that of the Rev. William Clarke (1696-1771), on

[154] Cf. the fourth century Christian poet, Prudentius (*Hymn. in exeq. defunct.*): "Lex eadem manet omnes."

seeing *Domus Ultima* inscribed on the family vault of the Dukes of Richmond—

> "'Did he who thus inscribed the wall
> Not read, or not believe St. Paul,
> Who says there is, where'er it stands,
> Another house not made with hands;
> Or may we gather from these words
> That house is not a House of Lords?'"

This is related in John Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*, vol. iv. p. 372. H. P. Dodd (*Epigrammatists*, 1870, p. 353) quotes the opinion of the poet William Hayley (1745–1820): "Perhaps there are few better epigrams in our language." The inscription on the vault of the Dukes of Richmond, in Chichester Cathedral, was in Latin, dated 1750, and ended, *Haec est Domus ultima*. It may be noted by the way that a seat in the House of Lords and a noble tomb have been contrasted in other popular sayings. Nelson before one of his great battles is reported to have observed that for him it would be "the House of Lords or a place in Westminster Abbey"—equivalent to the expression, "Victory or glorious death," which in one form or another rings through all martial annals. Thus, Pope Urban II, preaching the first crusade at the Council of Clermont, in November 1095, when the assembled people responded with their watch-cry, *Deus vult*, distributed among them the symbolic cross of red cloth, with the words: "Wear it upon your shoulders and your breasts; it will be either the surety of victory or the palm of martyrdom."

II. Death as the Threshold of a Future Existence. Death from the Standpoint of Religious Faith. Immortality of the Soul. Metempsychosis.

"Mors janua vitae." "A deathlike sleep, A gentle wafting to immortal life" (Milton, *Paradise Lost*, book xii. line 434). Cf. Thomas Parnell (1679–1718):—

> "Death's but a path that must be trod,
> If man would ever pass to God."

Amongst somewhat older similar passages in the English language, cf. Joseph Beaumont (1616–1699):—

> "Sweet Death, so let me call thee so, thy hand
> Alone can bring our shipwreck'd souls to land";

and Charles Cotton (1630–1687):—

> "But where's the passage to the skies?—
> The road through Death's black valley lies.
> Nay, do not shudder at my tale;
> Tho' dark the shades, yet safe the vale."

Cf. the Collect of the Church of England for Easter Even: "That through the grave and gate of death, we may pass to our joyful resurrection. Cf. Milton (*Paradise Lost*, book xii. line 571): "And to the faithful, death the gate of life."

From the ordinary religious point of view of her time the idea of the reunion of friends and relatives in a spiritual life after death is well expressed by the Hon. C. E. S. Norton (Lady Maxwell):—

> "For death and life, in ceaseless strife,
> Beat wild on this world's shore,
> And all our calm is in that balm—
> Not lost but gone before."

Death may be regarded as the entrance into a higher state of existence by all those who believe in personal immortality, including those who incline to the doctrine

of a gradual evolution of souls, by a kind of metempsychosis, through the ages, analogous to Darwinic evolution in the form and functions of the body.

The idea of a "diffused immortality" of souls is not altogether opposed to the same aspect of death. An amusing skit on human queries regarding a life after death, &c., is that of L. P. Jacks, who (*All Men are Ghosts*, 1913) makes one school of spirits deny the probability of a life *before* death. Cf. Euripides (fragment of *Polyidus*)—

> Τίς δ' οἶδεν εἰ τὸ ζῆν μέν ἐστι κατθανεῖν,
> Τὸ κατθανεῖν δὲ ζῆν κάτω νομίζεται.

Euripides is referred to in this regard by Plato (*Gorgias*, 492) and by Diogenes Laertius (in his Life of the sceptic philosopher, Pyrrho).

In regard to the actual Pythagorean doctrine of metempsychosis or "transmigration of souls" (supposed originally to have been derived from India)—analogous to modern ideas of the conservation of matter and energy—we will quote Ovid's exposition of the idea (English version by Henry King) in the famous passage, commencing, *Omnia mutantur, nihil interit* (Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, Book 15, line 165):—

> "All changes!—nothing perishes!—Now here,
> Now there, the vagrant spirit roves at will,
> The shifting tenant of a thousand homes:—
> Now, elevate, ascends from beast to man,—
> Now, retrograde, descends from man to beast;—
> But never dies!—Upon the tablet's page
> Erased, and written fresh, the characters
> Take various shape,—the wax remains the same:—
> So is it with the Soul that, migrating
> Through all the forms of breathing life, retains
> Unchanged its essence."

Ovid likewise explained (*Metamorphoses*, Book 15, line 158):—

> "Morte carent animae: semperque priore relicta
> Sede, novis habitant domibus vivuntque receptae."

Cicero (as also the Emperor Marcus Aurelius), after Pythagoras, Socrates, and Plato, refers to death as being perhaps a change and migration rather than an annihilation of life (cf. *Tusc. Disput.*, lib. I. xlix. 117), and from such points of view it is easy to say (like the child in the cemetery scene in Maeterlinck's *L'Oiseau Bleu*), "Il n'y a pas de morts"; or, like Longfellow (who, however, also used the expression, "The long mysterious exodus of death"):—

"There is no death! What seems so is transition;
This life of mortal breath
Is but a suburb of the life elysian,
Whose portal we call Death."

These last lines are from Longfellow's poem, *Resignation*, written on the death of a friend's daughter, and first published in 1850; with them may be compared the following other modern quotations, of which the first six stanzas are from the beautiful poem (written and published in 1863) by J. L. McCreery (of Iowa, U.S.A.), entitled, *There is no Death*[155]:—

"There is no death! The stars go down
To rise upon some other shore;
And bright in heaven's jewell'd crown
They shine for ever more."

"There is no death! The dust we tread
Shall change beneath the summer showers
To golden grain, or mellow fruit,
Or rainbow-tinted flowers."

"There is no death! The leaves may fall,
The flowers may fade and pass away;
They only wait through wintry hours
The warm, sweet breath of May."

[155] Wrongly attributed to E. Bulwer-Lytton, first Lord Lytton (1803–1873), in R. A. Bertram's *Dictionary of Poetical Illustrations*, 1885, page 157. *Vide* E. W. Peattie's collection of *Poems You Ought to Know*, Chicago, 1903, p. 25. There are various versions of McCreery's poem in existence.

"There is no death! An angel form
Walks o'er the earth with silent tread;
He bears our best loved things away,
And then we call them 'dead.'"

"They are not dead! They have but passed
Beyond the mists that blind us here
Into the new and larger life
Of that serener sphere."

"And ever near us, though unseen,
The dear immortal spirits tread;
For all the boundless universe
Is life. There are no dead."

Cf. also [156]:—

"There is no death in God's wide world;
But one eternal scene of change:
The flag of life is never furled,
It only taketh wider range."

The next quotation is from Rossiter Worthington Raymond (American):—

"'Alas! too well we know our loss,
Nor hope again to feel that breath
Till we ourselves the river cross.'
He smiled: 'There is no Death.'"

In sympathy with the bereavements occasioned by the Great European War, the following [157] appeared in the "Evening Standard" (London, 1916):—

"There is no Death, there is no Outer Portal
For those we love—our love makes them immortal.
A mother's thoughts eternity can give,
And no son dies while yet his mother live." [158]

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[156] I do not know the name of the author.

[157] I do not know who the author is.

[158] The allusion to the almost immortal element in a mother's love reminds one of some lines by the German poet, Christian Wernicke (about 1670–1715), which have been translated as follows (Dodd's *Epigrammatists*, 1870, p. 511):—

"Ere yet her child has drawn its earliest breath
A mother's love begins—it glows till death—
Lives before life—with death not dies—but seems
The very substance of immortal dreams."

This was perhaps suggested by the following passages in Maurice Maeterlinck's play, *L'Oiseau Bleu*: "There are no dead"; —— "Our dead live when we remember them."

From R. H. Stoddard's *Hymn to the Sea* we have :—

"There is no death—the thing that we call death
Is but another, sadder name for life,
Which is itself an insufficient name,
Faint recognition of that unknown Life—
That Power whose shadow is the Universe."

From Emily Brontë's *Last Lines* we quote :—

"There is not room for Death
Nor atom that his might could render void.
Thou, Thou art Being and Breath
And what Thou art may never be destroyed."

The following beautiful lines are from *Festus* (1839), by Philip James Bailey, of Nottingham :—

"The death change comes.
Death is another life. We bow our heads
At going out, we think, and enter straight
Another golden chamber of the King's,
Larger than this we leave, and lovelier.
And then in shadowy glimpses, disconnect,
The Story, flower-like, closes thus its leaves.
The will of God is all in all. He makes,
Destroys, remakes, for His own pleasure, all."

Cf. the Latin hymn for the funeral of the dead (fourth century A.D.) by Prudentius, the chief Christian poet of the early church, translated as follows by F. St. John Thackeray (London, 1890) :—

"There let the sad complaint be dumb;
O Mothers, stay the falling tears;
Weep not your children's too brief years.
Death but prepares for life to come.

So buried seeds repair our store,
Reorient from the parchèd earth,
And teeming with their promised birth
Blossom and burgeon as of yore."

Here I would also quote Lord Tennyson :—

"Nor blame I Death, because he bare
The use of virtue out of earth:
I know transplanted human worth
Will bloom to profit otherwhere.

For this alone on Death I wreak
The wrath that garners in my heart;
He puts our lives so far apart
We cannot hear each other speak."

The following lines are by John Presland (*King Monmouth*, 1916):—

"There is no death for those who dare to die:
There is no loss for those who dare to give;
There is no blackness and no shadow of hell
For those who freely and nobly dare to live."

The words, *There is no Death*, have come to be almost regarded as a kind of philosophical or religious slogan or rallying-cry in life's battle. Recently the sentence has been chosen to serve as a title to a volume of poems (London, 1917) by Richard Dennys, published after his death in the Great European War. Another little lyrical collection, by Ellen Coleman, has lately been published (London, 1917) under the heading, "There are no Dead, and other Poems."

In a little book of essays T. B. Scott[159] writes: "If the old Greek philosopher could look on death as his last and best friend, if the Buddhist can calmly wait for it, and if the Mohammedan can fearlessly welcome it, surely to the Christian death should be the apotheosis of his earthly existence, the *Janua Vitae*, the very gateway into knowledge and Eternal Life." The idea of such a portal has been graphically represented by the modern French sculptor, Albert Bartholomé, in his fine "Monument aux Morts," in the cemetery of Père Lachaise at Paris (see Fig. 1).

A medal of Galeotto Marzi (fifteenth century) is inscribed with the well-known line of Manilius: "Nascentes morimur, finisque ab origine pendet"; followed by the words, "Superata tellus sidera donat." Various mortuary medals have inscriptions equivalent to: "Death is entry into life." A memorial medal on the death of Sir John

[159] T. B. Scott, *The Road to a Healthy Old Age: Essays Lay and Medical*, London, 1914, p. 23.

Hotham (1645) bears the inscription, "Mors mihi vita"; and the same inscription occurs on a memorial medal of the famous natural philosopher, Aloisio Galvani. A German "Sterbethaler" (1591) bears the motto, "Haud timet mortem qui vitam sperat." Quite similar is the inscription, "Moriar ut vivam" (with the device of a phoenix rising from flames, as an emblem of the resurrection, or of the survival of the soul after the death of the body) on one of the so-called "Moralische Pfenninge" (seventeenth century) of the town of Basel. A phoenix, likewise as an emblem of the resurrection and of the immortality of the soul, occurs on some Italian medals and German medals and "Sterbemünzen," with inscriptions such as, "Moriens revivisco," "Hinc vita perennis," "Ex flammis orior," "Ex cineribus orior."

Another emblematic device (occurring on medals, &c.), representing corn springing up around a skull or bones (with such mottoes as, "Ut semina sicca virescent," or "Spes alterae vitae"), is thus explained in a sixteenth-century book of emblems (referred to further on, in Part III.): "Corne, graine, and seeds of sundrie sorts, being dead and cast into the ground, do revive, and springe againe: So mans bodie falling into the ground shall rise againe in glory, in the last and general day of the resurrection of the flesh."

A memorial medal of Adolph Occo III (1524–1606), a physician of Augsburg, bears the pentameter line, "Vita mihi Christus, mors erit ipsa lucrum" ("To me to live is Christ, and to die is gain," St. Paul's Epist. to the Philippians, i. 21); and on a medal commemorating the death of Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden at the Battle of Lützen (1632), a variation of this verse occurs: "Vita mihi Christus, mors mea dulce lucrum";

the German text is inscribed on a "Sterbethaler" of 1664, and the Dutch text on the mortuary medal of a lady who died in 1662. On another memorial medal of Occo's death (1606) we read, "Absorpta est mors in victoriam" ("Death is swallowed up in victory," St. Paul's First Epist. to the Corinthians, xv. 54). Luther is said to have worn a gold Death's head ring (see later) on which was the inscription, "O mors, ero mors tua" ("O death, I will be thy death").

This inscription forms part of an antiphon used in the Roman Catholic Church for Holy Saturday at Lauds: "O mors, ero mors tua: morsus tuus ero, inferne." Apart from the religious interpretation (cf. the motto, "Mors Christi, mors mortis mihi"), it may be compared to Shakespeare's line (already quoted):—

"And, Death once dead, there's no more dying then."

The idea of getting beyond death by dying, and therefore defeating and freeing oneself from death, is in a way expressed by Ovid's *Morte carent animae* (*Metamorph.*, xv. 158), and by the motto, *Mors vincit mortem.*

In regard to the "death of Death," compare A. C. Swinburne:—

"Here now in his triumph, where all things falter,
Stretched out in the spoils that his own hand spread,
As a god self-slain on his own strange altar,
Death lies dead";

and also Shelley (*Adonais*):—

"He lives, he wakes—'tis Death is dead, not he."

From the Christian point of view the significance of all this is the same as that of the passage in St. Paul's First Epist. to the Corinthians xv. 55, which might have been used in the same way: "O death, where is thy

sting? O grave, where is thy victory?" (In the Revised Version: "O death, where is thy victory? O death, where is thy sting?") Cf. Alexander Pope ("The Dying Christian to his Soul"):—

"Lend, lend your wings! I mount! I fly!
O grave! where is thy victory?
O death! where is thy sting?"

During the Great European War, about September, 1916, the following song (apparently derived, with or without alteration, from a Salvation Army hymn) was popular amongst the English soldiers in some of the trenches:—

"The bells of Hell go ting-aling-aling
For you and not for me,
O! death, where is thy sting-aling-aling,
O! grave, thy victoree?"

E. V. Lucas, in his novel, "The Vermilion Box" (1916), makes one of the characters (Richard Haven) quote a variant of this, as an "astonishing chorus or litany," showing the light way in which the English "Tommies" accept death.

The Christian idea of the "Death of Death" (also symbolized in the *Apocalypse*) is referred to in various Latin verses which I have quoted at the end of Part IV. ii. (footnote 712).

Compare also I. Corinthians, xv. verse 26: "The last enemy that shall be destroyed is death." Verse 57 of the same chapter occurs on a sixteenth-century religious medal (see Part III.), representing Christ's resurrection and triumph over death (Christ stands over a skeleton, with one foot on a monster of some kind). In the "Todten Dantz," by Rudolph and Conrad Meyer of Zürich (Zürich, 1650), one of the designs represents in a somewhat similar way the final triumph of Christ over Death, that is to say, it symbolizes the "Death of Death." Compare the epitaph (1610) on George Heriot (father of the founder of Heriot's Hospital), in Greyfriars Churchyard, Edinburgh:—

"Vita mihi mortis, mors vitae, janua facta est,
Solaque mors mortis vivere posse dedit.
Ergo quisquis adhuc mortali vesceris aurâ,
Dum licet, ut possis vivere, disce mori."

For this, T. J. Pettigrew, who quotes it,[160] gives the following English rendering:—

"Life, gate of death; death, gate of life, to me;
Sole death of death gives life eternally.
Therefore, whoever breath draws from the air,
While live thou may'st, thyself for death prepare."

On a German seventeenth-century religious medal the mystic Christian and heraldic device of the "pelican in her piety" is accompanied by the inscription, "Nam Christi mors mea vita est." The origin of this emblem of Christ and the resurrection was the fabulous idea that the female pelican wounded her breast and revived her apparently dead young ones with her own blood.

The memorial medal of Nicholas and Dorothy Wadham (1618), the founders of Wadham College, Oxford, bears the inscription, "When Christ who is our life shal appeare, we shal appeare with him in glory" (cf. St. John xi. 25, 26). A German mortuary medal (1672) has the inscription, "Hoc ergastulo confracto, sublimis vivo" ("Now that this prison is broken up, I live on high"). On certain mortuary medals and on a sixteenth-century *memento mori* finger-ring Latin inscriptions occur, meaning: "Whether we live or die, we are the Lord's" (St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans xiv. 8). All memorial medals (and, of course, all sepulchral monuments) with legends of the usual Christian epitaph kind, relating to existence after death, may be regarded as illustrating the same aspect of death.[161] Thus a "Sterbethaler" (1660) of Elisabeth Charlotte, mother

[160] T. J. Pettigrew, *Chronicles of the Tombs*, London, 1857, pp 65, 66.

[161] In regard to the kindred subject of Christian coin mottoes in general, see *The Christian Teaching of Coin Mottoes*, by W. Allan and J. Zimmerman, London, 1911; this could be doubtless much enlarged.

of the "Great Elector" of Brandenburg, bears the inscription, "Non fuit mortale quod optabat defuncta." The inscription, "Mors bonis grata," on an English sixteenth-century gold mourning finger-ring of the *memento mori* class in the British Museum, has, of course, a similar religious significance, and so has the motto, "Melior mors vitâ," used by the Dutch prelate, J. van Neercassel, who died in 1686.

A memorial mourning ring is inscribed, "Heaven is my happyness"; and W. Lenthall (1591–1662), Speaker in the House of Commons, directed by will that the rings given away at his funeral should be inscribed, "Oritur non moritur." A sixteenth-century memorial ring in the Victoria and Albert Museum has the inscription, "Dye to lyve."[162] A somewhat later memorial locket bears a representation of the resurrection; whilst an eighteenth-century mourning brooch has a picture of relatives mourning at a tomb, and comforts them with the inscription, "Heaven has in store what thou hast lost." Lady Evans possesses a small engraved metal plate of the seventeenth century in memory of a boy who, before he died, dreamt "that he had wings and flew to heaven." Needless to say, under the present heading can be included all representations of the Christian ideas of the resurrection of the dead, the last judgment, angels, devils, heaven, hell, and purgatory.

A medal on the death of Marshal Schomberg at the Battle of the Boyne (1690) bears on its edge the inscription, "Pro religione et libertate mori, vivere est." Some memorial medals and memorial finger-rings (which will

[162] Compare the mottoes, "Disce mori et vivere" (motto of Friedrich Wilhelm I, Duke of Saxe-Weimar, who died in 1662) and "Vive ut (postea) vivas," and the epitaphs similar to the sixteenth-century one (on Joane Brodnax, 1592)—

"Lyve well and Dye never,
Dye well and Live ever."

be described in Parts III. and IV.), on the death of King Charles I of England, allude to a celestial crown as a reward for a martyr's death. But such inscriptions and devices bring us to the subject of medals, &c., commemorating death or martyrdom for religious, patriotic, political, or social opinions, and such medals (and other memorials) are best classed under Heading xi.

Writers and authorities on anthropology have abundantly shown how firm the belief in an existence after death may be amongst primitive peoples. In this respect W. H. R. Rivers's account of the conception of death amongst Melanesian Islanders is very illuminating.[163] Mrs. Arthur Strong, in her *Apotheosis and After Life*,[164] explains the archaeological evidence of the conception of a future life in the Ancient Classical World, from archaic Greek times (or even from pre-Hellenic civilisations) onwards. She illustrates the wide influence on ancient thought of the Eleusinian and analogous religious "mysteries," the Orphic, Pythagorean, Platonic and Mithraic teachings, and she insists on the highly developed Roman ideas of apotheosis, preceding the general acceptance of the Christian doctrines of the immortal soul's adventures after death. From the After-Life point of view she explains the significance of sepulchral devices and representations of various periods —the archaic scenes of the apotheosis like after-death journey, in chariots drawn by winged horses or other winged animals and monsters; the winged steeds of the relief (a scene of the favourite after-death chariot-journey) on the bronze chariot of Monteleone (now in

[163] W. H. R. Rivers, "The Primitive Conception of Death," *Hibbert Journal*, London, 1912, vol. x. p. 393.

[164] Mrs. Arthur Strong, *Apotheosis and After Life*, London, 1915.

the Metropolitan Museum of New York), which was probably made to serve as a piece of "sepulchral furniture"; the pair of griffons drawing the chariot of the after-death (apotheosis-like) journey depicted on the sarcophagus of Haghia Triada[165] (in the Museum of Candia, Crete); the incantation scene on the same sarcophagus from Haghia Triada; the offerings to the (apparently deified) dead on the sepulchral stele from Chrysapha, near Sparta[166] (now in the Museum of Berlin); the Siren-like or Harpy-like "Angels of Death," carrying off human souls[167] on the so-called "Harpy tomb" from Xanthos in Lycia (in the British Museum); figures of Sirens on other archaic tombs; the chariot-racing, &c., on the large elaborate painted terra-cotta sarcophagus from Clazomenae in Ionia (now in the British Museum) and on the sarcophagus from Golgoi in Cyprus (now in the Metropolitan Museum of New York); the so-called "Funeral Banquet" scene, or the "Banquet of After-Life," as represented at various periods, in various parts of the Ancient World; the many, and frequently elaborate, apotheosis scenes of the Roman Emperors and their kin; various Roman family monuments, such as the Igel Monument of the Secundinii, near Treves.

During the best period of Greek art the beautiful

[165] See R. Paribeni, "Il Sarcophago Dipinto di Haghia Triada," *Monumenti Antichi della Reale Academia dei Lincei*, Milan, 1903, vol. xix. pp. 5-86 (with illustrations). In regard to such chariot-devices it may be remembered that at a later time Plato (*Phaedo*) compared the soul to a winged chariot with two horses and a charioteer.

[166] Percy Gardner, *Sculptured Tombs of Hellas*, London, 1896, p. 76, Plate ii.; Mrs. Arthur Strong, *op. cit.*, Plate xvi. fig. i.

[167] These reliefs were, when first brought to England, supposed to represent the Harpies in the act of carrying off the daughters of Pandareus.

Attic sepulchral monuments seem to show that the cultivated Athenians gave little thought to ideas of a future existence, as if they had been influenced by the Homeric conception of the dead (the feeble, shrivelled, shadowy, flitting, inhabitants of the gloomy nether world) —a conception "which ruled in Athens from the time of the official introduction of the Homeric poems into Athens by Pisistratus at the end of the sixth century B.C." Mrs. Strong remarks that the beautiful reliefs on the Attic sepulchral stelae of the best period often evoke the spectator's sympathy, not so much for the departed as for the surviving relatives, who are represented taking a sorrowful eternal leave of their beloved ones. These fine Attic sepulchral stelae, which "practically came to an end between 317 and 307 B.C., as a consequence of the sumptuary laws passed by Demetrius Phalereus against excessive luxury of sepulchral monuments," nevertheless, she points out, in some instances showed traces of beliefs in an After-Life. For instance, "on the stele of a hoplite at Athens (which must be earlier than 478 B.C., since it was found in the wall of Themistocles) an apotropaeic running Gorgon is carved on the socle. . . . On another of the Pheidian period from the Peiraeus, a man lays his hand on the head of a tiny Siren on his left, while on the socle Tritons shouldering their oars and blowing their horns are depicted, in clear allusion to the journey to the Isles of the Blessed." (Cf. Part IV., Subdivision i.)

A stele from Kalyvia (about twelve miles, as the crow flies, to the north-west of Athens) represents a great marriage vase in relief (signifying the unmarried condition of the deceased), on the top of which a non-malignant Siren is tearing her hair and beating her breast in sign of

sympathy with the mourners.[168] A Siren from another Attic tomb, represented as human from head to waist, is playing on her lyre.[169]

In regard to the ancient ideas of the ultra-mundane "Abode of Bliss," Mrs. Arthur Strong[170] writes: "Man's various conception of this abode, whether he places the habitation of the dead under the earth, or beyond its confines, or in some misty cloud-world above, depends in the first instance upon his method of disposing of the dead. Where inhumation is prevalent, the dead are thought of as below the earth; where incineration, fire is conceived as purifying and releasing the immortal part, which is then borne aloft to the rarer air of some region above the world. The different ways in which it was conceived the dead might voyage to these distant regions were productive of an especially rich imagery. Already on the sarcophagus of Haghia Triada—dating from a pre- or proto-Hellenic civilisation—we beheld the dead borne, like Elijah,[171] on a winged chariot through the flaming aether; chariots winged and unwinged (*ad superos* and *ad inferos*), winged steeds, boats, Harpies, Sirens, eagles, sea-monsters of every description, are only a few of the many vehicles of the soul's transit." In Roman times we have the "symbolism of the liberated soul expressed in the group of Ganymede borne aloft by the eagle" on the Igel monument of the Roman Secundinii family, near Treves.

[168] Percy Gardner, *Sculptured Tombs of Hellas*, London, 1896, p. 114, Plate iv.

[169] Percy Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 126, Fig. 47.

[170] Mrs. Arthur Strong, *op. cit.*, pp. 125, 126.

[171] Cf. II. Kings ii. 11: "And it came to pass, as they (Elijah and Elisha) still went on, and talked, that, behold, there appeared a chariot of fire, and horses of fire, and parted them both asunder; and Elijah went up by a whirlwind into heaven."

The so-called "Funeral Banquets" and the various scenes of after-life delights on sepulchral monuments, &c., evidently represent the blissful conditions which the survivors hoped would be the lot of their departed relatives. In fact, the survivors thought they could help to make the state of the dead a happy one by representing it as such on their tombs and monuments—that is to say, by the help of a kind of "suggestive" or "sympathetic" magic.

In regard to such scenes Mrs. Arthur Strong[172] writes: "Scenes of ultramundane bliss are of specially frequent occurrence—always with the same magical intention of perpetuating the state desired for the dead by giving it a permanent and visible form. The scenes of hunting, chariot-racing, and revelling are familiar instances—the "Funeral Banquet," which in one form or other is among the commonest motives of ancient sepulchral imagery, becoming in time the supreme expression of Apotheosis." Mrs. Strong[173] quotes Sir Arthur Evans regarding the famous stelae from the circle of graves on the Acropolis of Mycenae, to explain the much-discussed scenes on them of hunting and chariot-racing; she adds: "We have here, in fact, an anticipation of Pindar's pictures of the joys of the Blessed, who 'in the space before their city . . . take their delight in horses and games.'" (Cf. Part IV., Subdivision i.).

By a similar trend of ideas the articles placed in the tomb (the "tomb furniture") were probably not thought of as actually intended for use, and were therefore often much less expensively made than the real articles for actual use (cf. Part II., Headings xix., xx.); but they doubtless were, like the funeral and sepulchral offerings to the dead, regarded as symbols or tokens of objects of comfort and delight, which it was to be hoped the dead would obtain in their after-life, by the aid of the same kind of "sympathetic magic."

I shall subsequently allude to the supposed gem-

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[172] Mrs. Arthur Strong, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

[173] Mrs. Arthur Strong, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

portraits of Plato with butterfly wings attached to his temple (on the side seen in the profile portraits), in allusion to his argument for the immortality of the soul. These are all bearded heads on quadrangular bases after the manner of a so-called "Hermes" or (in Rome) "Terminus." Furtwängler regards them as representing, not Plato, but Hypnos. However, the gem-type of a philosopher, seated, reading from a scroll, with a human skull and a butterfly before him, evidently refers to thoughts on death and the soul, *i.e.* on the mortality of the body (the skull) and the immortality of the soul (the butterfly). The butterfly as an emblem of the human soul occurs in several antique designs (engraved gems, &c.), which will be referred to further on, in Part IV.

As an emblem of immortality and the life of the soul after the death of the body, the butterfly has preserved its popularity to modern times. For a typical illustration of this see the final paragraph from the life of Sir James Y. Simpson, the celebrated introducer of chloroform-anaesthesia, by his daughter, Eve B. Simpson (Edinburgh, 1896, p. 159): "He had often stood by the burial-place of the Jervays of Boghall, in the old kirkyard at Bathgate, and traced there, on their weather-worn headstone, the hour-glass which surmounted it. But to him the hour-glass spoke of only 'the sands of time.' He looked ever forward to the time when 'the dawn of heaven would break.' In the centre of the ground he acquired at Warriston, when first the 'dews of sorrow' gathered on his young brow, he placed an obelisk, pointing, like the church spires, heavenward. On it he carved, 'Nevertheless I live,' and above it a butterfly. So there he rests, with the emblem of immortality soaring above him!"

As to the subject of existence after death, one may further mention certain Roman Imperial coins and "medallions" with a representation of "Aeternitas" on the reverse; engraved gems and Roman Imperial coins commemorating the "deification" or "apotheosis" of Roman Emperors, Empresses, &c., frequently bearing as devices peacocks or other symbols of immortality; certain antique coins (Eleusis in Attica) and engraved gems,

with devices relating to the Eleusinian Mysteries; the scarabs and other amulets placed by the ancient Egyptians (down to Ptolemaïc times) with mummies to be of service to the deceased in his future life;[174] antique engraved gems representing (or with types referring to) Hermes in his character of ψυχοπομπός, the conductor of the souls or shades of deceased persons to the nether world; certain antique engraved gems with devices possibly referring to the Pythagorean and Orphic doctrines, supposed originally to have been derived from India or Persia,[175] of a transmigration of souls (metempsychosis);[176] the coins ("Charon's obolus" or "danacé") placed in the mouth of deceased persons in ancient Greece, and the little circular embossed thin plates of gold ("gold bracteates" of modern numismatists) which sometimes probably served a similar purpose. In spite of Lucian's ridicule, the custom of placing coins in the mouth, or between the teeth, of corpses survived from ancient Greece, through Roman and Byzantine ages, to modern times in Roumelia and Anatolia.

In regard to primitive ideas on metempsychosis and the journey of the soul after death, cf. Leo Frobenius, *Childhood of Man*, English edition, 1909, pp. 252–262, with illustrations of native "dance-rattles," &c.

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[174] In Part IV. I shall again refer to such Egyptian amulets, and to the Egyptian belief in another world and a judgment after death, with reward for righteousness.

[175] See Robert Eisler, *Weltenmantel und Himmelzelt*, 2 vols., Munich, 1910; and Mrs. Arthur Strong, *op. cit.*, note on p. 274.

[176] There are, of course, many Buddhist works of art representing scenes from the "Jatakas," that is to say, incidents from supposed earlier existences of Buddha. Amongst such works of art is the series of sculptures in the British Museum from the Buddhist Tope at Amaravati in Southern India. See also the scenes from the "Jatakas" in the series of *Ajanta Frescoes*, reproductions of frescoes in the caves at Ajanta (after copies taken by Lady Herringham and her assistants), published by Humphrey Milford, London, 1915.

Under the present heading one might mention certain superstitions and customs connected with the belief in an existence after death, namely, the weird superstitions connected with the primitive "vampire" tales of Eastern Europe; the Oriental and ancient customs of the sacrificial death or suicide of wives to accompany their husbands (the "Sutteeism" of widows in Hindustan), or of slaves to accompany their masters, into the future life; the idea of the restless wandering spirits or ghosts of murdered persons and suicides, who are able to haunt and worry the living, especially those who injured them during life; and (intimately allied to the last idea) the old Chinese idea of the possibility of obtaining revenge by means of suicide, *i.e.* the idea that the spirit of the dead man may haunt and punish those whose cruelty and malevolence drove him to commit suicide.[177] But I have found little in the way of medals, &c., relating to such special aspects of, and mental attitudes towards, death and the supposed life beyond it. The placing of a coin or coin-like object in the mouth of corpses may, however, at one time have been associated with a belief in "vampires" (see Part IV.). In regard to Mediaeval literal representations of Christian doctrines, some of the most curious are frescoes of the Last Judgment (as at the cathedral of Torcello, near Venice), showing lions and wild beasts vomiting up human bodies which had been eaten ages previously.

The "astral bodies" of persons who die by their own hands, are murdered, or are killed by accident, have been supposed, as "lemures," or ghosts, to retain their earthly desires and passions (and therefore to be attracted towards certain living persons) until what should have naturally been their span of life has been completed. Socrates (according to Plato's *Phaedo*) thought that impure souls feared to go down to Hades and for a time haunted the earth, like the ghostly shadows described by Milton (*Comus*, 470) as lingering in charnel-vaults and by new-made graves.

[177] It is needless to add that the act of suicide may have been sometimes connected with some peculiar belief or speculation as to what happens after death.

In the British Museum there are some fine coloured Japanese prints or drawings representing the malevolent apparition of ghosts or skeletons. Cf. a design by Hokusai of the ghostly skeleton of a murdered man appearing in a dream before his murderer, reproduced in Wilhelm Michel's *Das Teuflische und Groteske in der Kunst* (München, 1911, second edition, p. 113). Another class of suicide for revenge has been reported from certain parts of Africa. There a person whose acts have driven another to commit suicide has himself to undergo a like fate. *Vide* E. Westermarck, *Origin and Development of Moral Ideas*, 1908, vol. ii. p. 233.

Medals commemorating executions come under Heading v., and those commemorating martyrdom for religious opinions come under Heading xi., but both these classes are likewise connected with the present heading, since the cruel executions for heresy, as well as the Crusades and other religious wars, depended to a certain extent on the belief in a future existence. The Christian inquisitors or other judges often really believed that they were benefiting their victims by mercilessly torturing and killing them—that, in fact, they diminished punishment in the life to come by present punishment inflicted in the name of religion. The "spirit of religious intolerance" might be abundantly illustrated from major and minor objects of art and from epigram and poetry.

The fierce, unyielding spirit of all parties in the religious struggles of the sixteenth century in Europe is well illustrated by the anti-papal Latin hexameter line, said (probably wrongly) to have been written by Luther as an epitaph on himself: "Pestis eram vivus, moriens tua mors ero, papa." This occurs as an inscription, in capital letters (with FIFVS in place of VIVVS), on an old German woodcut, signed W. S., copied from Albrecht Dürer's engraving (1514) of "St. Jerome in his Cell," but with a seated figure of Martin Luther substituted in place of St. Jerome. With this may be compared the various anti-papal medals, cast or struck, in silver, bronze or white metal, of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The earliest ones were, I think, always cast, and have been ascribed (but doubtless without sufficient evidence) to Nicolaus von Amsdorf (or Ambsdorff), the Protestant Bishop of Naumburg (1542–1546), a friend of Luther. On the obverse are the heads of the Pope and the devil, joined base to base, with the inscription, *Perversa ecclesia tenet faciem diaboli ;* on the reverse are the heads of a cardinal (or other Roman Catholic prelate) and a fool (in "cap and bells," that is, the cap with bells of a licensed jester of the period), similarly joined base to base, with the inscription, *Stulti aliquando sapientes.* The obverse type (with the inscription, *Ecclesia perversa tenet faciem diaboli*) was made use of for the reverse of one of the English medals, by George Bower, commemorating the murder of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, in 1678 (*Medallic Illustrations of British*

History, London, 1885, vol. i. p. 578, No. 250). A silver anti-papal medal (struck), described by R. Nadrowski (*Monthly Numismatic Circular*, London, June 1894, column 718), has the usual combined Pope and devil head on the obverse, and the cardinal and fool head on the reverse, but the inscriptions are respectively: *Sub quattuor normis peribit orbis*, and *Nulla salus quo hic malus*. This medal is especially interesting because it is dated 1614 and signed with the letters, K.I.R. The so-called "Pfaffenfeindthaler," struck (it has been said, out of silver obtained from ecclesiastical treasure in the cathedral of Halberstadt) in 1622 by Christian, Duke of Brunswick-Luneberg, one of the Protestant commanders in the "Thirty Years' War," have (in the centre of the obverse) the legend: *Gottes Freundt, Der Pfaffen Feindt.*

The intolerant element in Mediaeval Christianity is sometimes well shown by the descriptions and representations of Hell. See, for instance, the Jews being boiled in a caldron in Hell, on Pl. lxxiii. (fol. 255) of the reproductions (Strassburg, 1879–1899) of the Abbess Herrade von Landsberg's *Hortus Deliciarum* (twelfth century). On the other hand, in the Collect for Good Friday (English Book of Common Prayer), we read: "Have merey upon all Jews, Turks, Infidels and Hereticks."

Here we may likewise mention that the types of certain antique engraved gems possibly refer to human sacrifices.[178] The horrors of human sacrifices and the cruel rites (including "Sutteeism") connected with barbarous religious superstitions ("Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum"),[179] were denounced by the Epicurean philosopher and poet, Lucretius, to part of whose *De Rerum Naturâ*, and to the histories of the Christian Inquisition, might be prefixed the words: "O Religion! (or rather, 'O ignorant

[178] Of course some gem-types of the kind may merely depict mythological incidents. On this question see A. Furtwängler, *Die antiken Gemmen*, Leipzig, 1900, vol. iii. pp. 229, 260.

[179] Lucretius (*De Rerum Naturâ*, i. 102), in reference to the sacrifice of Iphigenia. I cannot quite understand the historian, Edward Gibbon's attitude when, in Chapter ii. of his famous *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, speaking of the relative absence of religious intolerance in the Roman Empire, he says (the italics are mine): "The province of Gaul seems, and indeed only seems, an exception to this universal toleration. *Under the specious pretext* of abolishing human sacrifices, the Emperors Tiberius and Claudius suppressed the dangerous power of the Druids (*Sueton. in Claud.* and *Plin. Hist. Nat.*, xxx. i.)." Although, according to Caesar, the Druids taught "that souls do not perish, but after death pass into other bodies," they nevertheless employed human sacrifices; the Gauls considered "that the favour of the immortal gods cannot be conciliated unless the life of one man be offered up for that of another." Sacrifices of the same kind were appointed on behalf of the state. As victims criminals were preferred, but innocent persons were sacrificed when the number of criminals was insufficient.

Superstitions!') what crimes have been committed in thy name!" [180]

In regard to the survival of superstition, it may be mentioned that in England the laws against witchcraft were not repealed till 1736, and that active belief in witches and the "evil eye" still flourishes amongst the ignorant peasants of various parts of Europe. Unfortunate persons of defective intellect have in quite recent times been roughly handled (even killed in one case) during the process of exorcism or fancied casting out of devils. All over the world miserable old persons are occasionally still accused of witchcraft by their superstitious neighbours, and are even sometimes grievously persecuted (or killed!) as a result, with or without the semblance of justice or a kind of trial. (For a short account of all the terrible human cruelty resulting from the popular superstitious belief in sorcery or witchcraft, up to and including part of the nineteenth century in Great Britain, see Brand's *Popular Antiquities of Great Britain*, revised by Sir Henry Ellis, London, edition of 1849, vol. iii. pp. 1 to 43.) It is really the support of faith itself which has made some religious fanatics so terrible, just as a certain confidence in destiny has made "supermen" (compare the ideas of Gobineau, Max Stirner—his real name was Kaspar Schmidt—and Nietzsche), like Napoleon I, so dangerous, just as the fine quality of self-reliance may bring the enterprise of a well-meaning but inexperienced physician or surgeon to disaster.

Voltaire said, "Jamais la nature humaine n'est si avilie que quand l'ignorance superstitieuse est armée de pouvoir." But is not human nature sometimes equally abased when, not religious, but other noble conceptions, ideals, aspirations, and passions "go wrong" through want of control and intelligent tolerance? Is not Love ("the best of them") to some extent related to mad jealousy and the sexual lust, which, when armed with unbridled power, becomes so terrible? Is not a noble aspiration related to the reckless personal ambition that rides over and tramples down men in the blind race for power, wealth, and fame? Have not dreadful deeds been done in the name of (supposed) Truth, Justice, Honour, Patriotism, and Liberty? Were not the *Libertas aurea* of the medalets of the golden days of Dutch independence (when the United Provinces succeeded in throwing off the Spanish yoke) and the *Libertas optima*

[180] Altered from the words on Liberty ascribed to Madame Roland at the guillotine, 1793. In regard to what was then done in the name of "Liberty" one might compare some of the excesses during the course of the great Russian revolution of 1917.

rerum of Sir William Wallace[181] related to the "liberty" of political murders (commemorated on certain Roman and other coins and medals), and to the "liberty" of the great French Revolution and various "reigns of terror," stained to the end of time with the foulest crimes? The motto, *Moderation in all things*, is often forgotten by enthusiasts, as well as cranks, of all kinds, and neglect of moderation or intolerance may turn a virtue into a vice and give rise to many a crime.

One might easily extend the subject of Part II. Heading ii. indefinitely by including epigrammatic sayings and art-objects illustrating the ideas of various peoples and various periods on immortality and existence of the soul after death—the heavens, hells, and purgatories of all religions and all times—in progressive evolution from the primitive conception (of the most ancient civilisations) of a future existence as a pale and shadowy counterpart of life in this world. What differences in faith in regard to retribution after death! In considering only the ideas on heaven and the abodes of the blessed, what variety we meet with!—The strenuous and fleshly glories of the Scandinavian warriors' Valhalla; the "happy hunting-grounds" of the North American Indians; the houris and sensuous delights of the Mohammedan garden of paradise: the idealized domestic happiness of the ancient Egyptian in the society of his wife and those who had been dear to him during his earthly life; the Elysian fields of the ancient Greeks and Romans, with dancing, bathing, athletic exercises,

[181] According to John Fordun's *Chronicle* (fourteenth century), Wallace remarked, "When I was a youth and under the care of my uncle (the Priest of Dunipacé in Stirlingshire), all that I could carry away from him was a single proverb, but it seemed to me above all price, and I never forgot it. It was this:—

'Dico tibi verum: Libertas optima rerum;
Nunquam servili sub nexu vivito, fili.'"

See also the account (with translation of these "Leonine" verses) on the base of the modern statue of Sir William Wallace at Aberdeen. Some Guelders coins of about 1590 are inscribed: "Libertas vitâ carior."

chariot racing, and other noble pastimes; the philosophic ideas of astral bodies and the gradual solution of the soul after death into air or aether; the Buddhist idea of Nirvana as an ultimate zero-like equilibrium if not complete extinction: the mental bliss following an altruistic life and the beneficent exercise of will-power; the Mediaeval Christian idea of a golden city[182] with the unceasing music of angelic orchestras and choirs, the Fathers of the Church, haloed saints, and palm-bearing martyrs—the wretched damned ones meanwhile suffering eternal torments in a world below! Mediaeval Christians sometimes apparently pictured the blissful ones in heaven as having their happiness increased by being able (from a kind of celestial balcony) to look down on the tortures of their miserable brethren far below them, writhing in the bottomless pit. Truly, in ideas of heaven and hell, as in most other religious ideas, "anthropomorphism" (both physical and mental) has played an important part! But there is no wonder in that, for human nature is more or less intelligible to most persons, whereas in regard to some theological doctrines of orthodox faith (as well as some metaphysical theories) it is a matter of: "Credo quia incredibile."[183]

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[182] The Mediaeval idea of the Christian Paradise as a "Golden City," a "New Jerusalem" (after the description of the "New Jerusalem" in Revelation, Chapt. xxi.), is especially well known from J. M. Neale's still-popular hymn, "Jerusalem the Golden" (founded on a portion of the twelfth century Latin poem, "De Contemptu Mundi," by the Benedictine monk, Bernard of Morlaix):—

"Jerusalem the golden,
With milk and honey blest.
Beneath thy contemplation
Sink heart and voice oppress."

William Blake used the term "Jerusalem" to signify a kind of "Earthly Paradise," in his poem, "The Building of Jerusalem," ending:—

"I will not cease from mental fight,
Nor shall my sword sleep in my hand,
Till we have built Jerusalem
In England's green and pleasant land."

(This last stanza would serve as an excellent fighting motto for public-spirited hygienists and sociologists in England. Cf. PREFACE.)

[183] Or, "Credo quia absurdum," or, "Certum est quia impossibile est." Tertullian's words (*De Carne Christi*, 5) were, it seems: "Prorsus credibile, quia ineptum est."

What man has fancied in regard to the unknown hereafter has naturally been sketched and coloured, in anthropomorphic fashion, with the dominating pleasures and desires of mortal life. Thus,—in regard to the above-mentioned ideas on heaven and the abodes of the heroes and blessed ones after their earthly life is over,—the pleasures and ambitions connected with the imperious animal instincts of self-preservation and obtaining food are represented by the fighting of the Valhalla warriors, the hunting-paradise of the North American Indians, the posthumous feasts and revelling of the Teutonic and Scandinavian heroes, and the sepulchral after-world banquets of the ancient Greeks and Romans; the delights connected with sexual love during adult mortal life and the great animal instinct of reproduction of the species are represented by the houris, the sensuous Mohammedan garden of paradise, and by the female element in the Valhalla life; the habits connected with the instinct of keeping the body and muscles in a healthy condition are represented by the athletic exercises and contests, chariot-racing, out-door games, dancing, and bathing in the Elysian fields of the Greeks and Romans; the enjoyment of singing, music, non-athletic games (like draughts), and the ordinary amenities of human social life on earth, are represented by the angelic orchestras and choirs of the Christian heaven, the pleasant family scenes, with playing of draughts, &c., of the ancient Egyptian idea of the land of the blessed (cf. Part IV. i.)—and so on. In regard to man's anthropomorphic conception of Deity (or Nature) cf. Part II. xv.—the idea that pain might have been spared and mortals rendered happier if things on earth had been otherwise arranged, and if the working of the universe had been differently planned from the beginning.

A kindred subject is constituted by the ideas and longings of those rebellious minds who have refused to accept as the highest conceivable form of happiness, what orthodox teaching of the time promised to the faithful! Many children who have been compelled to sit through a long sermon in church every Sunday morning have had grave doubts as to the desirability of the Christian paradise. So also did Aucassin

(in the Mediaeval French romance or love-story of the thirteenth century, *Aucassin et Nicolette*) revolt from the established teaching of Christianity, when he preferred the idea of hell to heaven because goodly knights and noblemen and soldiers who fell in tournaments and battles went there, as well as sweet and courteous ladies who had lovers besides their husbands. Surely, one cannot help admiring the boldness of this naïve, though perhaps half-jesting, attack of Mediaeval so-called "chivalry" on the tyranny of the orthodox religious doctrines of the time. Cf. William Johnson Cory (1823–1892), "Mimnermus in Church":—

> "You bid me lift my mean desires
> From faltering lips and fitful veins
> To sexless souls, ideal quires,
> Unwearied voices, wordless strains."

III. Survival after Death in the Minds of Others. Posthumous Fame. Necrology.

"On the mountains of memory, by the world's well-springs
In all men's eyes,
Where the light of the life of him is on all past things,
Death only dies."

(A. C. Swinburne, *Songs before Sunrise.*)

Death, as the final incident or scene of mortal life, gives occasion for the summing up of a man's character and deeds in obituary notices and biographies, and for their celebration by commemorative medals, monuments, &c. In regard to the heavy style of obituary notice and epitaph-inscription, especially popular in the eighteenth century, Walter Savage Landor's lines might be recalled:—

"He who has piled these verses o'er thy head
Resolved it seems, to bury thee in lead."

Sepulchral monuments, sepulchral inscriptions and memorial medals often give an incorrect impression of the merits of the deceased, but the bad taste or disregard of truth sometimes shown in epitaphs and memorials can rarely be attributed to the deceased himself. In some cases there is truth in the satire on the subject by Bishop Joseph Hall (1574–1656):—

"Small honour can be got with gaudy grave;
Nor it thy rotting name from death can save.
The fairer tomb, the fouler is thy name;
The greater pomp procuring greater shame."

So also Samuel Wesley (1691–1739) wrote regarding "The Monument," as quoted by H. P. Dodd (*The Epigrammatists*, London, 1870, p. 341).

"A monster, in a course of vice grown old,
Leaves to his gaping heir his ill-gained gold;
Straight breathes his bust, straight are his virtues shown,
Their date commencing with the sculptured stone."

Two of the best-known sayings connected with death are the following: "Call no man blessed before his death" (Ecclesiasticus, xi. 28); and "De mortuis nil nisi bonum." Both of these sayings are associated with the name of Solon, the Athenian lawgiver, for, according to Valerius Maximus (lib. vii. 2, Ext. 2), Solon considered that "no one ought to be called happy as long as he was alive," and, according to Plutarch ("Life of Solon") it was a law of Solon that men "must not speak ill of the dead."

The former saying should be philosophically attached to the famous maxim attributed to Solon: "Ορα τέλος μακροῦ βίου. For, according to the story narrated by Plutarch in his Life of Solon, the substance of the advice given by Solon to Croesus, King of Lydia, was: "Keep in mind the end of a long life—account no man happy before his death." When later on Croesus was taken prisoner by Cyrus (Herodotus narrates that in the final battle, at which Croesus was captured, Croesus was about to be killed by a soldier, when his son, who from birth had been unable to speak, suddenly gained the power of speech, so as to be able to beg for his father's life—the soldier not having recognised that it was the king whom he was about to strike), Cyrus ordered him to be burned on a funeral pyre, but, hearing him three times call out the name of Solon, asked for an explanation. When Cyrus was informed of Solon's words, he countermanded the execution and made Croesus his friend. With this story may be compared one about Amrou-ben-el-Ass, the Arab general of the Caliph Abou-Bekr—as narrated in Simon Ockley's *History of the Saracens* (fourth edition, Bohn's Standard Library, 1847, p. 96). In A.D. 633 Amrou asked Omar (afterwards Caliph) to use his influence to make him (Amrou) general. Omar bade him not seek the superiority and dominion of this world. When Amrou, however, had given up all hope of command, the Caliph Abou-Bekr unexpectedly

made him general, bidding him "to take care to live religiously, and to make the enjoyment of the presence of God and a future state the end and aim of all his undertakings; *to look upon himself as a dying man, and always to have regard to the end of things*," and so on.

Sophocles, at the end of his great tragedy, *Oedipus Tyrannus* (translation by Thomas Dale, 1824), paraphrased Solon's saying of not calling any man happy before his death, as follows:—

"Dare not to pronounce thy fellow truly happy, truly blest,
Till, the bounds of life passed over, still unharmed he sinks to rest."

But might not life be merely one phase of a self-regulating mechanism for the education and evolution of souls through the ages of the universe? Death would then often be the termination of a relatively insignificant scene in an endless drama.

Death may be said to "crown life" in the same way that "finis coronat opus," but "death, as the crown of life," will be referred to again under Heading xv.

There are, of course, many medals bearing on the subject of fame of various kinds. Horace thought "Non omnis moriar" (*Od.*, iii. 30. 6), when he had finished his third book of *Odes*, and this opinion of his has been amply confirmed by Time and the supreme earthly tribunal, *Securus judicat orbis terrarum*. Many men are said to have "immortalized" themselves by their writings or their deeds. It is a common expression to speak of men as having won "immortal fame" by their heroic bravery, patriotism, &c. The Greeks who fell bravely in the cause of patriotism at Marathon, Thermopylae, and other battles, are celebrated by numerous epigrams in the Greek Anthology. The following (English version given by Lord Neaves) is by Simonides:—

"Nobly to die! if that be virtue's crown,
Fortune to us her bounty well displayed.
Striving to make Greece free, we gained renown
That shrouds us where we lie, and ne'er can fade."

Abul Kasim Mansur, called "Firdausi" (about 940–1020), the great epic poet of Persia, wrote:—

> "With fame, even if I die, I am contented:
> Let fame be mine, since my body is death's."

Compare the Motto, *Literae immortalitatem pariunt*, accompanying the printer's device of J. Waesberghe the first, 1557–1588 (L. C. Silvestre, *Marques Typographiques*, Paris, 1853–1867, vol. ii. No. 1021). Inspired by Horace's *Non omnis moriar*, Robert Herrick (1591–1674) wrote in regard to himself:—

> "Thou shalt not all die; for while love's fire shines
> Upon his altar, men shall read thy lines;
> And learned musicians shall, to honour Herrick's
> Fame, and his name, both set and sing his lyrics."

Horace's *Non omnis moriar* may likewise be compared with the concluding lines of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (xv. 871):—

> "Quaque patet domitis Romana potentia terris,
> Ore legar populi, perque omnia saecula fama,
> Si quid habent veri vatum praesagia, vivam."

Cf. also the epitaph lines on himself by the older Roman poet, Ennius (B.C. 239–169), who was by Horace (*Epist.* ii. 1. 50) regarded as a kind of "Roman Homer" ("alter Homerus"), the father of Roman poetry:—

> "Nemo me dacrumis decoret, nec funera fletu
> Faxit. Cur? Volito vivus per ora virum."

Contrast with all these the epigram[184] by Isaac Hawkins Browne, the elder (1705–1760), on Edward Young's "Night Thoughts on Life, Death and Immortality" (published in 1742):—

> "His Life is lifeless, and his Death shall die,
> And mortal is his Immortality."

Surely the epigrammatist undervalued, or affected to undervalue, Young's at that time famous work, though it is indeed very seldom read nowadays.

A medal (1717) commemorating a "pious foundation" of William Ernest, Duke of Saxe-Weimar, has on the reverse the quotation, "Non omnis moriar" (Horace). An Italian medal of doubtful authenticity, described by J. J. Luckius,[185] represents Fame, with two trumpets, flying to

[184] H. P. Dodd, *The Epigrammatists*, 1870, p. 376.

[185] Armand, *Les Médailleurs Italiens*, 2nd edit., Paris, 1883, vol. ii. p. 119, No. 60.

left, and bears the inscription, "Mortalium immortalitas." "Vivit post funera Virtus" is a Latin saying which has been adopted as a motto by several families, and which occurs on a few "Sterbethaler" and mortuary medals. On the sepulchral monument of Dr. Caius, at Caius College Chapel, Cambridge, is the inscription: "Fui Caius. Vivit post funera Virtus. Obiit 1573, Æt. 63." A German mortuary medal of 1701 tells us, "Forma perit, virtus remanet." The inscription on the grand sepulchral monument (1525) in Rouen Cathedral of Cardinal Georges d'Amboise, Archbishop of Rouen, who died in 1510, ends—

"Mortuus en jaceo, morte extinguuntur honores,
At virtus mortis nescia morte viret."

Cf. the Latin pentameter line:—

"Excipe virtutem, cetera mortis erunt."

A French commemorative bronze plaquette of Philippe de Girard, by L. E. Mouchon (1892), bears an allegorical representation of posthumous fame. History, like Fame, is sometimes represented warding off destructive Time (a figure, like Death, holding hour-glass and scythe), as on a medal of the historian, L. A. Muratori, by T. Mercandetti, of Rome.

A Renaissance engraving of the "Triumph of Fame over Death"[186] (printed at Paris by Charles le Vigoureux in the last part of the sixteenth century) represents, after Petrarch's *Trionfi*, the triumphal car of Fame crushing the bodies of the three Fates or Parcae, Clotho, Lachesis, and Atropos (emblematic of the effects of time

[186] See *Pétrarque, l'Illustration de ses Écrits*, by Prince d'Essling and Eugène Müntz, Paris, 1902, p. 251.

and death). The car is drawn by elephants and surrounded by the poets, philosophers, and rulers of ancient times: Virgil, Homer, Cicero, Aristoteles, Alexander, Plato, and Charlemagne. A French sixteenth-century design represents Good Fame standing triumphant over the prostrate bodies of the three Fates.[187] Fine Flemish early sixteenth-century tapestries exist at Madrid (Royal Palace), London (Victoria and Albert Museum), and Hampton Court, with various designs of the Triumph of Fame inspired by Petrarch's *Trionfi*. On a Hampton Court tapestry,[188] the three Fates on their chariot of Death are falling down at the blast of Fame, who is flying towards them, whilst, all around, the heroes of legendary history and romance (Priam, Menelaus, Jason, Lucretia, King Arthur, Tristan, Charlemagne, Roland, &c.) are rising from their tombs. On the Madrid tapestry,[189] Fame, blowing her long trumpet, is being borne along in an aërial chariot, with Death lying conquered at her feet. A French sixteenth-century miniature (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Manuscript, Fonds Français, No. 594) of Fame overcoming Death,[190] shows the dead body of Petrarch's Laura stretched on the oxen-drawn car of Death. Death, a shrivelled figure of the Mediaeval traditional type, with a serpent coiled around him, standing over the body, staggers and lets fall his scythe at the trumpet-blast of Fame. Around the car Alexander the Great, Julius Caesar, Scipio Africanus (Minor), and the heroes of antiquity are seen rising from their graves at the call of Fame (Fig. 29). The companion miniature, "The Triumph

[187] Prince d'Essling and E. Müntz, *op. cit.*, p. 235.
[188] *Ibid.*, the plate facing p. 210.
[189] *Ibid.*, the plate facing p. 216.
[190] *Ibid.*, p. 227.

of Fame" (Fig. 30), shows Fame holding her long horn, standing victorious on her elephant-drawn car, with Death seated conquered at her feet. Julius Caesar, in Renaissance armour, rides on her right, and Pompey the Great, holding a pennant, on her left. The car is surrounded by Alexander the Great, Scipio Africanus Minor, Scipio Africanus Major, Mucius Scaevola, Fabricius, Cato, Brutus, Drusus, Fabius Maximus, Manilius (Manlius Capitolinus), Octavianus (Augustus), Hippolyte, Penthesilea, and other famous men and women of ancient history and tale. Behind come Aristoteles, Plato, Pythagoras, Seneca, Gellius, Virgil, and other ancient philosophers, poets, and writers. Behind these come chaste virgins holding palm-branches.

Another aspect of the relation of fame to death, very different to Petrarch's idea, but likewise illustrated to some extent by works of art, is furnished by the vision of the ruin, destruction, and death due to ambition and the relentless, insatiate, and sightless pursuit of Fame, who, just as Fortune, can reckon amongst her victims many who have pursued her and many more who have been destroyed by the blind rush of the pursuers, regardless of those around and dependent on them. (Cf. Part II. vi., last portion.)

According to Tacitus (*Hist.*, iv. 6): "Etiam sapientibus cupido gloriae novissima exuitur" ("The desire for fame is the last desire that is laid aside even by the wise"). St. Augustine, Bishop of Hippo, preached against the love of fame and unreasonable desire for human praise; one of the chapters of his *De Civitate Dei* (lib. v. cap. 14) is headed: "De resecando amore laudis humanae, quoniam justorum gloria omnis in Deo sit." In another chapter of his work (*op. cit.*, lib. v. cap. 18) he quotes the following

line from Virgil (*Aeneid*, vi. 823), "Vincit amor patriae laudumque immensa cupido"—and remarks: "Haec sunt

FIG. 29.—Fame overcoming Death, after Petrarch. Photo of French sixteenth-century miniature in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

duo illa, libertas et cupiditas laudis humanae, quae ad facta compulit miranda Romanos" ("It is these two

things, liberty and the desire for fame, that impelled the Romans to their admirable deeds").

FIG. 30.—The Triumph of Fame, after Petrarch. Photo of French sixteenth-century miniature in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

Lecky, in his *History of European Morals*, writes: "The desire for reputation, and especially for posthumous

reputation—'that last infirmity of noble mind'[191]—assumed an extraordinary prominence among the springs of Roman heroism. . . . Marcus Aurelius, following an example that is ascribed to Pythagoras, made it a special object of mental discipline, by continually meditating on death and evoking, by an effort of the imagination, whole societies that had passed away, to acquire a realized sense of the vanity of posthumous fame." (For reflections of this kind by Marcus Aurelius see, for instance, the fourth, seventh, and tenth books of his "Meditations.") Cf. John Keats—the end of his poem on the Terror of Death:—

> . . . "Then on the shore
> Of the wide world I stand alone, and think
> Till Love and Fame to nothingness do sink."

We shall see further on that the vanity of posthumous fame is well expressed on some engraved gems of Roman times. There is much satire on posthumous fame in Lucian's "Dialogues of the Dead," for instance, in the dialogue of Diogenes, the cynic philosopher, with Mausolus, King of Caria, and in the dialogue of the same Diogenes with Alexander the Great. Cf. also Martial, *Epig.*, i. 26. 8: "Cineri gloria sera venit." The ancient Greeks and Romans never condemned the desire for earthly fame and glory for the same reason as Saint Augustine, Bishop of Hippo (see back), namely, "quoniam justorum gloria omnis in Deo sit,"[192] but some of them

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[191] Milton, *Lycidas*, line 71.

[192] In this connexion it may be noted that since Saint Augustine's time, and, indeed, since the time of the first Christian Emperor, Constantine the Great, when there have been wars between Christian nations, the victors on both sides have generally or frequently attributed, or affected to attribute, their victories and successes to the help of God (cf. such common inscriptions as *Soli Deo gloria* or *Soli Deo honor et gloria*, on commemorative medals, jetons, and coins) or to the divine

condemned or ridiculed it because the hope of posthumous fame favoured neglect of the proper use or of the enjoyment of the present time (whether from a so-called "Epicurean" point of view or otherwise).

Petrarch's succession of "Triumphs" and his idea of a great man's "second death" and "third death" (cf. under Heading xvii.) make the "glory of the afterglow" of human life completely fade, but the English poet-laureate, Alfred Austin (*Lamia's Winter-Quarters*, London, 1898, p. 114), holds out fond hopes:—

> "And though long sunk from sight, I know
> The glory of your afterglow
> Will never wholly fade."

With Austin's verses those of Longfellow (*Birds of Passage*) may be compared:—

> "So, when a great man dies,
> For years beyond our ken,
> The light he leaves behind him lies
> Upon the paths of men."

More homely is the idea of a cherished though fading life after death in the hearts of children and dear relatives and friends. As Thomas Campbell has expressed it:—

> "To live in hearts we leave behind
> Is not to die."

In one sense, of course, every one does survive in the minds of his successors after the scroll of his life has been rolled up and his record (to his credit and against

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intervention of saints, just as in pre-Christian times victories were often ascribed to the help of various gods, demi-gods, and deified heroes. The Christian emblem on the *labarum* of Constantine the Great only replaced the eagle of Jupiter and other more or less religious symbols of the earlier kinds of Roman military standard, thereby increasing the "magical" virtue of the standard for military purposes.

him) closed by the hand of death. A man's life may be obscure and of no obvious significance, or it may be sufficiently striking "to point a moral or adorn a tale": but every life must yet have some influence—for good or evil, or, doubtless more frequently, partly for good and partly for evil—on the lives of others, and that influence, though diffused and apparently lost, like a ripple on the water (when a stone is thrown in), will be borne down the stream of time into the ocean of eternity.

Part of the modern east window of St. Margaret's Church, Lowestoft, represents the "book of life" and the "book of death." The former design pictures an angel unrolling a manuscript scroll, the latter pictures an angel holding a scroll that has been rolled up. But surely in some senses the scroll is not rolled up.

Sir R. Douglas Powell in his Harveian Oration before the Royal College of Physicians of London (October 19th, 1914) remarks: "It is said by the Psalmist (cf. Psalm 146. 4), 'When the breath goeth out of a man he returns to his dust and all his thoughts perish.' But whilst the man may think no more, his thoughts live for good or evil to strive with other thought in the sentient atmosphere that gathers about the centres of civilisation and progress.

> 'Our thoughts are ours, their ends none of our own.'
>
> (Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, Act iii., Scene 2.)

Harvey's sentient atmosphere was shared by great anatomists and ardent pioneers of thought. Servetus had already described correctly the circulation through the lungs, although Harvey never saw his work. This fecundity of thought is finely expressed by Shakespeare in the words of King Richard—

> 'My brain I'll prove the female to my soul;
> My soul, the father; and these two beget
> A generation of still breeding thoughts,
> And these same thoughts people this little world;
> In humours, like the people of this world,
> For no thought is contented.'
>
> (Shakespeare's *King Richard II*, Act v., Scene 5.)"

IV. Death as a Friend and the End of Pain and Misery. Death compared to Rest, or to a Peaceful Sleep after the Fatigue and Turmoil of the Day. Death as the Awakening after the Fitful, Feverish Dream of Life.

"O death, acceptable is thy sentence unto the needy and unto him whose strength faileth, that is now in the last age, and is vexed with all things, and to him that despaireth and hath lost patience" (Ecclesiasticus, xli. 2). Aeschylus spoke of death as the "healer of irremediable ills": "It is better to die once for all (ἅπαξ) than to suffer all our days" (Aeschylus, *Prom. Vinct.*, lines 769, 770). "Death is better than a bitter life or continual sickness." (Ecclesiasticus, xxx. 17). Compare the following Latin quotations given in Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy:* "Omnibus una meis certa medela malis"; "Inertius deligitur diu vivere in timore tot morborum quam semel moriendo nullum deinceps formidare." (This latter, however, obviously suggests suicide as a means of escape.)

Compare the following epigrams from the *Sinngedichte* of the seventeenth century German (Silesian) poet, Friedrich von Logau (Leipzig, 1870, Nos. 94 and 868):—

"Tod ist ein langer Schlaf; Schlaf ist ein kurzer Tod.
Die Noth, die lindert der, und jener tilgt die Noth."

"Der ärgster Tod ist der, der gar zu langsam tödtet;
Die ärgste Noth ist die, die gar zu lange nöthet."

Shakespeare in certain plays alludes to death being welcomed or longed for by the miserable. In the first part of *King Henry VI* (Act ii., Scene 5) he uses the expression: "Just death, kind umpire of

men's miseries." In *King John* (Act iii., Scene 4) he makes Constance, the mother of Arthur Duke of Brittany, say:—

"Death, death:—O, amiable lovely death!
Thou odoriferous stench! sound rottenness!
Arise forth from the couch of lasting night,
Thou hate and terror to prosperity,
And I will kiss thy detestable bones;
And put my eye-balls in thy vaulty brows;
And ring these fingers with thy household worms;
And stop this gap of breath with fulsome dust,
And be a carrion monster like thyself:
Come, grin on me; and I will think thou smil'st,
And buss thee as thy wife! Misery's love,
O, come to me!"

In regard to death as a release from pain and disease, compare some verses to Death in the *Greek Anthology* (Appendix, Tauchnitz edition, 1829, No. 196): "Thou hast come sweeter to me than life, for thou hast freed me from diseases, toils, and painful gout." Henry Wellesley's translation is as follows:—

"Sweeter than life thou com'st, who from disease,
From painful gout and trouble giv'st me ease."

Cf. Agathias, *Anthol. Græc. Palat.*, x. 69; and also the quotations in Part I. A.

The following English version (after Robert Bland, the younger) of Agathias's epigram is given by Lord Neaves (*The Greek Anthology*, Edinburgh, 1874, p. 106):—

"Why fear ye death, the parent of repose,
That puts an end to penury and pain?
His presence once, and only once, he shows,
And none have seen him e'er return again.
But maladies of every varying hue
In thick succession human life pursue."

Another translation is given by H. P. Dodd:—

"Death brings us peace: oh! fear him not:
Death ends the sufferer's heaviest lot.
He comes but once; his awful mien
Twice coming, none has ever seen.
Whilst pain and grief, man's sadd'ning doom,
Come often and are sure to come."

The following couplet is from Mrs. Hemans's translation of a poem by Cardinal Pietro Bembo (1470–1547) :—

> "O Death! to me, the child of grief,
> Thy welcome power would bring relief."

Lord Neaves also quotes Henry Wellesley's translation of another epigram in the *Greek Anthology* (Aesopus) :—

> "From thee, O life! and from thy myriad woes,
> Who but by death can flee or find repose?
> For though sweet Nature's beauties gladden thee,
> The sun, the moon, the stars, the earth, the sea,
> All else is fear and grief; and each success
> Brings its retributive unhappiness."

Cf. Robert Bland, after Aesopus :—

> "Who, but for death, could find repose
> From life, and life's unnumbered woes,
> From ills that mock our art to cure,
> As hard to fly as to endure?"

The following Latin epitaphs are also interesting :—

> "Quod superest homini, requiescunt dulciter ossa.
> Nec sum sollicitus ne subito esuriam.
> Et podagram (*sic*) careo, nec sum pensionibus arra,
> Et gratis aeterno perfruor hospitio."
>
> (*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, vol. vi. No. 7193A.)

> "Morborum vitia et vitae mala maxima fugi.
> Nunc careo poenis; pace fruor placidâ."
>
> (*Corp. Inscr. Lat.*, vol. v. No. 5278.)

Jean de La Bruyère observed that "a long sickness seems to have been placed between life and death, in order that death itself may become a relief both to those who die and those who are left." Montaigne finds that during sickness death may not have the same terrors which are experienced by a person in perfect health at the idea of dying: "the cheerful spirit, the vigour of body, and the enjoyment of life which I feel now, cause the contrary estate to appear in such strong contrast with the present,

that in imagination I make its inconveniences twice as formidable as they really are." [193]

In regard to the value of health for the full utilization and enjoyment of life, cf. Martial, *Epig.*, vi. 70. 15: "Non est vivere sed valere vita"—a line which was adopted as a motto by the Royal Medical and Chirurgical Society of London (afterwards merged into the Royal Society of Medicine). Cf. Ralph Waldo Emerson: "Give me health and a day, and I will make the pomp of kings and emperors look ridiculous. Emerson wrote: "The first wealth is health. Sickness is poor-spirited, and cannot serve anyone; it must husband its resources to live. But health or fulness answers its own ends, and has to spare, runs over, and inundates the neighbourhoods and creeks of other men's necessities." Sir Richard Baker (1568–1645) proclaimed: "Health is the wealth of wealth"; Bickerstaffe's opinion was just the same: "Health is the greatest of all possessions, and it is a maxim with me, that a hale cobbler is better than a sick king."

"Death is rest from labour and misery" (after Cicero); "Were death denied, to live would not be life" (E. Young). According to William Alexander, Earl of Stirling (died 1640), in his *Tragedy of Darius*—

> "Death is the port where all may refuge find,
> The end of labour, entry unto rest";

and in Part I. A. several epitaph inscriptions and sayings are quoted, more or less of the *Inveni portum* type. Compare A. C. Swinburne (*The Garden of Proserpine*)—

> "We thank with brief thanksgiving
> Whatever gods may be
> That no life lives for ever;
> That dead men rise up never;
> That even the weariest river
> Winds somewhere safe to sea."

Cf. Robert Bland, the younger, an epigram after one attributed to Archias (on Thracian views of birth and death), ending:—

> "Well in your grief and gladness are expressed
> That life is labour, and that death is rest."

[193] W. Lucas Collins, *Montaigne*, 1879, p. 125.

In some moods a restless or worried and conscientious man may like to repeat (after Petrarch):—

"The unquiet man, through years of anxious breath,
Still hastens death-ward: his best friend is Death!"

Some verses by Matthew Arnold end as follows:—

"But for peace her soul was yearning,
And now peace laps her round.
Her cabined, ample spirit,
It fluttered and failed for breath.
To-night it doth inherit
The vasty hall of death."

Matthew Arnold also, however, wrote on a *calm not being exactly what youth desires*:—

"'Tis death! and peace, indeed, is here,
And ease from shame, and rest from fear. . . .
But is a calm like this, in truth
The crowning end of life and youth? . . .
'Tis all perhaps which man acquires,
But 'tis not what our youth desires."

Alfred Austin, in his "Go away, Death!" (*Lyrical Poems*), contrasts the popular notion of a so-called untimely death, in the first three stanzas, with the idea of a seasonable and friendly death, in the fourth stanza:—

"Come to me, Death!
I no more would stay.
The night-owl hath silenced the linnet and lark,
And the wailing of wisdom sounds sad in the dark;
Take me away."

Just as apples and fruit, when ripe, fall to the ground without being violently torn off, so the "ripeness" of old age often renders death easy and free from struggle for human beings. Cf. the quotations in Part I. D. and Part II. x., and especially Shakespeare's *King Lear*, Act v., Scene 2:—

"Men must endure
Their going hence, even as their coming hither:
Ripeness is all."

In regard to life, indeed, youth often prefers R. L. Stevenson's ideas of *activity*. There must be a propelling force and active motion of some kind for any purpose to be accomplished. The ship of life must be propelled if it is to obey the helm; it must have way if it is to be steered in any direction—in the direction either of right or of wrong. Stevenson made the puppets in his novels of great living, human, interest, because he kept them in active movement, often passionate movement, always purposeful movement—whether for good or evil, for right or wrong. An infant crowing, as it is being rocked and dangled in its fond mother's arms, may be enjoying life in a more or less passive and vegetative kind of way, but can hardly be pointed out as exhibiting the highest (conscious) human happiness. Sir Walter Scott's

famous verses on the "crowded hour" of glorious activity appeals to manly fancy, though "heroic" advice of this nature must be the result of special circumstances and of really great and pure motives—otherwise it would have a taint of gambling in it:—

"Sound, sound the clarion, fill the fife!
To all the sensual world proclaim,
One crowded hour of glorious life
Is worth an age without a name."

From a general and possibly also more or less medical point of view (neurotic cases) it is interesting to note that some persons seem to be handicapped by relative absence of spontaneous activity and inclination to work (propelling force), whereas in others purpose and object (ports to steer to) seem to be lacking, and again in others the will-power (steering apparatus, &c.) appears to be deficient.

In the ancient Greek and Roman mythology Tithonus, to whom the gods had granted immortality without perpetual youth, vainly longed for death—like the legendary "Wandering Jew" did—to release him from his wearisome life. In the great fresco (fourteenth century) of the "Triumph of Death" in the Campo Santo of Pisa, the poor and wretched are represented praying to die, but invoking death in vain (to this subject I shall revert under Heading xix.).

Cf. "Sweet are the ways of death to weary feet" (song by John Leicester Warren, Lord De Tabley), and Philip Massinger's verses commencing:—

"Why art thou slow, thou rest of trouble, Death,
To stop a wretch's breath,
That calls on thee, and offers her sad heart
A prey unto thy dart?"

So also Robert Burns ("Man was made to Mourn") exclaims:—

"O Death! the poor man's dearest friend—
The kindest and the best."

John Heath [194] (about 1615) refers to death being better than misfortune:—

"I wail not those,
Who take their sweet repose,
Within the bowels of our common mother:
Those grieve me most,
Who still are tost,
From bad to worse, from one fate to another."

[194] H. P. Dodd's *Epigrammatists*, 1870, p. 208.

An old English memorial finger-ring has the inscription, "Breath paine, Death gaine."

Of course, to believers in a future existence, death may appear not only as the end of pain, but also as the "crown of life," the recompense for pain and trouble bravely borne (compare Heading xv.). One of the inscriptions on the sepulchral monument of Sir George Manners[195] and his wife, in Bakewell parish church (Derbyshire), is, "The day of a man's death is better than the day of his birth" (see Ecclesiastes vii. 1). Edward Young (*Night Thoughts*, 1742) writes—

> "Death gives us more than was in Eden lost,
> This king of terrors is the prince of peace."

Cf. William Blake (*The Golden Keys*):—

> "The door of death is made of gold
> That mortal eyes cannot behold:
> But when the mortal eyes are closed,
> And cold and pale the limbs reposed,
> The soul awakes, and wondering sees
> In her mild hand the golden keys."

A somewhat similar picture is called up by P. J. Bailey (*Festus*):—

> "Death is another life. We bow our heads
> At going out, we think, and enter straight
> Another golden chamber of the King's,
> Larger than this we leave and lovelier."

Cf. also Sir Edwin Arnold (*After Death in Arabia*):—

> "Weep awhile, if ye are fain—
> Sunshine still must follow rain;
> Only not at death—for death,
> Now I know, is that first breath
> Which our souls draw when we enter
> Life, which is of all life centre."

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[195] Sir George Manners, of Haddon, who died in 1623, was a son of the Haddon heiress, Dorothy Vernon, celebrated for her romantic elopement with Sir John Manners, by whom she became ancestress of the Dukes of Rutland.

In the "Monument aux Morts" (Fig. 1),[196] the work of the modern French sculptor, Albert Bartholomé (born 1848), in the cemetery of Père Lachaise at Paris, those who have just passed in at the gloomy portal of death are represented in an attitude of peace and beatification, whereas, of those still outside the entrance only the miserable and wretched appear desirous of entering; the others hide their faces and shrink with fear. This reminds one, not only of the famous Pisan fresco already alluded to, but also of a fragment (referred to again a few pages further on) of the *Polyidus* of Euripides: "Who knoweth if what men call dying be not living; what men call living be not dying?" — a query of the eternally agnostic or sceptic group, a query to which Diogenes Laertius referred in his Life of Pyrrho (about 360–270 B.C.), the founder of the sceptic or Pyrrhonian school of philosophy.

Cf. also reference to the passage in Plato's *Gorgias*, 492; and John Fiske's *Life Everlasting*, 1901, p. 14. It was a favourite saying of the famous French essayist Michel de Montaigne, and he had it inscribed in his library.

In connexion with the aspect of, or attitude towards, death as giving freedom from pain, the comparison of death to a peaceful sleep after the fatigue and turmoil of the day follows naturally. At the end of the first book of the *Tusculanae Disputationes*, Cicero asks whether (if after all death signifies complete annihilation rather than a change or migration) anything could be better than, in the midst of the labours of life, to close one's eyes and

[196] This monument is illustrated in T. H. Lewin's *Life and Death*, London, 1910. I am indebted for my illustration to the Frontispiece of a small book, entitled *The Pros and Cons of Vivisection*, by Charles Richet, with a preface by W. D. Halliburton (Duckworth & Co., 1908).

sink softly into an eternal sleep? This is after Socrates, who (according to Plato's *Apology*) referred to death as either a change and migration of the soul, or else a complete annihilation, in which case it would be like a dreamless sleep.

The beauty of Leonardo da Vinci's apophthegm will always last: "Si come une giornata bene spesa da lieto dormire cosi una vita bene usata da lieto morire." ("As a well-spent day brings happy sleep, so life well used brings happy death.") [197]

Shakespeare (*Macbeth*, Act iii., Scene 2) makes Macbeth say of the murdered King Duncan: "After life's fitful fever, he sleeps well."

Cf. Edmund Spenser's *Faërie Queene*, Book i. Canto ix. St. 40:—

> "Sleep after toyle, port after stormie seas,
> Ease after warre, death after life, does greatly please."

The idea of dying as falling happily and calmly to sleep after a well-spent life is gracefully expressed by Sir William Jones (1746-1794) from a Persian original:—

> "On parent knees, a naked new-born child,
> Weeping thou sat'st while all around thee smiled:
> So live, that sinking to thy life's last sleep,
> Calm thou may'st smile, whilst all around thee weep."

With such epigrams an epitaph by Carphyllides in the Greek Anthology (vii. 260) may be compared. It is translated by W. R. Paton ("Loeb Classical Library") as follows:—

"Find no fault with my fate, traveller, in passing my tomb; not even in death have I aught that calls for mourning. I left children's children. I enjoyed the company of one wife who grew old together with me. I married my three children, and many children sprung from these unions I lulled to sleep on my lap, never grieving for the illness or loss of one. They all, pouring their libations on my grave, sent me off on a painless journey to the home of the pious dead to sleep the sweet sleep."

Some German "Sterbemünzen" (1619) bear the inscription, "Mors mihi quies, vita bellum." Amongst the

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[197] *Leonardo da Vinci's Note-Books*, rendered into English by E. McCurdy, London (Duckworth & Co.), p. 51.

Sinngedichte of Friedrich von Logau (1604–1655) is the following (edition by G. Eitner, Leipzig—F. A. Brockhaus —1870, No. 987):—

"Der Tag hat grosse Müh, die Nacht hat süsse Ruh;
Das Leben bringt uns Müh, der Tod die Ruhe zu."

Heinrich Heine has put it thus—

"Der Tod, das ist die kühle Nacht,
Das Leben ist der schwüle Tag.
Es dunkelt schon, mich schläfert,
Der Tag hat mich müd' gemacht."

Byron ("And thou art dead") exclaims—

"The silence of that dreamless sleep
I envy now too much to weep."

A. Rethel's beautiful design (1851) of "Death as a Friend," shows the "King of Terrors," divested of all terrors, tolling the bell in the church-tower at the peaceful termination of the aged bell-ringer's life (see Fig. 31).[198]

"Be the day weary, or be the day long,
At length it ringeth to Evensong."

"Although the day be ever so long,
Yet at last it ringeth to evening song."

This version, according to John Foxe (the martyrologist), was quoted by George Tankerfield at the stake, in 1555.

The end of an epitaph by Stephen Hawes (early sixteenth century) is—

"For though the day be never so long,
At last the bell ringeth to evensong."

Cf. James Russell Lowell (To *George William Curtis*):—

"And Death is beautiful as feet of friend
Coming with welcome at our journey's end."

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[198] Indeed, the voices of the bells in old cathedrals and beautiful country churches may suggest to some: "Laus Deo, pax vivis, requies aeterna sepultis."

In Matthias Claudius's "Der Tod und das Mädchen" (first published in 1775, but chiefly known through Schubert's musical setting), Death, though in the repulsive

FIG. 31.—"Death as a Friend," by A. Rethel.

form of the "Knochenmann," comes to the beautiful maiden as a friend:—

"Gieb deine Hand, du schön und zart Gebild!
Bin Freund und komme nicht zu strafen.
Sei gutes Muths! ich bin nicht wild,
Sollst sanft in meinen Armen schlafen!"[199]

[199] Compare the idea of Death being greeted as a friend in Claudius's poem (1780), "Auf den Tod der Kaiserin."

Still more did Death come as a friend to the poor weary woman in Adelaide Anne Procter's poem, "The Requital," so well known owing to J. Blumenthal's music. Cf. also

"Non mihi mors sed somnus erit: sic carcere clausus
Saepius optatum gaudet adesse diem."

William Cullen Bryant (1794–1878), the celebrated American poet, in his *Thanatopsis* (published in 1816, when he was only 18 years old), counsels:—

"Approach thy grave
Like one that draws the drapery of his couch
About him, and lies down to pleasant dreams."

In another poem we read:—

"That's Death, my little sister, and the Night
That was our Mother beckons us to bed:
Where large oblivion in her house is laid
For us tired children now our games are played."

Yet, as J. S. Le Fanu says, old persons are sometimes as unwilling to die as tired-out children are to say good night and go to bed. La Fontaine's fable, *La Mort et le Mourant*, tells us the same (cf. Headings xix., xx.). Moreover, as Sir Lyon Playfair (afterwards Lord Playfair) pointed out,[200] it is merely poetry to call sleep the "twin-brother of death"; scientifically, sleep is rather the preserver of life and a sign of life than in any way analogous to death. Sleep, N. Vaschide has said, is not, as Homer thought, the brother of Death, but of Life, and Havelock Ellis adds, the elder brother.[201]

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[200] *Vide* Sir A. Mitchell's *Dreaming, Laughing, and Blushing*, 1905, p. 10.

[201] *Vide* Havelock Ellis's *The World of Dreams*, London, 1911, p. 280.

These varying aspects of the relation of sleep to death have been well expressed by Samuel Butler (1612–1680), the author of *Hudibras*, in *Repartees between Cat and Puss* :—

> "And Sleep, Death's brother, yet a friend to Life,
> Gave wearied Nature a restorative."

Edward Gibbon, the historian, has, like Hamlet, voiced another possible objection to the popularity of the idea of death as a long sleep. When, three weeks before his death, he was asked whether he thought the idea of death being a long sleep just and desirable, he answered, "Yes, provided one could be sure—of one's dreams."[202] The words may have been suggested by Shakespeare's *Hamlet*: "To sleep, perchance to dream: ay, there's the rub." Cf. John Dryden (*Aurengzebe*, Act iv., Scene 1):—

> "Death in itself is nothing; but we fear
> To be we know not what, we know not where."

Walter Savage Landor (*Last Fruit*, &c., lxi.) fears that the "sleep" of death necessitates the loss of sweet recollections of loved ones :—

> "Death, in approaching, brings me sleep so sound
> I scarcely hear the dreams that hover round;
> One cruel thing, one only, he can do—
> Break the bright image (Life's best gift) of you."

In Homer's *Iliad* (book xvi. line 671), Sleep (Hypnos) and Death (Thanatos) are alluded to as twin-brothers. In regard to ancient Greek and Roman representations of Sleep and Death on vases, tombs, &c., see Part IV. The German poet, G. E. Lessing, wrote a famous controversial essay on the subject, entitled, *Wie die Alten den Tod gebildet* (1769). It is hardly surprising that in the interpretation of symbolic representations in ancient art there should be occasional confusion between Death and Sleep. Sleep is poetically the twin-brother or the "living likeness" of death—*Somnus, mortis imago*. Sleeping is, in a sense, "living without life," and dying during sleep has been, perhaps, alluded to in some Latin lines (intended to have been placed under a statue of Somnus in the garden of James Harris,

[202] See the *Diary of Frances Lady Shelley*, London, 1912, vol. i. p. 51.

of Salisbury) by the poet-laureate, Thomas Warton the Younger (1728–1790), as dying without death: "Sic sine morte mori." Thus, indeed, would many like to die, though the Empress Maria Theresa, according to Carlyle, when she refused to take morphine, said: "I want to meet my God awake." Warton's verses in question were:—

"Somne veni, et quamquam certissima mortis imago es
Consortem cupio te tamen esse tori:
Huc ades, haud abiture cito: nam sic sine vitâ
Vivere quam suave est, sic sine morte mori!"

But the English version by John Wolcot ("Peter Pindar," 1738–1819) probably gives a more correct interpretation of the meaning of Warton's last line:—

"Come, gentle sleep! attend thy votary's prayer,
And, though death's image, to my couch repair;
How sweet, though lifeless, yet with life to lie,
And, without dying, O how sweet to die."

Cf. William Drummond, of Hawthornden (1585–1649), in some verses addressed to Sleep, "the child of Silence":—

"Come as thou wilt and what thou wilt bequeath,
I long to kiss the image of my death."

On the other hand, Lord Byron (*Don Juan*, Canto xiv.) wrote:—

"Death, so-called, is a thing which makes men weep,
And yet a third of life is passed in sleep."

In regard to real dying during sleep, a kind of poetical "dying without death" (*sine morte mori*), William Munk[203] refers to A. P. Wilson Philip's book *On Sleep and Death*,[204] and writes: "Some pass away in sleep. ... Similar to, if not identical with them, are those to whom death comes so easily that not a ruffle disturbs any portion of the frame, and the most intelligent observer is unable to fix the moment when life has fled, so easy is the parting of the last link, 'when the body drops to earth and the soul rises to eternity.' It is probable that here a mere act of dozing becomes the act of dying. In these instances, as in old age, death is literally the last sleep, uncharacterized by any peculiarity. The general languor of the functions in the last waking interval is attended with no peculiar suffering, and the last sleep commences with the usual grateful feelings of repose."

The oft-mentioned resemblance between sleep and death, though a somewhat superficial one, has been used by the ancient classical poets and writers, as well as by Christian theologians, to hold up a man's

[203] William Munk, *Euthanasia*, London, 1887, pp. 40, 41.
[204] A. P. Wilson Philip, *Sleep and Death*, London, 1834, p. 165.

daily sleep to him as a kind of periodically recurrent *memento mortis*. Thus Ovid (*Amorum*, ii. 10, 40) exclaimed:—

"Stulte, quid est somnus, gelidae nisi mortis imago?
Longa quiescendi tempora fata dabunt."

And Jeremy Taylor[205] wrote "Then we sleep and enter into the image of death, in which state we are unconcerned in all the changes of the world . . . Every day's necessity calls for a reparation of that portion which death fed on all night, when we lay in his lap, and slept in his outer chambers." St. Paul spoke of a "daily dying," thus making a *memento mori* simile out of every night's rest. Cf. various poems, devotional works, &c., for example, in the following short evening hymn from Sir Thomas Browne's *Religio Medici* (Part ii., section 12):—

"Sleep is a death; oh, make me try
By sleeping what it is to die,
And as gently lay my head
On my grave as now my bed!"

In this way, in poetical and devotional writings a *memento mori* significance may be attached not only to sleep, but to almost every physical phenomenon and sensory impression in life. Cf. the longer quotation given from Jeremy Taylor in Part II. xvii.

In regard to the ideal of sleep on Italian tombs of the fifteenth century, G. S. Davies[206] says that the sculptor had "to place upon the tomb the sleeping figure of Pope, or Cardinal, or Bishop, watched over by the Virgin and Child, and set about with the Virtues, who were to adorn in death, as they should have adorned in life, the dead man's presence." According to Davies, this ideal representation of death as sleep—"perfect, perhaps, in the hands of the perfect artist, peaceful and harmless in the hands of the less perfect, and dull and lifeless in the hands of the inferior"—though it was monotonous, was preferable to the more original and striking sculptures on the tombs of the later Renascence (sixteenth century).

[205] Jeremy Taylor, *Holy Dying*, 1651, Chapter i., Section i.

[206] G. S. Davies, *Renascence—the Sculptured Tombs of the Fifteenth Century in Rome*, London, 1910, pp. 8, 9. Cf. F. Gregorovius, *The Tombs of the Popes*, English translation from the German (illustrated), by R. W. Seton-Watson, Westminster, 1903; and the third German edition of the work (illustrated), Leipzig, 1911.

Death can in most religions be spoken of poetically as *Aeterna quies*, or as eternal rest :—

"Laus Deo, pax vivis, requies aeterna sepultis."

Cf. the Roman Catholic burial service and the mass for the dead: "Requiem aeternam dona ei [eis], Domine"; also: "Dona eis requiem sempiternam." The *Dies Irae* Mediaeval Latin hymn (attributed to Thomas of Celano, the friend of Saint Francis of Assisi), as sung in the Roman Catholic mass for the dead, ends with :—

"Pie Jesu Domine,
Dona eis requiem."

The above-mentioned line, *Laus Deo, pax vivis, requies aeterna sepultis*, is inscribed on the printed portrait of the Swiss physician, Paracelsus, in his work, *De urinarum ac pulsuum judiciis*, published at Cologne (1568) after his death. I reproduced the print in an article on "A Portrait Medal of Paracelsus on his Death," *Numismatic Chronicle*, London, 1893, third series, vol. xiii. p. 70, fig. 3. Similar inscriptions are suitable for church-bells, and occur on various mortuary memorials. One slightly reminiscent of it is engraved on the base of a cross on the top of Hindhead Common (Surrey), commemorating the murder of a sailor (1786) in that romantic neighbourhood, and marking the site of the gibbet where the murderers were hanged in chains: "In obitu pax, in luce spes, post tenebras lux, post obitum salus."

But the ancients often thought of death as a *perpetual sleep* (or an *endless night's rest*), and that is a different conception. So Horace (*Od.*, i. 24. 5) :—

"Ergo Quinctilium perpetuus sopor urget";

and Catullus (*Carm.*, v. 4) :—

"Soles occidere et redire possunt:
Nobis, cum semel occidit brevis lux,
Nox est perpetua una dormienda."

(The analogous lines from Tasso and Samuel Daniel are quoted in Part I. A.)

The idea of a long dreamless sleep of death was represented as a sad subject for regret in the Greek idyll on the death of Bion, formerly attributed to Moschus. Leigh Hunt's version of the passage is as follows :—

"Alas, when mallows in the garden die,
Green parsley, or the crisp luxuriant dill,
They live again and flower another year;
But we, how great soe'er, or strong, or wise,
When once we die, sleep in the silent earth
A long, unending, unawakeable sleep."

Bernard de Montfaucon spoke of the ancients dedicating their sepulchral monuments—*Aeternali Somno;* and the Greek word for a burial-place is a cemetery, that is, κοιμητήριον, a sleeping chamber. In relatively modern times, in 1794, Joseph Fouché, afterwards made Duc d'Otranto by Napoleon, had the inscription, *Death is an eternal sleep*, placed on the gates of the cemeteries.

Socrates (according to Plato's *Phaedo*) did not believe that human souls could vanish like smoke or that the dead would sleep, like Endymion, for ever; as life passed into death, so the dead would become living, and nature's circle would thus prevent everything being swallowed up in a final death of all things.

On tombs and sepulchral monuments of ancient, mediaeval and modern times death has (as we have pointed out) been often represented as, or compared to, a beneficent sleep, a reward and compensation for the fatigues, troubles and trials of life. The true agnostic sentiment expressed on the tomb of Thomas Henry Huxley (1825–1895) is that it is well, "even if the sleep be endless."

Just as the phenomena of death have been often poetically likened to the phenomena of sleep, so also has the refreshing effect of sleep upon the mind been poetically illustrated by what is imagined to happen to the soul after the death of the body; and most of the substance of the following paragraphs might likewise have been included under Heading ii. Milton (*Paradise Lost*, book xii. line 434) speaks of "A death-like sleep, a gentle wafting to immortal life," and Benjamin Franklin says: "I look upon death to be as necessary to our constitution as sleep. We shall rise refreshed in the morning." Christina Rossetti writes of a "quiet night" after the work and waking day of a man's life:—

> "A long-drawn breath, a balm of sorrow,
> And all things lovely on the morrow."

Cf. Maltbie D. Babcock (American):—

"Is sleep a thing to dread? Yet sleeping you are dead
Till you awake and rise, here, or beyond the skies."...

"This is the death of death, to breathe away a breath
And know the end of strife, and taste the deathless life."

"And joy without a fear, and smile without a tear,
And work, nor care to rest, and find the last the best."

Here I would, for comparison, quote the old English poet and divine, John Donne (1573–1631):—

"One short sleep past, we wake eternally,
And Death shall be no more: Death thou shalt die!"

William Allingham (1828–1889) hints at the same idea in the lines—

"Sleep is like death, and after sleep
The world seems new begun;
While thoughts stand luminous and firm
Like statues in the sun."

So A. C. Swinburne (*Atalanta in Calydon*) speaks of life as lying between two periods of sleep:—

"His life is a watch or a vision
Between a sleep and a sleep."

Edmond G. A. Holmes likewise seems to represent life as a period of wakefulness between two sleeps. In one poem (*To Death*) he writes:—

"Sometimes I think that in thine arms of love,
Sleeping the sleep of life, O Death! I rest,
Whilst through my dreams, like rhythmic tide-waves, move
The pulses of thy breast.
And when mine hour has come, thy lips at last
Will touch my slumb'rous eyelids with a kiss,
And all life's fevered visions fading fast
Will weave one dream of bliss."

Another poem (*The Quest*) ends with the following stanza:—

"And when, at Fate's behest, I wake at last
To toil on earth, to laugh, to weep again—
Dense be the darkness that enshrouds the Past,
Deep be the draught of Lethe that I drain."

On the other hand, life itself has (from some ancient, mediaeval, and modern points of view) been poetically compared to a sleep and a fitful or feverish dream ("Vita est somnium"), from which death is but the awakening. *Omnia somnia,* is a sun-dial inscription, dated 1680, on the Convent of St. Ursula, in Valetta, Malta. In Shakespeare's *Tempest* (Act iv., Scene 1) Prospero seems to compare human life to an island of dream amidst an ocean of sleep :—

> "We are such stuff
> As dreams are made on, and our little life
> Is rounded with a sleep."

Calderon, the celebrated Spanish dramatist (1600–1681), in his play, *Life is a Dream,*[207] makes Sigismund say (translation by R. C. Trench, Archbishop of Dublin):—

> "What is life? a frenzy mere;
> What is life? e'en that we deem;
> A conceit, a shadow all,
> And the greatest good is small.
> Nothing is, but all doth seem;
> Dreams within dreams, still we dream."

The painter, Arnold Boecklin, has named one of his beautiful designs, "Vita, Somnium Breve." Pindar speaks of Σκιᾶς ὄναρ ἄνθρωπος ("Man is like the dream of a shadow"). On one of the old houses in Edinburgh I read, "Constanti pectori res mortalium umbra." On the rafters in the library of the studious, learned, and sceptical Montaigne was inscribed the "open-court" philosophical question, "Who knoweth if what men call dying be not living; what men call living be not dying?" (from a fragment of the *Polyidus* of Euripides).

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[207] *La Vida es sueño.* This title suggested the title of Franz Grillparzer's play (1834), *Der Traum ein Leben* ("Dream is a Life").

The original verses (which I have already mentioned—see back) of the free-thinking, but certainly not atheistic, Euripides would doubtless have been admired by the philosopher Anaxagoras, under whom he had studied, and by his intimate friend, Socrates, who is said never to have gone to the theatre excepting when the plays of Euripides were acted. The verses in question are:—

Τίς δ' οἶδεν εἰ τὸ ζῆν μέν ἐστι κατθανεῖν,
Τὸ κατθανεῖν δὲ ζῆν κάτω νομίζεται.

Plato (*Gorgias*, 492) and Diogenes Laertius (in his life of *Pyrrho*, the founder of the sceptical school of philosophy) both refer to this passage of Euripides, and Joannes Stobaeus quotes it, I think. Amongst the other inscriptions painted in Montaigne's library was the famous saying of Terence (in his comedy, *Heauton-timorumenos*, I, i. 25): "Homo sum; humani nihil a me alienum puto." The quotations from the sceptical physician, Sextus Empiricus ("I determine nothing," and "It may be or it may not be") were characteristic of Montaigne, whose own motto—*que scay-je?*—accompanied by the emblematic device of a balance, first appeared on the title-page of his Essays in the edition of 1659.[208]

The later Platonists, as seen in the chapter of Macrobius "On the Descent of the Soul," termed the being born into this world "spiritual death," and dying "spiritual birth" (C. W. King). Thomas Hood has it (*Her Last Will*):—

"There are daily sounds to tell us that Life
Is dying, and Death is living."

Cf. Charles Caleb Colton (1780–1832): "Life is the jailer of the soul in this filthy prison, and its only deliverer is death. What we call life is a journey to death, and what we call death is a passport to life." Colton, the author of "Lacon, or Many Things in Few Words, addressed to Those who Think" (1820–1822), committed suicide, apparently in preference to undergoing a surgical operation.

Wordsworth (*Intimations of Immortality*) writes:—

"Our birth is but a sleep and a forgetting:
The soul that rises with us, our life's star,
Hath had elsewhere its setting,
And cometh from afar";

[208] See W. Lucas Collins, *Montaigne*, Edinburgh, 1879, pp. 36-40; also Edith Sichel, *Michel de Montaigne*, London, 1911, p. 55.

and in the same poem he tells us :—

"Though inland far we be,
Our souls have sight of that immortal sea
Which brought us hither."

R. W. Buchanan, in *Balder the Beautiful*, has the following lines :—

"We wake in a dream, and we ache in a dream,
And we break in a dream, and die!"

Shelley (*Prometheus Unbound*, published in 1820) writes :—

"Death is the veil which those who live call life;
They sleep, and it is lifted."

In another place (*Adonais*, published in 1821, commemorating the death of John Keats) he explains :—

"Peace, peace! he is not dead, he doth not sleep—
He hath awakened from the dream of life—
'Tis we, who lost in stormy visions, keep
With phantoms an unprofitable strife";

and again (*Adonais*) :—

"He lives, he wakes—'tis Death is dead, not he."

A passage from Ali bin Muhammed Al Tahamy has been translated by J. D. Carlyle, as follows :—

"Life is a sleep of three score years,
Death bids us wake and hail the light,
And man, with all his hopes and fears,
Is but a phantom of the night." [209]

Similarly, Robert Browning (*The Flight of the Duchess*) writes :—

"And like the hand which ends a dream,
Death with the might of his sunbeam
Touches the flesh and the soul awakes."

[209] Quoted by Claud Field, in *A Dictionary of Oriental Quotations*, London, 1911, p. 198. The converse simile which refers to sleep as death, or rather, the type of death, is of course much more frequently met with (see back, under the present heading, Part II. iv.).

In regard to a feeling towards the idea of death, the contrary of that expressed in Ecclesiasticus xli. 2, Dr. Pietro Capparoni tells me of a small *memento mori* panel-picture in his possession (figured under Heading xix.) inscribed, "(Mors) amara habenti pacem in substantiis suis," that is to say, "O death, how bitter is the remembrance of thee to a man that liveth at rest in his possessions!" &c. (Ecclesiasticus xli. 1). A Dutch jeton, dated 1518, bears the similar legend, "O Mors, quam amara est memoria tua."

Death as a Friend in another sense.—The saying, "Mors vivis salus," describes what occasionally happens, when Death, by striking down one mortal, "comes as a friend" to others. In this connexion there is the subject of legacies and such cynical epitaph quotations as the following:—

"Resigned unto the heavenly will,
The son keeps on the business still."

Cf. W. Andrews, *Curious Epitaphs*, London (1883), p. 56, the epitaph on a publican at Upton-on-Severn:—

"Beneath this stone, in hope of Zion,
Doth lie the landlord of the "Lion,"
His son keeps on the business still,
Resign'd unto the Heavenly will."

The following "pseudo-epitaph" is by John Dryden:—

"Here lies my wife! here let her lie!
Now she's at rest, and so am I."

A similar one is after the French of Boileau:—

"Here lies my wife; and Heaven knows
Not less for mine, than her repose."

The original French epitaph by Boileau is, I believe, as follows:—

"Ci-gît ma femme: oh! que c'est bien
Pour son repos, et pour le mien!"

In this connexion H. P. Dodd (*The Epigrammatists*, London, 1870, p. 139) quotes a remarkable epigram by James Smith (1775–1839):—

"Where'er a hatchment we discern
(A truth before ne'er started),
The motto makes us surely learn
The sex of the departed.

If 'tis the husband sleeps, he deems
Death's day a *felix dies*
Of unaccustom'd quiet dreams,
And cries—*In coelo quies.*

But if the wife, she from the tomb
Wounds, Parthian-like, *post tergum*,
Hints to her spouse his future doom,
And threatening cries—*Resurgam.*"

W. S. Walsh refers to a Roman husband who, after mentioning the years, months, days, and even hours that he and his departed wife had lived together, concludes: "On the day of her death I gave the greatest thanks before God and men."

Historical life-saving results of the death of some cruel tyrant, or the end of some "reign of terror" (such as, for instance, accompanied the fall of Robespierre), or the execution of some dangerous criminal, have been illustrated by various works of art.

The well-known woodcut already mentioned (Part I. B.) of "Death and a Fool," which by some critics has been considered an early work by Dürer, apparently satirises those who hope for the death of others, and illustrates the folly of "Waiting for dead men's shoes." It formed one of the illustrations to Sebastian Brant's *Stultifera Navis* ("Ship of Fools"), the first edition of which was printed at Basel in 1494, by J. Bergmann von Olpe. It was also used later to illustrate the *Narrenbeschwörung* (published at Strasburg in 1512), by Thomas Murner (1475–1537), the German satirist and opponent of the Reformation.

V. Death as a Means of Punishment, Vengeance, or Atonement. The Threat of Death as a Means of exciting Terror. Political Murders and Political Executions.

Under this heading medals commemorating executions should be included, such as those struck on the execution of Monmouth and Argyle in 1685, with the inscription, "Ambitio malesuada ruit," and those struck on the execution of Grandval in 1692. Amongst medals and jettons of various countries commemorating executions (as just or unjust acts), some of the most notable were issued in the Low Countries during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. On certain other medals death is *threatened* as a punishment or means of reprisal. Thus, on two English medals (described later on) commemorating the loss of Minorca in 1756, the obverse inscription is, "Brave Blakney reward, But to B. (Admiral John Byng) give a cord." These medals belong to the popular ("toy-shop") class, and may really have helped in bringing the unfortunate Admiral Byng to his death.

The popular or "toy-shop" medals (mostly more or less political) of the period constitute the class best known through the Admiral Vernon and Porto Bello medals of 1739, of which a great many varieties exist. If English history had to be made out by the evidence of medals only, then Admiral Edward Vernon ("Old Grog") would be a most important figure. About 180 varieties of Vernon medals, including those relating to Fort Chagre, Carthagena, and Havana, are described by C. W. Betts (*American Colonial History illustrated by Contemporary Medals*, New York, 1894, pp. 88–152). Mount Vernon, the estate of the Washington family in America, was so named in honour of Admiral Vernon; so, doubtless, was Mount Vernon, at Hampstead, near London. The "toy-shop" medals served the purpose of political newspapers; they were, in fact, "medallic newspapers," if the expression is permitted. Most of these "toy-shop" medals are in "Pinchbeck Metal" (an alloy of copper and zinc invented by Christopher Pinchbeck, ? about 1700), and were issued by the Pinchbeck family of "Clock, Watch, and Toy Makers." At the end of the century (about 1795), penny, halfpenny, and farthing tradesmen's tokens were sometimes made to serve a similar political purpose.

Certain tradesmen's tokens (chiefly halfpennies) of the

last years of the eighteenth century, representing a man hanging from a gallows, with the punning inscription, "End of pain," though they did not cause the death of Thomas Paine, may yet have helped to prejudice the English people against him. On a small cast bronze medal, signed by the French sculptor, P. J. David d'Angers, commemorating the so-called "Massacres of Galicia" (revolt in Austrian Poland) in 1846, the reverse bears the representation of a gallows and the names of those who were regarded as responsible for the "massacres."

Many paintings, drawings, and prints, both caricatures and others, representing degradation and ignominious death as the punishment or natural outcome of vice and crime, may be supposed to have exerted a certain deterrent effect on the young. Of eighteenth-century work of this kind in England, several characteristic designs by William Hogarth (1697–1764) are especially worthy of mention, whilst later on come various caricatures by Thomas Rowlandson (1756–1827), George Cruikshank (1792–1878), and others.

Amongst Hogarth's designs of the kind there are, for instance, the final scenes in the series of "The Harlot's Progress" and in that of "The Rake's Progress," and the ignominious death at "Tyburn Tree" of Tom Idle, the "Idle Apprentice," in his "Industry and Idleness" series. Hogarth's "Reward of Cruelty" (1751), well known, like nearly all his designs, by the engravings (engravings by or after Hogarth), is a caricature of the dissection of a criminal's body at Surgeons' Hall in Old Bailey, London.[210]

[210] A certain number of the bodies of executed criminals could be claimed each year by the surgeons for dissection at Surgeons' Hall. In T. G. Smollett's *Roderick Random* (1748) there is a reference to these dissections. After 1783 the public place of execution was in front of Newgate Prison, close by.

The rope by which he ("Tom Nero") was hung at Tyburn is still around his neck, his intestines are being placed in a pail below the dissecting-table, and a dog has taken possession of his heart. The skeletons of two recently-executed criminals, labelled respectively, "Macleane" (James Maclaine or Maclean, a noted "gentleman highwayman," hung at Tyburn in 1750) and "James Field" (who was, according to the "Newgate Calendar," executed for highway robbery early in 1751) adorn niches in the walls. Over the lecturer's or Master's chair [211] is the hand feeling a pulse—a device of the present Royal College of Physicians of London. Many prints and minor works of art of various epochs either represent or symbolize in a terrifying manner the natural result of vices. Some such designs are referred to in Part I. E.

George Cruickshank's famous satirical pattern for a Bank of England note (1818) should be mentioned. In 1818 there were an enormous number of Bank of England notes for relatively small amounts (one-pound and two-pound notes) in circulation, and the case with which they could be imitated encouraged forgery. Many persons convicted of forging bank-notes or of uttering forged bank-notes, were transported or suffered the death-penalty. The first forger of Bank of England notes, R. W. Vaughan, was executed in 1758. The prosecutions between 1797 and 1817 were said to have cost the Bank of England nearly a quarter of a million pounds.

[211] The Master of the Company of Surgeons in 1750 and 1751 was John Ranby, whom Henry Fielding introduced into his novel, "Tom Jones." I do not know if the occupant of the chair was intended as a caricature of the actual Master of the Company, but certainly the surgeons and anatomists present at the dissection (whether intended or not as caricatures of actual individuals) are all of them held up, by Hogarth's art, in no very pleasant light.

Between 1805 and 1818 five hundred and one convictions were said to have been obtained, resulting in 207 executions. In 1817 the number of forged one-pound notes detected was stated to have been 28,412. Cruikshank's satirical pattern (see Fig. 32) is inscribed, "Bank Restriction Note. Specimen of a Bank Note—not to be imitated. Submitted to the Consideration of the Bank Directors and the inspection of the Public." Eleven bodies (men and women) are hanging from a long

FIG. 32.—G. Cruikshank's satirical pattern for a Bank of England note (1818).

gibbet, and "Jack Ketch" (the traditional nickname for the hangman), "for the Governor and Company of the Bank of England," promises to perform the hangings—the number *ad libitum*—"during the Issue of Bank Notes easily imitated, and until the Resumption of Cash Payments, or the Abolition of the Punishment of Death." These "Bank Restriction Notes" were published by William Hone, at his shop in Ludgate Hill, London, and when they were first exhibited such crowds gathered

round his shop-window that the police had to disperse them. Cruikshank maintained that by this caricature he had taken a considerable part in the abolition of the death-penalty for comparatively trivial offences. In 1821 all one-pound and two-pound bank-notes were withdrawn from circulation. The last execution in England for forgery of any sort was that of Thomas Maynard, in 1829.

This "Bank Restriction Note" of Cruikshank and

FIG. 33.—Satirical anti-republican pattern for a Bank-note (1819).

Hone, in 1818, evidently gave rise to the "anti-republican" satirical pattern note (see Fig. 33), published in 1819 by S. Knight, 3, Sweetings Alley, Royal Exchange, London. It is inscribed, "House of Correction, 1819. I promise to pay to all Republicans, Jacobins and Knaves, the sum of a Perpetual Flagellation; to be strictly inflicted and most judiciously applied, until their turbulent spirits be duly expunged. . . . For the King and Constitution—J. Flogwell." On the left of the note is a man at the cart-tail being flogged by "Jack

Ketch." The man who is being flogged is evidently meant to represent William Hone (the publisher of Cruikshank's note), who, in 1817, had been prosecuted by the Government, but acquitted. The men drawing the cart are labelled H—T (Hunt) and C—TT (Cobbett). The accompanying inscription is, "Pain Exemplified, or the Age of Reason" (an allusion to Thomas Paine's *Age of Reason*). Above, on the left, is a devil acting as hangman, arranging the rope on a gallows, with the inscription: "A Printer's Devil. The Knave's desert, or a strong binding for a bookseller." The bookseller referred to was certainly William Hone. Below, on the left, is a man in the stocks, with the inscription, "A Scourge for Rogues with Venomed Stings." The man in the stocks also undoubtedly represents Hone, for the stocks themselves are so drawn as to represent the capital letter H, and this is followed by the "One" to resemble the "One" on one-pound notes. The "pattern" note is numbered in two places, N° 222, the N° being formed by a lion with a looped tail, and the twos by figures of men kneeling to be flogged, labelled respectively "C—tt," "H—t," and "H—e," for William Cobbett (1762–1835), Henry Hunt (known as "Orator Hunt," 1773–1835), and William Hone (1710–1842), the author and bookseller referred to above. In this connexion it may be remembered that in 1810 Cobbett had been fined and imprisoned for publishing censures on flogging in the army. I do not know who designed this "satirical bank-note," and it has apparently attracted little attention. A few other less elaborate caricature notes were published about the same time.

Death's-heads might appropriately have adorned the handles of an executioner's sword, and though I know no

example of that, I have seen a scourge with iron tails, part of the handle of which was formed by a death's-head carved in wood.

Though in Shakespeare's *Tempest* (Act iii., Scene 2) the drunken butler, Stephano, says, "He that dies pays all debts," death can scarcely be supposed to cancel everything. I do not know of any medals referring to the idea of death (voluntary or involuntary) as an act of atonement—apart, of course, from religious medals. There are some medals, however, on which might have been inscribed the first Napoleon's saying: "Death may expiate faults, but it does not repair them."

The fancied terrors of death and hell have naturally been much more illustrated on engravings, drawings, and paintings than on medals, engraved gems, &c.; but this subject will be again referred to under Heading xx., on the "Fear of Death."

Certain satirical medals might be mentioned here, especially the English political ones of the toy-shop class (see back), issued in 1741, representing the devil leading Sir Robert Walpole by a rope round his neck towards the open jaws of a monster (hell), with the inscription: MAKE · ROOM · FOR · SIR · ROBERT —— NO · EXCISE.[212]

Emblems of the Death's-head class, when employed to inspire terror in certain cases and in certain ways, may be supposed to have exercised a panic-striking effect similar to that produced (according to stories of former days) when pirates of the traditional Captain William Kidd style ran up their Death's-head ensign,[213] the hoisting of the flag causing doubtless an equivalent

[212] See *Medallic Illustrations*, 1885, vol. ii. p. 561, Nos. 190–192.

[213] The "black flag" (with white skull and crossbones on it) of the pirates, according to boys' pirate-stories of the "Captain Kidd" and "penny dreadful" kind —— the "Jolly Roger," as Sir Walter Scott calls it, in *The Pirate* (chapter xxxi.).

sinking of the blood-pressure and courage in some of those who looked at it. In regard to the terror inspired by the Gorgon's head in the ancient world, C. W. King[214] writes that, accepting the explanation that "at its origin this terrific visage was designed for the 'vera effigies' of the queen of the dead, it was the most speaking emblem of her office that could possibly be chosen." It occupied the centre of the Aegis of Zeus and Athene, and in the Heroic ages it was depicted upon the warrior's shield; with the progress of art, cut in cameo, it became the regular decoration of the Roman Emperor's breast-plate; "in which post it served, as Lucian in his *Philopatris* remarks, 'both to terrify enemies and [as an amulet] to avert all danger from the wearer.'"

The terror-inspiring use of the symbols of death is very intelligible, and is analogous to the employment during warfare of war-paint (and terrifying devices of all kinds) by savage tribes, in former times by native races of North America, &c. The military emblems referred to further on, under Heading vi., have likewise some significance in this connexion, and so has certain hideous devil-like armour for face and head. Devil-like masks are to be seen in collections of European armour of the sixteenth century, and the hideous Chinese masks are well-known. The ancient Korean warriors (*e.g.* of the fourth century A.D.) are represented wearing fiendish masks (for instance, faces with two or three pairs of eyes) designed to terrify the enemy and ward off evil spirits.

In this connexion there is some interest in the account of the so-called Arii by Tacitus (*De Moribus et Populis Germaniae*, cap. 43, as quoted by Edward Gibbon): "The Arii study to improve by art and

[214] C. W. King, *The Gnostics and their Remains*, second edition, London, 1887, p. 184.

circumstances the innate terrors of their barbarism. Their shields are black, their bodies are painted black. They choose for their combat the darkest hour of the night. Their host advances, covered as it were with a funereal shade (*feralis umbra*); nor do they often find an enemy capable of sustaining so strange and infernal an aspect. Of all our senses the eyes are the first vanquished in battle."

After all, the main original object of *memento mori* devices in Mediaeval Europe was to inspire fear and bring all sinners to timely repentance. A secondary object was perhaps to increase ecclesiastical authority and the earthly power and possessions of the Church. Thus arose the various gloomy or horrible representations of skulls, skeletons, figures of Death of the "skin and bones" type (the German *Hautskelett*), the pictures and carvings of decaying corpses being "eaten with worms," the tale of the "Three Dead and the Three Living," the "Dance of Death" designs, the "Triumph of Death" pictures, tapestries, &c.; and not least of all, the ingenious pictorial, plastic and descriptive variations of the horrors of Hell. See, for instance, a painting of the school of Hans Memling, figured by S. Reinach.[215] It represents a horrible devil over the open mouth of a monster (hell), in which are seen the wretched ones, damned for all eternity; above, on a scroll, is the inscription: INFERNO NVLLA EST REDEMPTIO, that is to say, "There is no escape or redemption for those in hell." (Cf. also Part II. xvii.) What, indeed, could be conceived more horrible than Dante's description of the horrors of Hell[216] in his *Inferno*?—magnified by the

[215] In his *Répertoire de peintures du moyen âge et de la Renaissance*, Paris, 1910, vol. 3, p. 746, No. 1.

[216] Quite as terrible, according to Rowbotham, is the description of them by Adam de Ros, the English trouvère (troubadour), in his poem on St. Paul's Visit to Hell, a poem which to some extent anticipated Dante's *Inferno*. See J. F. Rowbotham, *The Troubadours and Courts of Love*, London, 1895, p. 130.

inscription on the portal: "Lasciate ogni speranza, voi ch' entrate" ("Abandon hope, all ye who enter here"). About the end of the fourteenth century some of the fanatic "Flagellants" had skeletons depicted on their clothing, which added superstitious fear to the excitement caused by their mad doings. It is probable that in "morality plays" of the "Dance of Death" type, figures were sometimes introduced (to represent Death or the dead) clothed in a tight-fitting black dress with a white skeleton painted on it (like the "jockeys of death" in modern circus-performances). In tournaments also skeleton-like disguises may have been occasionally employed to produce spectacular effects resembling that at "Castle Perilous" in Tennyson's *Gareth and Lynette*. (Cf. Part I. B.)

Here, too, as also under Heading x., one must refer to the interesting medals, tokens, &c., on which fatal epidemics of plague and other infectious diseases are referred to as punishments or retributive calamities, visitations, or manifestations of the divine wrath on account of the wickedness of the people.

For convenience all medals, memorial rings, &c., commemorating political executions and political murders, may be included under this heading, though some of them (*e.g.* medals commemorating the death of John van Olden Barneveldt in 1619, of James Graham, first Marquis of Montrose, in 1650, and of the brothers De Witt in 1672) might also be classed under Heading xi, in so far as they commemorate a kind of martyrdom for political principles.

In this connexion it cannot of course be forgotten that the political assassins and rebels, who have sometimes inflicted a kind of martyrdom on others, have not rarely been impelled to their bloody work by highly conscientious motives, according to their own point of view. In their

turn, therefore, when killed in the tumult of a riot or a rebellion, or when executed afterwards on a charge of treason or murder, they have suffered veritable martyrdom in the mental eyes of their friends or political followers, and sometimes in the opinion of neutral onlookers. The writings of P. H. Pearse, the Irish poet, who was executed after the Dublin rebellion of Easter 1916 (his collected works were published in 1917) show that his death furnishes us with an illustration of this kind. Cf. the following passages from his "ranns" (Irish for verses):—

"I have turned my face
To this road before me,
To the deed that I see
And the death I shall die."

"A rann I made within my heart
To the rider, to the high king,
A rann I made to my love,
To the king of kings, ancient death.

Brighter to me than light of day
The dark of thy house, tho' black clay;
Sweeter to me than the music of trumpets
The quiet of thy house and its eternal silence."

Memorials of this class, owing to their number, cannot all be described here, but we may instance the Roman denarius commemorating the murder of Julius Caesar; certain coins of Athens bearing a representation of the so-called tyrannicides Harmodios and Aristogeiton (the statue of them by Kritios and Nesiotes); the medals commemorating the Pazzi conspiracy (1478) at Florence and the assassination of Giuliano de' Medici; the medal on the murder of Alessandro de' Medici, the first Duke of Florence, by his kinsman Lorenzino de' Medici, the "Tuscan Brutus," in 1537; the medals, medalets, and other memorials on the execution of King Charles I of England, and on the execution of Louis XVI of France and Marie Antoinette; also memorial medals on the other victims of the great French Revolution, and of various other revolutions in France and other countries. Here, too, belong medals commemorating such

comparatively recent political assassinations as those of Spencer Perceval (1812), Charles Ferdinand duc de Berry (son of Charles X of France) (1820), the Czar Alexander II (1881), Lord Frederick C. Cavendish (1882), the French President Carnot (1894), the Empress Elisabeth of Austria (1898), King Humbert of Italy (1900), King Alexander I and Queen Draga of Serbia (1903), King George I of Greece (1913), the Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria (heir to the throne) (1914),[217] the Presidents of the United States of America, Abraham Lincoln (1865), J. A. Garfield (1881), William McKinley (1901).

Family crests and various kinds of badges sometimes commemorate political murders, political executions, &c. Thus, the dagger-crest of a Kirkpatrick family is said to be derived from the share taken by an ancestor in the death of John Comyn, the younger ("the Red Comyn"), in 1306. Comyn was slain or severely wounded by Robert Bruce (who soon afterwards became Robert I, King of Scotland) in the church of the Franciscan friars at Dumfries, and, according to one account, when Bruce, on leaving the church in a very agitated state, said, "I doubt that I have slain the Red Comyn," one of his followers, named Kirkpatrick, cried out, "Do you leave such a matter in doubt? I will make sicker!" Thereupon, Kirkpatrick, with a companion (Lindesay), entered the church and made "sicker" (certain) of the death with their daggers.

Pilgrims' badges or signs, made of lead or pewter, of various designs, commemorate the murder of Thomas à Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, by Hugh de Morville, William de Tracy, Reginald Fitzurse, and others, in Canterbury Cathedral, on December 29th, 1170. He was canonized by Pope Alexander III in 1172, and his shrine in Canterbury Cathedral became one of the most famous objects of pilgrimage in Europe (cf. Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*). At the Reformation in England, however, the shrine was broken up (1538), and the murdered prelate was ordered to be styled "Bishop Becket," instead of "Saint Thomas." After all, his murder was a political one, corresponding to what on the Continent of Europe would have been the murder of a powerful Guelfic (Papal) leader by the Ghibelline or Hohenstaufen faction, and one may remember that the Papal party and Charles of Anjou were responsible for the political execution of Conradin, the last in the male line of the Hohenstaufens, at Naples, in 1268.

[217] Of this spark that kindled the Great European War there are commemorative medals by A. Hartig, R. F. Marschall, A. Weinberger, &c.

As a punishment for the murder of Thomas à Becket, the men of Kent, and, indeed, all Englishmen, were said to be born with tails, showing that they were children of the Devil. In the seventh crusade, under King Louis IX (Saint Louis) of France, William Longespée (Longsword), Earl of Salisbury, was taunted for his supposed caudal appendage by Robert, Count of Artois (the French King's brother), who objected to the English Earl's cautious advice: "What cowardice in these long-tailed English!" The English answer was, however, sufficiently boastful: "We shall be to-day where you will not dare to touch my horse's tail."[218] It was not long afterwards that the Earl of Salisbury met with his heroic death at the battle near Mansurah (1250). Possibly the phrase, "Perfidious Albion" ("Perfide Albion"), as applied to England by Napoleon I, may be regarded as a late survival, or, rather, representative, of this Continental taunt of the Middle Ages—a taunt which is well summarised in the following insulting Mediaeval Latin couplet:—

"Anglicus a tergo caudam gerit: est pecus ergo;
Cum tibi dicit 'Ave,' sicut ab hoste cave."[219]

Incidentally, it may be mentioned that, in regard to human beings really possessing tail-like appendages, a great many references are given by G. M. Gould and W. L. Pyle (*Anomalies and Curiosities of Medicine*, 1896, pp. 277–279, paragraphs on "Human Tails").

A very interesting leaden pilgrim's relic of the thirteenth century,[220] shaped like an ampulla (possibly intended to hold a trace of the saint's blood mixed with water), has on one side a figure of St. Thomas of Canterbury, with the hexameter line, *Optimus egrorum medicus fit Thoma bonorum* ("Thomas is made the best physician for virtuous sick persons"); on the other side is a representation of two priests attending a sick person in bed.

Here it may be remarked, however, that in England (to satisfy the curio-collector's demand for pilgrims' tokens, Mediaeval badges, weapons, &c.), some ignorant workmen in London, in the second half of the nineteenth century, manufactured numerous spurious badges, relics, &c., roughly cast in lead or brass (often bearing dates such as 1001 or 1301). They were buried ("planted") wherever excavations were going on, and then dug up again as "antiquarian finds," if persons likely to purchase them were observed to be watching the excavations. These ridiculous "antiques" were produced in great quantities, and many old curiosity shops soon became "flooded" with them, not only in London, but also in other towns of Great Britain, and gradually

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[218] J. M. Ludlow, *The Age of the Crusades*, Edinburgh, 1897, p. 345.

[219] Waltenbach, *Anzeiger für Kunde der Deutschen Vorzeit*, 1874.

[220] Now in the York Museum. Cf. G. Clinch, *Handbook of English Antiquities*, London, 1905, p. 203, and fig. 167.

some of them found their way to other parts of Europe, and, indeed, beyond the limits of Europe. English travellers, still ignorant about them, occasionally bring them back, as curious antiques, to London, their original home, and American curio-hunters in London are warned against them by specimens exhibited in the Guildhall Museum, bearing impossible dates, &c. This type of *falsaria* may be discovered almost everywhere, just as may genuine Nuremberg counters (jetons, jettons, "Rechenpfennige") of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

VI. Death as an Emblem of Stubborn Purpose in War. Death, War, and Ambition.

Death's-heads have been used as military devices in Germany, France, and England. The device was apparently first adopted by the Prussian "Black Hussars" ("Death's-Head Hussars"), who were brought into existence by Frederick the Great in 1741. They wore a black uniform and a Death's-head instead of a cockade. The "Black Brunswickers," raised in 1809 by Friedrich Wilhelm, Duke of Brunswick-Oels (killed at Quatre-Bras, 1815), were likewise given a black uniform with a Death's-head as their badge, partly, it is said, as a token of mourning for the previous duke, who was mortally wounded at the battle of Auerstadt (October 14, 1806), in the war against Napoleon. A little brouze Death's-head, worn by the Prussian Black Hussars on their shakos during the war of 1815 against Napoleon, is illustrated (see Fig. 34).

Three Prussian regiments, which at the present day represent the Black Brunswickers and the Black Hussars, continue to wear a Death's-head device. From the newspapers I understand that besides these the 21st Battalion of Chasseurs of the Reserve in the German Army received permission in 1915 to place skulls on its flags and on the headgear of the soldiers, on account of their work "in breaking through the Russian lines near Lodz" during the Great European War of 1914, &c. The famous Italian condottiere, Giovanni de' Medici (1498–1526), called "Giovanni delle Bande Nere," was popularly given this title on account of the sombre mourning dress worn by his terrible bands of mercenaries after the death of his kinsman, Pope Leo X (1521). According to another account, the "Bande Nere," which Giovanni founded, were so called only after the death of their founder, when they changed their uniform from white to black, in token of grief.

In France a skull and crossed bones constituted the badge of the 9th Regiment of Hussars, which was formed

in March, 1793, out of the second corps of "hussards noirs du nord." The device was apparently copied from that of the Prussian Black Hussars. The English 17th Lancers wear as a badge on their head-dress and collar a skull and crossed bones, with the words "or glory" below (see Fig. 35), suggesting that the wearers of the badge are the "brave, who rush to glory or the grave" (Thomas Campbell, *Hohenlinden*). The object of this device ("Death or Glory"), which was introduced at the suggestion of Lieutenant-Colonel John Hale in 1759

Fig. 34.–Bronze death's-head badge (actual size), worn on the shakos of the Prussian Black Hussars in 1815.

Fig. 35.—"Death or Glory" brass badge (actual size), worn on the head-dress of the English 17th Lancers.

(who was Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant of the newly formed corps), was to create emulation, and to commemorate the glorious death of General Wolfe at Quebec (1759).[221]

It was indeed, however, the ideal of obedience to duty and to his country's call that doubtless largely contributed to make Nelson the great English hero that he

[221] *Vide* Major J. H. Lawrence Archer, *The British Army; its Regimental Records, Badges, Devices, &c.*, London, 1888, p. 77. I am indebted to Mr. L. Forrer for this reference.

was, an ideal exemplified by his famous signal at the Battle of Trafalgar (1805): "England expects that every man will do his duty." The feeling was the same that the Spartan band under their King Leonidas had who fell at Thermopylae (480 B.C.), and is well illustrated by the epigram of Simonides in the Greek Anthology on the fallen heroes (English version by Bowles):—

> "Go tell the Spartans, thou that passest by,
> That here, obedient to their laws, we lie." [222]

Lord Neaves [223] writes: "This Spartan obedience, which Simonides long ago celebrated, is that virtue which will in all times gain the ascendant both in war and in peace." With such epigrams may be compared others in the Greek Anthology, on the extreme patriotism of Spartan mothers. Amongst those quoted on this subject by H. P. Dodd,[224] one by Dioscorides (English version by Goldwin Smith) may specially be noted:—

> "Eight sons Demaenaeta at Sparta's call
> Sent forth to fight; one tomb received them all.
> No tear she shed, but shouted, 'Victory!
> Sparta, I bore them but to die for thee.'"

"We are strong," said Napoleon, "when we have made up our minds to die"; but yet, victorious fighting and life are more valuable in a war than martyr-like death, and so it is not really surprising that words such as, "Pro patriâ mori, vivere est," "Dulce est pro patriâ

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[222] In regard to the soldier, "whose business 'tis to die," and to obey, cf. the famous lines in Tennyson's *Charge of the Light Brigade*:—

> "Theirs not to reason why,
> Theirs but to do and die."

[223] Lord Neaves, *The Greek Anthology*, Edinburgh, 1874, p. 25.

[224] H. P. Dodd, *Epigrammatists*, London, 1870, p. 56.

mori,"[225] or "Pro religione mori" or "Pro libertate mori, vivere est," have not found favour on military badges.[226] Similar sentences do indeed appear on some medals and medalets, which, however, as they commemorate patriotic deeds, should be classed under Heading xi.

A medal commemorating the capture of Breda in 1590 by the Dutch under Prince Maurice of Nassau, has the inscription, "Parati vincere aut mori." Boniface, Count of Savoy, who died in 1263, took as a motto, "Ni potior, morior" ("Unless I am master, I die"); but this approaches the idea of the saying, "Aut Caesar aut nihil."[227]

This is perhaps the place to allude to works of art relating to "Death and Ambition" (cf. Part II. iii.), especially the insatiable ambition that has justly, or unjustly, been supposed to have no consideration for those pushed aside, killed, and trampled on in the pursuit of power and glory. Most of us have seen prints of a modern picture by P. Fritel ("The Price of Glory"), which was exhibited at the Paris "Salon" some years ago, representing a resplendent cavalcade of military con-

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[225] Cf. Horace, *Od.*, iii. 2. 14: "Dulce et decorum est pro patriâ mori"; and Macaulay, *Lays of Ancient Rome—Horatius*:—

"To every man upon this earth
Death cometh soon or late,
And how can man die better
Than facing fearful odds,
For the ashes of his fathers
And the temples of his gods?"

The above-mentioned motto from Horace was placed on a memorial finger-ring of the notorious Simon Fraser, Lord Lovat, who was executed for high treason in 1747 (cf. Part IV., subdivision ii.).

[226] For personal and family mottoes of this kind, see J. Dielitz, *Die Wahl- und Denksprüche, &c.*, Frankfurt-a-M., 1888.

[227] I hear that a medal (1915) of the German Field-Marshal von Hindenburg has the device of an eagle and a death's-head on the reverse.

querors of all ages (Alexander the Great; Julius Caesar; Napoleon I; Rameses II; Hannibal; Attila, and Timur or "Tamerlaine," both called "The Scourge of God"; &c.), riding forward in triumphal procession along the sunlit path of military glory, bounded on either side by the closely strewn corpses of those who have fallen in the struggle (the vanquished and the other victims of warfare). But, without searching amongst the immense number of cartoons issued in all countries during the Great European War, one can find many other caricatures of martial glory, such as some depicting the triumphant conqueror accompanied by ghastly skeleton-like figures of Death, Famine, and Pestilence. On the corresponding literary side one might compare the following:—

> "Ruin seize thee, ruthless king!
> Confusion on thy banners wait!
> Though fann'd by Conquest's crimson wing,
> They mock the air with idle state."
> (Thomas Gray, *The Bard*, I. i. line 1.)

Then, there is also the well-known picture by Franz von Stuck at Munich, entitled "Krieg" ("War"), representing a youthful nude, determined but pitiless-looking, male figure (a kind of war-god?) riding slowly on a black horse over a battle-field, thickly strewn with the bodies of the dead and dying. A modern satirical design by Alfred Kubin represents "War" as a monster, half man, half beast, about to crush a human army beneath its huge hoofs.

Some of the famous ancient Assyrian and Egyptian representations and records of victorious military expeditions and conquests might be noted in this connexion, though of course not originally intended to be satirical. The historian, Edward Gibbon—when pointing out that

the Emperor Trajan's ambition for military conquest had been stimulated by the renown of Alexander the Great transmitted by a succession of poets and historians—remarks that, "As long as mankind shall continue to bestow more liberal applause on their destroyers than on their benefactors, the thirst for military glory will ever be the vice of the most exalted characters." [228]

Political ambition, with its intrigues and its *coups d'état*, has also been symbolized in the same light, and so might various kinds of reckless private ambition, even though the death-dealing results be necessarily much more limited. In this connexion compare the modern lines by William Watson:—

> "The Caesars and the Alexanders pass,
> While he that drank the hemlock, He that drank
> The cup more dread on Calvary hill, remain,
> Servants and mighty conquerors of the world."

The contrast in most verses and pictorial representations of this idea is doubtless exaggerated.

The modern allegorical picture by Frank Dicksee, R.A., called "The Two Crowns," may to some extent be regarded as the pictorial analogue of the idea of these verses. It represents the magnificent and spectacular entry of some emperor into a town, such as occurred, for instance, when the Emperor Charles V entered Ghent, in 1540, in order to punish the city. [Dicksee's picture might in fact very well be taken as a pictorial satire—showing "the other side of things"—of the gorgeous painting by Hans Makart (1840–1884), representing the "Entry of Charles V into Antwerp," now exhibited in the Gallery ("Kunsthalle") at Hamburg.] The full light is on the proud face of the worldly ruler. He is on horseback and wears a golden crown, and beautiful women strew flowers before him. In the shadow, at the side of the street, is a figure of the crucified Christ wearing a crown of thorns. Dicksee's picture is now at the National Gallery of British Art (Tate Gallery), London.

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[228] Edward Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Chapter i. In all such sayings, however, there is apt to be false sentiment or confusion of sentiments. The thirst for, and admiration of, military glory is of course, in some respects, intimately connected with the virtues of patriotic bravery. Cf. the "death or glory" badge (Fig. 35), owing to which the English 17th Lancers were nicknamed "the death or glory boys," and also the popular name, "Old Glory," for the "Star-Spangled Banner" of the United States of North America.

VII. Death as an Emblem of Destruction and Ruin.

In regard to the skull and bones as an emblem of danger, destruction, and ruin, there are satirical medals, as there are satirical prints, especially political cartoons, on which Death's-heads are introduced to suggest the unsound, dangerous, or destructive nature of certain customs, occupations, or enterprises. Thus, on the occasion of a *fête* given in 1875, when Samuel Plimsoll (1824–1898), "the sailors' friend," was elected Member of Parliament for Liverpool, those present wore a medalet with Plimsoll's portrait on the obverse, and one of the so-called "coffin-ships," a species of death-trap which he helped to get rid of, on the reverse. The ship is represented sinking; on one of its sails is pictured a Death's-head with crossed bones; in the exergue are the words COFFIN SHIP. In the same way in still more recent times a figure of Death, as the personification of ruin and destruction (and sometimes accompanied by the Devil), might have been represented driving modern engines by land or sea, or setting fire to or blowing up huge factory buildings crowded with work-people. A suggestion has been brought forward to make it compulsory to use only coffin-shaped bottles (with skull and crossed bones ornamentation on the labels) for solutions of perchloride of mercury (corrosive sublimate) and all poisons, in order to prevent persons from carelessly drinking them or making other mistakes.

A famous inventor of explosives (or some kind of death-dealing war-apparatus), when accused of acquiring wealth through providing means for the wholesale slaughter of mankind, is said to have replied that in

reality he was preventing warfare by making the possible engines of death so terribly effective, and all idea of war so frightful, that in the future it would be almost impossible for civilised nations to declare war on one another. Certainly, however, emblematic figures of Death have been frequently, and still are, introduced into caricatures and other designs relating to the horrors of war and the invention or manufacture of explosives and other implements of war. Amongst many such designs a recent political cartoon from the German paper, *Simplicissimus* (February, 1915), may be mentioned in illustration. It refers to the supposed attitude of the United States at one time during the Great European War, and represents the American republic as making money out of the war by selling materials of war to England and her allies. "Uncle Sam" or "Brother Jonathan," dressed in star-spangled trousers, with one hand presents a scythe to a skeleton (representing Death), whilst with his other hand he receives in exchange a weighty bag of gold.

A German medal (see Part III.) on the sinking of the passenger-steamship Lusitania, in 1915 (torpedoed by a German submarine in May, 1915), pictures a skeleton-like figure of Death as a booking-clerk at a ticket-office in America of the Cunard Line Steamship Company. Persons are represented booking their places and receiving their tickets from this ghastly official, whose ominous appearance is doubtless meant to suggest that intending passengers were duly warned (by notices in the newspapers) of the fatal risk they would run from the German U-boats if they crossed by the Cunard liner. On some other satirical medals of the Great European War (described in Part III.) a figure of Death in the design is evidently meant to have a similar significance.

A Dutch plaquette commemorating the International Peace Conference at the Hague in 1899, represents on the reverse a mounted warrior (emblematic of war), crowned by a skeleton (emblematic of death and destruction), being stopped by figures emblematic of peace.

A sixteenth-century plaque will further on be described, representing Death standing in an attitude of fear or

submission before Valour ("Virtus"); by which device it was possibly intended to signify that threatening peril and ruin in an enterprise, or imminent defeat and death in war, might sometimes be successfully resisted and averted by courage. "Mors ipsa refugit Saepe virum" (Lucan, *Pharsalia*, lib. ii. 75). James Russell Lowell wrote:—

> "The brave makes danger opportunity;
> The waverer, faltering with the chance sublime,
> Dwarfs it to peril."

VIII. Death as Conqueror and Leveller of all Mankind.

"All go unto one place; all are of dust, and all turn to dust again" (Ecclesiastes ii. 20). Death awaits all alike and makes all equal. Glory, wealth, beauty, and pride of birth make no difference in the end. Achilles, in Homer's *Iliad*, complains that the same event awaits all, the wise man dieth as the fool, and he himself, in spite of all his bravery, will have to meet the same fate as his victims. "All, soon or late, are doom'd that path to tread."[229] "Mors omnibus communis est"; "Mors omnia vincit";[230] "Omnia mors aequat" (Claudian, *Rapt. Proserp.*, lib. ii. 302); "Mors sceptra ligonibus aequat."

This last sentence, which was said to be a quotation from Lucan, but is not to be found in his *Pharsalia*, was inscribed over a fourteenth-century mural painting (representing "les trois morts et les trois vifs"), which formerly existed at Battle Church, Sussex. It likewise occurs inserted in the twelfth-century *Vers sur la Mort*, ascribed to Thibaud de Marly (Paris, second edition, 1835, p. 16), and it constitutes the motto of one of Gabr. Symconi's emblematic devices.[231] According to Prof. E. Bensly, it is included in Johann Weber's *Dicta Sapientum* (Frankfurt, 1705), but I have been unable to find a copy of that book. It forms part of the following Latin elegiac couplet, doubtless of Mediaeval origin:—

> "Mors dominos servis et sceptra ligonibus aequat,
> Dissimiles simili conditione trabens."

The word "trabens" doubtless means "joining" (cf. Spanish verb, "trabar"), but no verb, trabere (to join), is given in Latin and late Latin dictionaries. The Latin lines in question are quoted in Walter

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[229] Pope's *Odyssey* of Homer, Book xii. line 31.

[230] On this subject see also Part II. Heading i.—quotations and references given in regard to the saying, *Mors ultima linea rerum est.*

[231] *The Heroicall Devices of M. C. Paradin, &c.*, English translation by P. S., London, 1591, p. 273.

Colman's *La Danse Machabre or Death's Duell*,[232] with two English lines after them:—

"The Lord, the Slave, the Pesant, and the King,
Unlike in life, in death the self-same thing."

Colman's very scarce work, of which I have seen the copy in the British Museum Library, contains a dedication in French to Queen Henrietta Maria, consort of Charles I of England. Colman himself, who was a Roman Catholic priest, was sentenced to death, in London, December, 1641, at the Old Bailey; after being reprieved from time to time by the king's favour, he died in 1645 in Newgate prison.

An English equivalent occurs in the famous dirge in James Shirley's *The Contention of Ajax and Ulysses* (1659):—

"The glories of our blood and state
Are shadows, not substantial things;
There is no armour against Fate;
Death lays his icy hand on kings:
Sceptre and crown
Must tumble down,
And in the dust be equal made
With the poor crooked scythe and spade."

Compare the English rendering in an epitaph (quoted by Pettigrew) on John Cuthbert (1711), at Inverness:—

"In death no difference is made
Betwixt the scepter and the spade."

So also, in a dirge, Shakespeare tells us:—

"The sceptre, learning, physic, must
All follow this and come to dust."

An epitaph attributed to Anyte, of Tegea, a poetess who flourished about 700 B.C. (*Anthol. Graec.*, vii. 538), proclaims that Manes (*i.e.* a slave), now that he is dead, is as great as the great Darius (King of Persia).

Amongst many epitaphs referring to the universal and levelling force of death, the two following, given by Pettigrew,[233] may be mentioned here. The first is of Abbot Gervaise de Blois (died 1160), a natural son of Stephen, King of England, by Dameta, a gentlewoman of Normandy:—

"De Regum genere pater hic Gervasius ecce
Monstrat defunctus, mors rapit omne genus."

The second is on the tomb at Burford, in Shropshire, of Sir Edward Cornwall, a "baronet," who died in 1585, and who was one of the

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[232] Printed by William Stansby, London, probably in 1633, p. 68.

[233] Pettigrew, *Chronicles of the Tombs*, London, 1857, p. 64.

Burford family of Cornwalls claiming descent from Richard, Earl of Cornwall and King of the Romans:—

"For as you are so once was I,
And as I am so shall you be;
Although that ye be fair and young,
Wise, wealthy, hardy, stout, and strong."

Amongst the *Sinngedichte* of the German poet, Friedrich von Logau (1604–1655), in the following epigram (G. Eitner's edition, Leipzig, F. A. Brockhaus, 1870, No. 99):—

"Schlaf und Tod, der macht Vergleich
Zwischen Arm und zwischen Reich,
Zwischen Fürst und zwischen Bauer,
Zwischen Biedermann und Lauer."

Cf. also the following verses on "Man's Life," translated by Longfellow from Jorge Manrique, a Spanish poet of the fifteenth century:—

"Our lives are rivers, gliding free
To that unfathomed, boundless sea,
The silent grave!
Thither all earthly pomp and boast
Roll to be swallowed up and lost
In one dark wave.
Thither the mighty torrents stray:
Thither the brook pursues its way;
And tinkling rill.
There all are equal: side by side,
The poor man and the son of pride
Lie calm and still."

The following stanza from the "Lament for the Makaris [Poets]" by the Scottish poet, William Dunbar (about 1465–1530), may likewise be quoted here:—

"Unto the Death go all estates,
Princes, Prelates and Potestates,
Both rich and poor of all degree.
Timor mortis conturbat me."

Few quotations from Horace are better known than the following: "Pallida mors aequo pulsat pede pauperum tabernas Regumque turres" (Horace, *Od.*, i. 4. 13).

This quotation from Horace is inscribed on a silver-gilt watch in the form of a death's-head, which is traditionally said to have belonged to Mary Queen of Scots (see Part IV.). The following interesting

French versions of the famous passage are amongst those given by Caetani Lovatelli[234]:—

"La mort n'a excepté de ses sévères lois
Ny braves empereurs, ny monarques, ny rois,
Et frappe également les petites boutiques
Des pauvres artisans et les palais antiques."
Bernard de Girard, Seigneur du Haillan, *Tombeau de Henri II.*

"Princes à mort son destinez,
Comme les plus pauvres vivans."
François Villon, Ballade, *Les Oeuvres de François Villon*, Paris, 1723, p. 27.

"Mors, tu abas à un seul jour
Aussi le roi dedans sa tour
Con le pouvre dessous son toit."
T. de Montmorency, Seigneur de Marly, called Thibaud de Marly, *Vers sur la Mort*, Paris, second edition, 1835, p. 26.

These last verses were again published at Paris in 1905—edited by F. Wulff and E. Walberg—as *Les Vers de la Mort*, written at the end of the twelfth century by Hélinant, *Moine de Froidmont.*

The inexorable fate awaiting all alike is also expressed by Horace in the following: "Sed omnes una manet nox, Et calcanda semel via leti" (Horace, *Od.*, i. 28. 15). Ovid (*Consol. ad Liviam Augustam*, v. 357–360) gives the same idea as follows:—

"Fata manent omnes:[235] omnes expectat avarus
Portitor: et turbae vix satis una ratis.
Tendimus huc omnes: metam properamus ad unam.
Omnia sub leges mors vocat atra suas."

Here Horace (*Od.*, ii. 3) may again be quoted:—

"Divesne prisco natus ab Inacho
Nil interest an pauper et infima
De gente sub divo moreris:
Victima nil miserantis Orci."

"Omnes eodem cogimur; omnium
Versatur urna serius ocius
Sors exitura, et nos in aeternum
Exsilium impositura cymbae."

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[234] Caetani Lovatelli, *Thanatos*, Rome, 1888, pp. 45, 46.

[235] Cf. Prudentius: "Quin lex eadem manet omnes."

Cf. Martial, *Epig.*, v. 64 (English by Robert Bland, the younger), regarding the Mausoleum (Mausoleum-like tomb) of the *deified* Roman Emperor, Augustus :—

"See yon proud emblem of decay,
Yon lordly pile that braves the sky!
It bids us live our little day,
Teaching that gods themselves may die."

Verses referring to the inexorable march of time and the rapid advent of old age have, of course, a very similar significance :—

"Eheu! fugaces Posthume, Posthume,
Labuntur anni; nec pietas moram
Rugis et instanti senectae
Afferet, indomitaeque morti."
(Horace, *Od.*, ii. 14.)

". . . . Currit mortalibus aevum,
Nec nasci bis posse datur; fugit hora, rapitque
Tartareus torrens, ac secum ferre sub umbras,
Si qua animo placuere, negat."
(Silius Italicus, xv. 63.)

"Tempora mutantur, tacitisque senescimus annis;
Et fugiunt fraeno non remorante dies."
(Ovid, *Fast.*, vi. 771.)

"Singula de nobis anni praedantur euntes."
(Horace, *Epist.*, ii. 2. 55.)

"Interea, dum fata sinunt, jungamus amores:
Jam veniet tenebris mors adoperta caput,
Jam subrepet iners aetas nec amare decebit,
Dicere nec cano blanditias capiti."
(Tibullus, lib. i. 1, lines 69–72.)

Mimnermus of Colophon, the Greek elegiac poet, who flourished in the second half of the seventh century B.C., sang plaintively of the inevitable approach of death and the miseries attendant on old age. Cf. one of his remaining fragments, commencing :—

Ἡμεῖς δ' οἷά τε φύλλα φύει πολυανθέος ὥρη.

The following are two inscriptions on a brass astrolabe and sun-dial (in the museum of Perugia), signed by Ieronimus Wulparia of Florence, and dated 1577 :—

"Nil nomen, nil fama juvat, nil candida virtus:
Tempus enim rapido singula dente vorat."

"Hora fugit, celeri properat mors improba passu."

Many verses of the grand Latin Mediaeval church hymns bear on the subject of the present Heading; for instance, the following, from the *Rythmus de Contemptu Mundi*, attributed to St. Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux (I quote from J. Mabillon's collection of his works)[236]:—

"Dic, ubi Salomon, olim tam nobilis?
Vel ubi Samson est, dux invincibilis?
Vel pulcher Absalon, vultu mirabilis?
Vel dulcis Jonathas, multum amabilis?"

"Quo Caesar abiit, celsus imperio?
Vel Dives splendidus, totus in prandio?
Dic, ubi Tullius, clarus eloquio?
Vel Aristoteles, summus ingenio?"

"Tot clari proceres, tot retro [rerum?] spatia,
Tot ora praesulum, tot regna fortia,
Tot mundi principes, tanta potentia,
In ictu oculi clauduntur omnia."

So also the following couple of Mediaeval Latin ("Leonine") hexameter lines say:—

"Dic, homo, vas cinerum, quid confert flos facierum?
Copia quid rerum? mors ultima meta dierum."

Thomas Nashe (1567–1601), in "A Lament in Time of Plague," tells us:—

"Beauty is but a flower,
Which wrinkles will devour:
Brightness falls from the air;
Queens have died young and fair;
Dust hath closed Helen's eye:
I am sick, I must die!"

Longfellow, in his *Haroun al Raschid*, asks:—

"Where are the kings, and where the rest
Of those who once the world possessed?
They're gone with all their pomp and show,
They're gone the way that thou shalt go."

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[236] The poem is also printed, under the heading, *De Mundi Vanitate*, amongst the *Latin Poems attributed to Walter Mapes*, published by the Camden Society, London, 1841, p. 147.

All this reminds one of François Villon's ballad with the refrain: "Mais où sont les neiges d'antan?"

Compare also the epitaph of Muhammad ibn Ibrahim on himself[237]:—

"My share of life is finished; I am laid
On my death-bed.
Did he not die, our father Adam, also,
And Muhammad?
Dead are the princes and the potentates
And none shall wake them.
Tell them that triumph at my death, that Death
Shall overtake them."

It has sometimes been thought advisable (though doubtless sometimes also a dangerous task) to remind emperors and kings that they are mortal like other men. Gabr. Symeoni, in his work on Emblems,[238] writes as follows: "Isidorus reporteth also that at Constantinople there was a custome, to put the Emperor in mind of his departure hence.[239] The first day that he was to be crowned a certaine Mason should bring unto him three or foure sorts of stones, saying unto him these words:—

"'Oh, noble Caesar, puissant king,
Choose thou here presently,
Of which stones shall thy grave be made,
Wherein thou once shalt be.'"

Such an admonitory custom, whether it really existed or not, reminds one of the tale about Canute the Great, the Danish King of England (died 1035). This semi-barbarous monarch, who became very religious and hoped to expiate his misdeeds according to the orthodox methods of the time, wished on one occasion to reprove some flattering courtiers, who had exclaimed that for him everything was possible. According to the story he had a throne set up on the sea-shore, when the tide was rising, and, sitting on it in state, commanded the approaching waters to retire. When the rising sea began to wash his feet, he turned to his courtiers and pointed out to them the impotence of every human being in the presence of the supreme Ruler of the universe.

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[237] Translation included by D. L. Smith in the "Poems of Mu'tamid King of Seville," London, 1915, p. 55.

[238] See *The Heroicall Devices of M. C. Paradin, &c.*, English translation by P. S., London, 1591, p. 318.

[239] In regard to a somewhat similar Papal custom see Caetani Lovatelli, *Thanatos*, Rome, 1888, p. 73 (footnote).

This aspect is illustrated by various "Sterbemünzen" and memorial medals bearing inscriptions such as, "Finis gloriae mundi"; "Sic transit gloria mundi," &c. A medal of the seventeenth century, by Christian Maler, has on the obverse a lady's portrait, and on the reverse a skeleton with the inscription, "Sic nunc, pulcherrima quondam."[240] The type of this medal was apparently copied from a Danish medal dated 1634 (to be afterwards described), which on the obverse bears a similar lady's portrait and words signifying, "I am beautiful," whilst on the reverse is a skeleton with words meaning, "I was beautiful." Such medals may be compared to a certain class of sepulchral monuments (for instance, that of Archbishop Chichele—see back, Part I. C, and Fig. 19) representing the deceased with all the attributes of worldly wealth and power and social rank, and (on a lower slab or compartment) a skeleton or corpse or emaciated decaying body, often being "eaten by worms." This second figure is what the French call a *gisant*, and, as J. Guiart points out, it served to warn the rich and great, and comfort the poor and unfortunate, of this world by reminding them of the vanity of wealth and earthly titles in presence of Death, the Leveller of all mankind. Guiart quotes a poet of the epoch:—

"Et dans ces grands tombeaux, où leurs âmes hautaines
Font encore les vaines
Ils sont mangés des vers."

With this idea may be compared the quaint piece entitled, "A Dream," by Peter Patrix (1585-1672), a French minor poet, written

[240] Compare H. S. Beham's engraving (dated 1541) of Death and a lady, with the inscription, "Omnem in homine venustatem mors abolet."

a few days before his death, and translated into English as follows[241]:—

"I dreamt, that, buried in my fellow clay,
Close by a common beggar's side I lay.
And, as so mean a neighbour shock'd my pride,
Thus, like a corpse of quality, I cried,
'Away! thou scoundrel! henceforth touch me not;
More manners learn, and at a distance rot!'
'Thou scoundrel!' in a louder tone, cried he,
'Proud lump of dirt! I scorn thy word and thee.
We're equal now, I'll not an inch resign;
This is my dunghill, as the next is thine.'"

The fifteenth-century German woodcut (Fig. 40 in Part II. Heading xix.) representing "Death in the Jaws of Hell," is accompanied by German verses referring to the levelling of all social distinctions at death:—

"Diser spiegel ist gemain
Reich arm gross und klain
Edel gepurt jung und alt
Werdend all also gestalt.
Hie richt got recht
Hie leyt der herr bey dem knecht
Reich und arm nun gond herbey
Unschawent wer der Herr oder [der] knecht sey."

In regard to more modern popular allusions to Death as the Leveller, a wooden snuff-box may be mentioned, with four skulls painted on it, labelled respectively, "A Beauty," "A Beggar," "A Witch," and "A King." An obscure medal (signed, I.B.) of the seventeenth or eighteenth century has on the reverse two human skulls, with the inscription, *Extra scenam nec rex nec morio*, which means: "Off the stage (? of life) neither king nor fool"—or, in other words: "All are equal in Hades; there are no kings, and no fools, there."

This reminds one of the skeleton represented on a sepulchral "cippus" (probably of the third century A.D.) in the British Museum (see Part IV. Subdivision i.), with an inscription asking the passer-by whether from the bare skeleton he can tell if the living person had been beautiful like Hylas or ugly like Thersites. As to the

[241] H. P. Dodd's *Epigrammatists*, 1870, p. 210.

levelling power of death, cf. also Lucian's "Dialogues of the Dead"—the dialogue in which Nireus and Thersites, in Hades, contend for the palm of beauty before the shade of the Cynic philosopher, Menippus—also the satirical remarks of Diogenes, the Cynic philosopher, in his conversations with Mausolus, King of Caria, and Alexander the Great.

In this connexion one might also quote Francis Beaumont's "Lines on the Tombs in Westminster Abbey," commencing:—

> "Mortality, behold and fear!
> What a change of flesh is here!
> Think how many royal bones
> Sleep within this heap of stones."

On Westminster Abbey cf. also the distich:—

> "Kings, statesmen, scholars, soldiers, here are dust!
> Vain man, be humble; to be great, be just."

George Granville, Baron Lansdowne (1667–1735), in his *Meditation on Death*, has the following stanza:—

> "Those boasted names of conquerors and of kings
> Are swallow'd, and become forgotten things:
> One destin'd period men in common have,
> The great, the base, the coward, and the brave,
> All food alike for worms, companions in the grave.
> The prince and parasite together lie,
> No fortune can exalt, but death will climb as high."

One of the best known passages on the vanity of human pride and the temporary nature of the human conqueror's power is that from Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, act v., scene 1:—

> "Imperial Caesar, dead, and turned to clay,
> Might stop a hole to keep the wind away."

Cf. also Juvenal's tenth satire, where he alludes to Alexander the Great. One world was not enough for "Pella's boy." Yet when he came to Babylon he had to be content with the narrow limits of a sarcophagus. "Death alone reveals how insignificant are the puny bodies of men!"—

> "Unus Pellaeo juveni non sufficit orbis:
> Aestuat infelix angusto limite mundi,
> Ut Gyari clausus scopulis parvaque Seripho:
> Quum tamen a figulis munitam intraverit urbem,
> Sarcophago contentus erit. Mors sola fatetur
> Quantula sint hominum corpuscula."

Similarly, Juvenal (in the same satire) asks: "Expende Hannibalem: quot libras in duce summo invenies?" ("Weigh the dust of Hannibal: and how many pounds will you find in that great military commander?")

Cf. Shakespeare's *King Henry IV*, Part I., act v., scene 4 (Prince Henry's speech over Hotspur's body):—

"Ill-weaved ambition, how much art thou shrunk!
When that this body did contain a spirit,
A kingdom for it was too small a bound:
But now two paces of the vilest earth
Is room enough."

In Shakespeare's *King Henry VI*, Part III. (act v., scene 2), Warwick, "the King-maker," says:—

"My parks, my walks, my manors that I had,
Even now forsake me; and of all my lands
Is nothing left me but my body's length!
Why, what is pomp, rule, reign, but earth and dust?
And, live we how we can, yet die we must."

In Shakespeare's *King Richard II* (act iii., scene 2), King Richard says:—

"And nothing can we call our own but death,
And that small model of the barren earth,
Which serves as paste and cover to our bones."[242]

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[242] More of the speech of King Richard should be quoted in this connexion:—

"Let's talk of graves, of worms, and epitaphs;
Make dust our paper, and with rainy eyes
Write sorrow on the bosom of the earth.
Let's choose executors, and talk of wills:
And yet not so,—for what can we bequeath,
Save our deposèd bodies to the ground?
Our lands, our lives, and all are Bolingbroke's,
And nothing can we call our own but death,
And that small model of the barren earth,
Which serves as paste and cover to our bones.

H. P. Dodd[243] quotes in similar connexion an English translation of a Latin epitaph on King Henry II of England :—

"Here lies King Henry II, who many realms
Did erst subdue, and was both count and king;
Though all the regions of the earth could not
Suffice me once, eight feet of ground are now
Sufficient for me. Reader, think of death,
And look on me as what all men must come to."

Dodd traces such thoughts to an epitaph "On a Rich Man," by the Greek epigrammatist, Leonidas of Tarentum (who flourished about B.C. 280), translated by Charles Merivale (1808–1893) as follows :—

"I am the tomb of Crethon : here you read
His name; himself is numbered with the dead;
Who once had wealth, not less than Gyges' gold;
Who once was rich in stable, stall, and fold;
Who once was blest above all living men—
With lands, how narrow now! so ample then!"

Analogous passages are cited by Lewis Evans from the writings of Aeschylus (*Sept. contra Theb.*, 731), Sophocles (*Oedipus Colon.*, 789), Bishop J. Hall (*Satires*, No. 3, second series),

For God's sake, let us sit upon the ground,
And tell sad stories of the death of kings :—
How some have been deposed; some slain in war;
Some haunted by the ghosts they have depos'd;
Some poison'd by their wives; some sleeping kill'd;
All murder'd :—for within the hollow crown
That rounds the mortal temples of a king,
Keeps Death his court; and there the antick sits,
Mocking his state, and grinning at his pomp;
Allowing him a breath, a little scene,
To monarchize, be fear'd, and kill with looks;
Infusing him with self and vain conceit,—
As if this flesh, which walls about his life,
Were brass impregnable; and, humour'd thus,
Comes at the last, and with a little pin
Bores through his castle-wall, and—farewell, king!"

[243] H. P. Dodd, *The Epigrammatists*, London, 1870, p. 475.

John Webster (*The Duchess of Malfy*), John Dryden (*Antony*), and lastly James Shirley (*The Wedding*) :—

> "How little room
> Do we take up in death, that living know
> No bounds!"

In Stephen Phillips's drama, *Harold*, the English King, Harold II, before the Battle of Stamford Bridge (September 25th, 1066), mockingly speaks :—

> "Say to thy master, to Hardrada, King,
> I'll yield to him six feet of English earth,
> Or seeing that he is a giant, seven."

But truth is sometimes stranger than fiction. I do not suppose that Asselin FitzArthur knew anything of the above epigrams and sayings when (in 1087) he objected to William the Conqueror occupying even a few feet of ground after his death. King William died on September 9th, 1087, in the Monastery of St. Gervase, at Rouen. The Archbishop of Rouen ordered that he should be buried at Caen in the Church of St. Stephen (the "Abbaye aux Hommes"), which he had built and endowed. At the burial service, when the mass and requiem had been said and the body was about to be lowered into the grave, Asselin FitzArthur suddenly rose amongst the crowd and loudly exclaimed that the dead king, on whom the Bishop of Evreux had just pronounced a panegyric, was a robber, and that the very ground on which they were standing belonged to him (Asselin), was the site of his father's house, and had been violently taken from him by the Conqueror to build the church on it. In the name of God, he forbad the Bishop to bury the body there or cover it with his glebe. Evidence was given of the proof of the statement, and the body was not buried until Prince Henry (afterwards King Henry I of England), one of William's sons, who was present, and the Bishop and others, agreed to pay Asselin there and then a certain sum of money as a price for the grave, promising him also that later on he should obtain the full value of the rest of his land. A plain grey marble slab in the pavement before the high altar of the church still marks the site of what was once the Conqueror's grave. According to one story, when the coffin was finally let down into the grave it struck against an obstacle and was broken, and so horrible a stench was diffused that the remaining rites were rapidly hurried through. This incident is depicted on a painting in the Museum at Caen. It is stated that in 1543, when the tomb was opened, some Latin verses were found in it, engraved on a copper-gilt plate, pointing out (amongst the rest) that for him who was formerly "so great a lord so small a house sufficed."

From Edward FitzGerald's "Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam" (4th edition), stanza 17 may be quoted here:—

"Think in this battered Caravanserai,
Whose Portals are alternate Night and Day,
How Sultan after Sultan with his Pomp
Abode his destined Hour, and went his way."

In Gray's *Elegy in a Country Churchyard*, stanza 9 is:—

"The boast of heraldry, the pomp of pow'r,
And all that beauty, all that wealth e'er gave,
Await alike the inevitable hour.
The paths of glory lead but to the grave."

Sir Walter Raleigh wrote:—

"O eloquent, just and mightie Death! whom none could advise thou hast persuaded; what none hath dared thou hast done; and whom all the world hath flattered, thou only hast cast out of the world and despised. Thou hast drawne together all the farre stretched greatnesse, all the pride, crueltie, and ambition of man, and covered it all over with these two narrow words, *Hic jacet*."

Cf. also Thomas Dekker's *Old Fortunatus* (act i., scene 1):—

"And though mine arm should conquer twenty worlds,
There's a lean fellow beats all conquerors."

Another interesting quotation which may be given here is one from the English fourteenth century *Vision of Piers Plowman* (by William Langland, who died about the year 1400):—

"Death came dryvyng after, and all to dust pashed
Kings and kaysers, knightes and popes;
Many a lovely lady, and lemman of knightes,
Swoned and swelted for sorrowe of Death's dyntes."

This reminds one of *Revelation*, vi., verses 8 and 15:—

"And I looked, and behold, a pale horse, and his name that sat on him was Death . . . And the kings of the earth, and the great men, and the rich men, and the chief captains, and the mighty men, and every bondman, and every free man, hid themselves in the dens, and in the rocks of the mountains."

The vain, and sometimes absurd, attempts of human beings to bargain with Death (personified) formed a favourite subject in Mediaeval dialogues, poems and pictorial designs relating to the "Dance of Death" and the "Legend of the Three Living and the Three Dead," and in the various Mediaeval "morality tales" and "morality plays." The ancient theme was often varied (relieved?) by much grim humour (sometimes of a coarse kind), and by the representation of grotesque and ludicrous incidents or aspects. Death was of course under every aspect inexorable. In the words of W. S. Landor (*Last Fruit*, &c., clix.):—

> "Ah! he strikes all things, all alike,
> But bargains—those he will not strike."

It has been suggested that the great popularity in Europe (perhaps especially in Germany) of "Dance of Death" designs, during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries may be partly accounted for by the discontent of the lower classes under the feudal system of the period (cf. the history of the Anabaptist "levellers" of Germany, 1521–1525). Such pictures, like the *gisants* just referred to, reminded the peasants that at death rank and social distinctions would disappear, peasant and nobleman, poor and rich, Pope, Emperor, King, and beggar, would fare alike. "The Pope can give no bull to dispense with death" (Molière). The fact that death is the common lot of all mankind ("For dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return," Genesis iii. 19—the Christian Church tells us: "Memento homo, quia pulvis es et in pulverem reverteris") has been distorted into a socialistic argument comparable with that suggested by the fourteenth-century rhyme—

> "When Adam dalf and Eve span,
> Who was thanne a gentilman?"[244]

[244] In Hume's *History of England* the following version is given:—

> "When Adam dolve, and Eve span,
> Who was then the gentleman?"

on which John Ball preached at Blackheath (1381) during Wat Tyler's rebellion.

An inscription on an elaborate sixteenth-century clock in the British Museum is, "Omnis caro foenum," from the Latin Vulgate version of Isaiah xl. 6: "All flesh is grass, and all the goodliness thereof is as the flower of the field." This passage from Isaiah is quoted likewise on two sixteenth-century prints representing Vanity (Math. Greuter, Lyon, 1596), to which I shall refer in Part III.

The consideration that death is a natural consequence of birth, and common to all living creatures, offers also a kind of consolation to every one, and thus an element of human sympathy is furnished in regard to the Dance of Death subject: "Sunt lacrymae rerum, et mentem mortalia tangunt" (Virgil, *Aeneid*, i. 462)—"One touch of nature makes the whole world kin" (Shakespeare, *Troilus and Cressida*, act iii., scene 3). The aspect of death considered under this heading (Heading viii.) is therefore, to some extent, a consolatory one.

Of course, Death *cannot really* be a complete leveller. Artificial distinctions of wealth and birth may be levelled by death, but death cannot erase the record of a man's life, even though that record may be forgotten in the world, or unknown to both his contemporaries and future generations. Moreover, the manner of a man's death must sometimes constitute an important part of his record, possibly even making him a hero or the reverse.

In another kind of way Death may sometimes have helped the cause of Liberty, not only by smiting tyrants and oppressors, but by mercifully removing their victims and the oppressed out of their hands and control. In one of his Essays Montaigne refers to death as possibly "the sole support of liberty."

He wrote: "We hold death, poverty and grief for our principal enemies; but this death, which some repute the most dreadful of all

dreadful things, who does not know that others call it the only secure harbour from the storms and tempests of life, the sovereign good of nature, the sole support of liberty, and the common and sudden remedy of all evils?"

In Part I. a great deal has been said in regard to Death as the universal conqueror, and I have referred to various poems and pictures illustrating the "Triumph of Death" and kindred subjects. Mr. J. Allan has kindly drawn my attention to a specially interesting numismatic point in this connexion. On certain Indian gold coins (the "battle-axe type") the king, Samudragupta, who reigned 337–380 A.D., is represented holding the axe of the god of Death, to signify that he is as great a conqueror as Death is. The surrounding inscription means, "Wielding the axe of Kritanta (the 'End-maker,' or Death), he conquers even invincible kings."

In regard to the peace-making and levelling influence of the approach of death on foes as well as on friends, there are of course a great number of anecdotes, many of them doubtless true. H. P. Dodd[245] quotes the following epigram by John Donne (1573–1631), bearing on the subject (a soldier mortally wounded is represented as speaking):—

> "I die well paid, whilst my expiring breath
> Smiles o'er the tombs of foes made kin by death."

Dodd compares this with a Greek epigram by Diodorus (about B.C. 354), translated as follows by Richard Cumberland (1732–1811):—

> "When your foe dies, let all resentment cease:
> Make peace with death, and death will give you peace."

[245] H. P. Dodd, *The Epigrammatists*, 1870, p. 185.

IX. Scientific Attitudes towards Death. The Investigation of its Causes, &c. Life-saving Scientific Discoveries.

"Nec silet mors" ("Nor is death silent")[246] was the motto of the Pathological Society of London on its foundation in 1846—a motto which might fitly be applied to much recent scientific work carried out in connexion with Egyptian mummies, &c. Death, however much grief it causes, will often, if properly questioned, teach us something about the cause, course, and prevention of a disease, which may be helpful for the preservation of human life and health. The Cheselden and Bristowe prize-medals of St. Thomas's Hospital, London, bear to some extent on this aspect of death, especially the former and more beautiful of the two, on which is the inscription, "Mors vivis salus."[247] Visitors to the Anatomical Institute of the University of Heidelberg may read at the entrance: "Hic mors gaudet succurrere vitae." A medal of J. B. Morgagni (by T. Mercandetti of Rome) has the inscription, "Saluti scientia," referring to his necropsy work (see Part III., under 18th century).

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[246] The author of this motto is not known. It somewhat resembles the Latin Vulgate version of St. Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews, xi. 4: "Etiam mortuus loquitur"—but the real sense is, of course, quite different.

[247] This motto rather suggests the idea of the overthrow and death of a cruel tyrant, or the execution of a dangerous criminal, and, of course, by the study of the causes of some fatal disease, the cruel monster in question has sometimes been overcome. (Cf. the last paragraphs under Heading iv.)

The equally beautiful Fothergillian medal of the Royal Humane Society (London) may likewise be mentioned in this connexion, since a specimen struck in gold, now in the British Museum, was awarded in 1845 to Sir John Erichsen for his "Experimental Enquiry into the Pathology and Treatment of Asphyxia."

Here also properly belong all medals commemorating life-saving scientific discoveries. In Part III. (18th century) I describe those relating to Benjamin Franklin's discovery of lightning-conductors, with the famous hexameter epigram: "Eripuit coelo fulmen sceptrumque tyrannis." The indirectly life-saving discovery of how to produce anaesthesia (the "death of pain," as S. Weir Mitchell called it) for surgical operations, is, I believe, commemorated by minor works of art as well as by some pictures.

Many paintings, drawings, and prints relating to anatomical dissections and demonstrations, and dead bodies for anatomical or pathological examination, including Rembrandt's famous "Anatomical Lecture," old and modern portraits of Vesalius and others dissecting, or about to dissect or demonstrate, fall under this heading. A great number of famous dissection pictures (chiefly Dutch "anatomies" of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries) are beautifully illustrated in the second edition of E. Holländer's *Die Medizin in der klassischen Malerei*.[248] Several anatomical illustrations, dissection scenes, and representations of post-mortem examinations, of the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries, are reproduced in Charles Singer's "Study in Early Renaissance Anatomy" (published in *Studies in the History and Method of Science*,

[248] Stuttgart, 1913, pp. 15-87.

Oxford, 1917, pp. 79–164). These include illustrations for the works of Mondino (Mundinus), Henri de Mondeville, Guy de Vigevano, Guy de Chauliac, Bartholomaeus Anglicus, Hieronymo Manfredi (who became Professor of Medicine at the University of Bologna in 1463), and Berengario da Carpi (Professor of Surgery at Bologna, 1502–1527). Singer likewise reproduces one of the wonderful anatomical sketches by Leonardo da Vinci (from an original drawing in the library of Windsor Castle), and the famous drawing of two men dissecting a corpse, attributed to the Italian painter Bartolomeo Manfredi (original in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford). The two dissectors in the last scene are traditionally said to be the great Michael Angelo and Marcantonio della Torre (1473–1506). An interesting contemporary painting in the Hunterian Library at Glasgow pictures John Banister (1533–1610) delivering the "Visceral Lecture" at the Barber-Surgeons' Hall in London, 1581.[249] There exist also various satirical or comical representations (including "initial letter" subjects, &c.) relating to anatomical demonstrations, dissections, and *post-mortem* examinations.[250]

In this group I would likewise place the medals (bearing the device of human skulls) of F. J. Gall (1758–1828), the founder of the so-called "phrenological doctrine," of J. F. Blumenbach (1752–1840), the anatomist and anthropologist, and of the naturalist, Prof. Karl Vogt of Geneva (1817–1895); and certain medals (with

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[249] See D'Arcy Power, *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine, Section of the History of Medicine*, 1913, vi. p. 19.

[250] Representations on old illuminated manuscripts of the removal of the heart or intestines from dead bodies previously to burial, may be mistaken for early pictures of *post-mortem* examinations.

skulls or skeletons on them) relating to medical and allied sciences, for instance, the medals of the Company of Surgeons and the present Royal College of Surgeons of England representing the story of Galen and the skeleton of the robber.

No medals have as yet been designed referring to death from the standpoint of the doctrine of the immortality of germ-plasm (August Weismann, &c.).

X. Medical, Sanitary, and Social Attitudes towards Death. The Prevention of Unnecessary Death.

Various commemorative medals of medical men and their life-work, and medals relating to sanitation and public health, illustrate to some extent such attitudes towards death. Certain coins of Selinus in Sicily (of the period *circa* 466–415 B.C.) may likewise be referred to in the same connexion, since their types commemorate the freeing of Selinus from a pestilence of some kind (malaria?) by the drainage of the neighbouring marshlands. They therefore illustrate a grand and public-spirited "hygienic" attitude towards preventible death from endemic infectious disease in the fifth century B.C. The spreading devastating epidemics of the dark ages of hygienic knowledge are abundantly illustrated in art, epigram, and poetry. An engraving (see Fig. 9) by the "Meister H. W.," dated 1842, of Death striding through the country, is apparently emblematic of such a visitation. This and a drawing of similar significance by Dürer, dated 1505, have been alluded to in Part I., but many other illustrations of the same kind might be adduced. For medals and medal-like tokens bearing on this subject the little work entitled, *Pestilentia in Nummis*, by L. Pfeiffer and C. Ruland,[251] should be consulted. Very interesting are the medals, &c., on which fatal epidemics of plague and other infectious diseases are referred to as punishments or retributive calamities, visitations or manifestations of the Divine wrath on account of

[251] Pfeiffer and Ruland, *Pestilentia in Nummis*, Tübingen, 1882.

the wickedness of the people. I shall describe typical examples of such memorials in Part III.

Acute epidemic diseases, such as plague, "cholera morbus," "typhoid" fever ("typhus abdominalis" of German physicians), "typhus" fever ("typhus exanthematicus" of German physicians), have been often represented emblematically as demons in works of art.

With such emblematic representations of acute and fatal diseases the following passage by Samuel Johnson (referred to in Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, under the date, 1782) may be contrasted: "It was a principle among the ancients, that acute diseases are from Heaven, and chronical from ourselves; the dart of death, indeed, falls from Heaven, but we poison it from our own misconduct: to die is the fate of man; but to die with lingering anguish is generally his folly."

Some modern weird and fanciful designs representing the deadly power of infectious diseases have already been mentioned in Part I., and many others of various periods exist, especially in regard to cholera epidemics. In this connexion an amusing article is that by Dr. J. H. Alexander,[252] headed, "Are micro-organisms the Demons of the Ancients?" He points out how strongly the facts now proved to be true about pathogenic and other micro-organisms resemble what was believed by the ancients to be true regarding demons, and what is still believed to be true regarding them by the superstitious of modern times in various parts of the world. Amongst their remarkable characteristics in common might be instanced: their universal presence, especially about decaying bodies and dark damp sunless places; their power of entry into living bodies; the minuteness of the space taken up by them; and their invisibility to ordinary eyes.

[252] Dr. J. H. Alexander, in the *Medical Press*, London, 1913, vol. 147, p. 229.

The ravages of more chronic infectious and other diseases, such as tuberculosis, syphilis, and cancer, have been similarly fancifully represented; and in this connexion it may be recalled that in the Babylonian and Assyrian kingdoms,[253] all kinds of diseases, but especially acute diseases, were regarded as caused by demons, or by magic, as they were likewise to some extent in other ancient civilisations, and as they still are amongst many savage and uncivilised races,[254] and were till recently by the ignorant peasants of various parts of Europe.

Some violent painful non-infectious diseases, such as an acute attack of gout, have, like infectious diseases, been symbolized as a demon attacking part of the body—witness James Gillray's famous coloured print of the "demon of gout" attacking the ball of the big toe, one of the most popular of this caricaturist's works, published in 1799 by Mrs. H. Humphrey, at 27, St. James's Street, London. Amongst satirical representations of deaths from non-epidemic diseases, that by Ch. Aubry, 1822, entitled, "L'Apoplexie foudroyante" (a bloated-looking, thickly-set man, stretched out on a couch in the dining-room), may specially be noted.[255] This may be compared to Grandville's design (see Part I. E.) of the apoplectic-looking baron after his good dinner, telling his servant to say that he is "not at home" to a visitor (Death), who is, however, entering the room without waiting for permission. The last design seems to have inspired one of Death being asked to "come in," by Willibald Krain, in *Jugend*. One of T. Rowlandson's *English Dance of Death* series depicts the sudden death of a very corpulent man ("Tom Higgins") comfortably seated in an armchair before an ale-house door. The same design has been described as "The Glutton surprised by Death." Alfred Rethel has pictured Death, as a

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[253] Cf. Prof. Morris Jastrow, jun., Lecture at the Royal Society of Medicine, London, Oct. 10, 1913.

[254] Cf. W. H. R. Rivers, The FitzPatrick Lectures on "Medicine, Magic, and Religion," before the Royal College of Physicians of London, 1915.

[255] See Holländer, *Die Karikatur und Satire in der Medizin*, 1905, Plate iii.

cook (the *chef* who encourages excess by his "good" cooking), in the kitchen of a rich gourmand's house. This reminds one of the wealthy Romans, "qui, dum invitant ad coenam, efferunt ad sepulchrum."[256] Richard Dagley mentions a print, entitled "The Last Drop," representing a man draining off an enormous bowl, whilst Death stands ready to confirm the title of the design. Hogarth's "Gin Lane," and "La Vice Suprême" by Félicien Rops, have already been mentioned (Part I. E.).

There are some medals mentioned in Part III. relating to the sanitary disposal of the dead, *e.g.* to the cremation of corpses and to the prohibition of burials within cities and towns or inside churches and other closed buildings.

A not uncommon device which relates to medical work is that of a skeleton-like figure (representing death or disease) being withheld or driven back as the result of hygienic work or medical skill and devotion; for instance, in the obverse design on the military-like medals awarded to all those who helped in sanitary work, &c., during the epidemic of bubonic plague in Hong-Kong, 1894. Similarly, Aesculapius is represented warding off a figure of Death on a medal commemorating the epidemic of cholera in Paris, 1832. The device on certain medals of the Royal Humane Society (London) is much more pleasing. A child is pictured endeavouring to rekindle a torch with its breath, and the accompanying inscription is, "Lateat scintillula forsan." Many of the great advances in medical knowledge and surgery in opposing disease and unnecessary death are commemorated or alluded to on medals (there is, for instance, a medal recording the modern triumph of Paul Ehrlich and S. Hata), and minor works of art; but, to take one instance alone, the account

[256] Quoted in Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, from St. Ambrose, *Lib. de Jehu*, cap. 14.

of the medals relating to Edward Jenner and the discovery of vaccination would use up more space than I have to spare. Such discoveries, and especially the modern scientific and practical work of Pasteur, Lister, Robert Koch, Ehrlich, E. von Behring, Ronald Ross, Patrick Manson, W. C. Gorgas, &c., have helped Medicine to climb the lowest rungs of the endless ladder of progress, and have encouraged the application of cheering lines from Arthur Hugh Clough's well-known poem, "Say not the Struggle Nought Availeth,"[257] to the steadfast hope and striving advance of the still very youthful sciences of Hygiene and Therapeutics.

To my mind the life-saving progress of the medical sciences should be symbolized by the *infant* Hercules in his successful struggles, rather than by the frequently repeated device of the *adult* Hercules attacking the Lernean Hydra. In this connexion one naturally thinks of Sir Luke Fildes's beautiful and very popular picture of "The Doctor" (1892). For the description of medals of medical interest, I would refer especially to the writings of Dr. H. R. Storer, in the *American Journal of Numismatics* and elsewhere.

Medals relating to the saving of life at great personal risk and to death for the sake of medical duty or medical investigation[258] are best grouped under Heading xi.

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[257] "For while the tired waves, vainly breaking,
Seem here no painful inch to gain,
Far back, through creeks and inlets making,
Comes silent, flooding in, the main.

And not by eastern windows only,
When daylight comes, comes in the light,
In front the sun climbs slow, how slowly,
But westward, look, the land is bright!"

[258] Very interesting in this connexion, though of doubtful significance, are the medals on the death of Dr. Wenzel Beyer of Karlsbad (1526), described in Part III.

But for the ordinary medical man "Aliis inserviendo vivo" is surely as good a motto as "Aliis inserviendo morior" or "consumor" (the motto of Tulpius, whose features Rembrandt's art has made familiar[259]).

Here, perhaps, may likewise be mentioned the eye-agates and the various gem-stones (often engraved with special devices), the finger-rings, the coins, the coin-like tokens, the medalets and medals, and the talismans and amulets of all kinds, which, at various times and various parts of the world, have been worn, and even nowadays still are carried about the person or somehow employed as supposed means of prevention—as "charms" to ward off disease, the effects of poisons, accidents, the "evil eye," and death.

Eye-agates and other eye-like stones, &c., have been largely used as charms against the "evil eye." In Aleppo and elsewhere in the East eye-agates are sometimes called "Aleppo stones," and are supposed to have a beneficial influence in the disease known as "Aleppo boil" ("Tropical sore," "Bagdad sore," "Delhi boil," &c.), a disease apparently due to the parasite, "Leishmania tropica," discovered by Homer Wright in 1903.[260] Eye-agates probably also served as a kind of monetary currency in some parts of India in the fifteenth century, and seem then to have been called "cat's eyes" or *catti oculi*.[261]

The hideous and fiend-like masks formerly worn by some eastern Asiatic warriors were, doubtless, just as the Gorgon's head on the breast-plate of the Roman Emperors (cf. Part II. v.), intended to serve

[259] N. P. Tulpius (1593–1678), physician and Bürgermeister in Amsterdam, whose portrait is so well known nowadays owing to Rembrandt's famous picture (1632), called "The Anatomical Lecture" (Hague Picture Gallery), had as a motto, "Aliis inserviendo consumor"; it is inscribed on his portrait by N. Elias, in the Six Gallery, Amsterdam. This motto occurs also on coins of Julius, Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel (1568–1589).

[260] Cf. G. F. Kunz, *The Curious Lore of Precious Stones*, Philadelphia, 1913, p. 149.

[261] Cf. F. Parkes Weber, on a reference to them by Nicolo Conti, a Venetian, who travelled in India in the fifteenth century, *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, March 8th, 1894, second series, vol. xv. p. 124.

the double purpose of protecting the wearer from harm and inspiring his enemies with terror.

A description of all the objects which have been used for supposed protection against the "evil eye" would alone take up too much space; and amulets of this class are still employed by ignorant peasants of Italy and the South of Europe—*vide* S. Seligmann, *Der böse Blick*, two volumes, Berlin, 1910; and the sections on Talismans, Amulets and Charms in T. J. Pettigrew's *Superstitions connected with Medicine and Surgery*, London, 1844, pp. 43-88. See also W. T. and Kate Pavitt, *The Book of Talismans, Amulets and Zodiacal Gems*, London, 1915. This book suggests that even in the Europe of the twentieth century believers in astrology as a science are still to be found. See also G. F. Kunz, *The Curious Lore of Precious Stones*, Philadelphia, 1913, and *The Magic of Jewels and Charms*, Philadelphia, 1915; and by the same author, *Rings for the Finger*, Philadelphia, 1917, pp. 288–354 (including the portions headed, "Magic and Talismanic Rings," and "Rings of Healing"). On this whole subject see also *The Evil Eye*, by F. T. Elworthy, London, 1895, and *Horns of Honour, and Other Studies*, by the same author, London, 1900.

Elworthy gives special information in regard to antique "symbolic hands" and the curious terra-cotta "magic" or "sacred" discs met with in many museums of Greek and Roman antiquities. The "symbolic hands" are amongst the most interesting "magic" objects which were supposed to serve as a protection against the "evil eye"; they are always covered over with the attributes of deities and other symbols. Amongst the Greek and Roman antiquities in the British Museum arranged to illustrate the daily life of the ancients, there are fine specimens in bronze of such "symbolic hands." In more modern times a charm made of red coral, &c., representing a closed hand with the thumb thrust out between the first and second fingers, has been widely used in Italy and elsewhere to avert the "evil eye." (For amulets of this kind made in jet at Santiago de Compostela, in Spain, *cf.* W. L. Hildburgh, *Proc. Soc. of Antiquaries of London*, 1917, Second Series, Vol. 29, p. 219.) In England this position of the hand seems to have been called "the fig" (Italian, "fico"), and,

as an insulting gesture of contempt, it is thus referred to by Pistol, in Shakespeare's *King Henry IV*, Second Part, Act v., Scene 3: "I speak the truth: When Pistol lies, do this; and fig me, like the bragging Spaniard." Phallic and other "charms" worn by women desirous of becoming mothers constitute of themselves a large minor class, and their use has not yet been altogether given up. The New Zealand Maori charms, called "Hei-Tikis" or "Tikis," of bone or finely polished green jade, with inset circles of mother-of-pearl for the eyes, are some of the most curious of amulets from the collector's point of view. In regard to antidotal charm-cures for poisoning amongst the Malays, J. D. Gimlette's work on "Malay Poisons and Charm Cures" (London, 1915) may be consulted.

In this connexion it may be noted that about the time of the discovery of America some of the natives of South America seem to have employed green jade for amulets against renal colic and diseases of the kidneys. In consequence of that we have, through the Spaniards, the alternative names, "nephrite" and *lapis nephriticus* ("kidney-stone") for the kind of jade in question.[262] The Spanish designation "piedra hijada" ("stone of the flank") has the same origin. G. F. Kunz[263] remarks: "Whether the Spaniards really learned from the (South American) Indians that the stone (green jade) was especially adapted to cure renal diseases, or whether they only suggested this special and peculiar virtue in order to give an enhanced value to their jade ornaments, is a question not easily answered." Kunz likewise quotes the following passage from Sir Walter Raleigh's *The Discovery of the Large, Rich, and Beautiful Empire of Guiana*[264]: "These Amazones have likewise great store of these plates of golde, which they recover by exchange, chiefly for a kinde of greene stone which the Spaniards call Piedras Hijadas, and we use for spleene stones, and for the disease of the stone we also esteeme them."[265]

Occasionally a special virtue has been popularly attributed to certain coins, and they, like "cramp-rings"

[262] Cf. Sir John Bland-Sutton, in *Lancet*, London, 1916, vol. ii. p. 3.

[263] G. F. Kunz, notes on jade, in *Curious Lore of Precious Stones*, 1913, p. 383.

[264] Originally published in 1596, but printed amongst the Hakluyt publications, London, 1848, p. 29.

[265] In regard to *lapis nephriticus* and its formerly supposed therapeutic virtues, see also G. F. Kunz, *The Magic of Jewels and Charms*, 1915, p. 140.

(for customs regarding such finger-rings, see further on), have been worn as charms against cramp, epilepsy, and convulsions. We need scarcely here allude to the gold "angels" and their connexion with the royal ceremony of "touching for the king's evil" in England, or to the so-called "touch-pieces" which afterwards replaced them. For the *offices* (ritual observances) in use at various periods in England in connexion with the ceremony of touching for the "king's evil," see Raymond Crawfurd's work on *The King's Evil*.[266]

For medals, coins, and coin-like tokens used as amulets, or talismans, or charms against the plague, cholera, and other deadly epidemic diseases, against accidents in travelling, against shipwreck, drowning, &c., see the section, "Auf Pest und pestartige Krankheiten und deren Abwehr geprägte Medaillen, Jetons, &c.," in *Pestilentia in Nummis*, by L. Pfeiffer and C. Ruland, Tübingen, 1882, pp. 73–126; also the section on cholera, *ibid.*, pp. 153–169. Amongst the best-known pieces of the kind are the various so-called "Wittenberger Pestthaler" of the sixteenth century, with Moses' brazen serpent on the obverse and the Crucifixion on the reverse; some of these Pestthaler were perhaps really made at Joachimsthal, the flourishing mining-town of Bohemia. The series of St. Benedict amulets, or "Benedicts-Pfennige," described in Part III., are likewise very interesting. The earliest pieces are doubtless of the seventeenth century, but the type has been more or less preserved to modern times on medalets sold to credulous pilgrims at various popular shrines of Southern Germany and Switzerland.

See also Karl Domanig, *Die Deutsche Medaille*, Vienna, 1907, Plates 92 and 93, for figures of "Georgsthaler" and pest-medals and amulets of various kinds. The "Georgsthaler" have St. George and the Dragon on the obverse, with the legend, S. GEORGIVS EQVITVM PATRONVS, and on the reverse, the design of a Mediaeval galley, with the legend, IN TEMPESTATE SECVRITAS. Cheap amulets of this stereotyped style are still made and are sold to sailors at the docks in London, and doubtless in other great ports of the world, as preservative charms against shipwreck and drowning (just as a child's caul is still sold as a charm against drowning in the East End of London). Some rather different types of old German "Georgsthaler" occur in collections, for instance, those with German inscriptions.

In regard to amulets, "charms," "mascots," and "luck-bringers,"

[266] Raymond Crawfurd, *The King's Evil*, Oxford, 1911.

the survival of superstition is most remarkable. Various charms against death have been found on dead soldiers in the Great European War (cf. *Times*, London, January 26th, 1915, p. 7). In 1916 Mr. Edward Lovett's collection of popular amulets and charms, employed or obtainable in modern London, was exhibited at the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum. The collection included a child's caul, supposed to confer protection against drowning. According to the *Times* (September 29th, 1916, p. 3) the specimen exhibited was bought by Mr. Lovett in London, about 1911, for the sum of one shilling and sixpence. "In the days of Nelson it would have fetched twenty pounds. Its tremendous fall in value was brought about by the safety of life at sea. Now (1916) it is coming into favour again owing to the menace of the German submarine. In the East End of London a child's caul will to-day (1916) readily fetch two pounds and ten shillings." It is interesting to note that in the fourth century Saint John Chrysostom declared that midwives frequently sold a child's caul for magic uses (Francis Grose). Webster's "Dictionary" gives the following interesting quotation from the celebrated English novelist, Charles Dickens: "I was born with a caul, which was advertised for sale, in the newspapers, at the low price of fifteen guineas." For much information regarding cauls, so-called "toad-stones," amulets, "characts," and "charms" of all kinds, against diseases, accidents, misfortunes and death, see John Brand's *Popular Antiquities of Great Britain*, revised by Sir Henry Ellis, new edition, London, 1849, vol. iii. In the first volume of the same edition (p. 298) a most curious "charact," or inscription-charm, on parchment, is said to have been actually carried by an old woman in Devonshire, as a preventive against St. Vitus's dance (or possibly, I would suggest, against paralysis agitans, the so-called "shaking palsy"). The inscription was as follows:—

> "Shake her, good devil,
> Shake her once well;
> Then shake her no more
> Till you shake her in Hell."

The majority of so-called "toad-stones" set as amulets in finger-rings, have been found to be fossil palatal teeth of a kind of ray. According to G. F. Kunz a toad-stone, when "set in an open ring, so that the stone could touch the skin, was thought to give notice of the presence of poison by producing a sensation of heat in the skin at the point of contact." A ring made out of narwhal tusk was believed to be effective against poisons. See G. F. Kunz, *Rings for the Finger*, 1917, p. 341.

In England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries there was also a special *office* for the consecration of "cramp-rings"—finger-rings, which have sometimes been

made out of old coffin-nails, &c. T. J. Pettigrew[267] makes the following interesting remarks regarding cramp-rings:—

"Rings, have, however, constituted the principal means for the prevention or cure of cramp. They may be of various kinds, and were frequently composed of iron that had previously formed the hinges of a coffin. Andrew Boorde, who lived in the reign of Henry VIII, speaking of the cramp, says, 'The kynges majesty hath a great helpe in this matter, in hallowynge crampe rynges, and so given without money or petition.' Also, 'the kynges of Englande doth halowe every yere crampe rynges, ye which rynges worne on ones fynger doth helpe them whych hath the crampe.' This ceremonial was practised by previous sovereigns and discontinued by Edward VI. Queen Mary intended to revive it, but does not appear to have carried her intentions into effect. Hospinian (*De Origine Festor. Christianor.*) gives an account of the ceremony, and states that it was performed upon Good Friday, and that it originated from a ring which had been brought to King Edward by some persons from Jerusalem, and one which he himself had long before given privately to a poor petitioner who asked alms of him for the love he bore to St. John the Evangelist. This ring was preserved with great veneration in Westminster Abbey, and whoever was touched by this relic was said to be cured of the cramp or of the falling sickness. (See also Polydore Virgil, lib. viii.) Burnet[268] acquaints us that Bishop Gardiner was at Rome in 1529, and that he wrote a letter to Ann Boleyn, by which it appears that Henry VIII blessed the cramp rings before as well as after the separation from Rome, and that she sent them as great presents thither. 'Mr. Stephens, I send you here cramp rings for you and Mr. Gregory and Mr. Peter, praying you to distribute them as you think best. Ann Boleyn.' Burnet adds, 'the use of them had been (it seems) discontinued in King Edward's time, but now, under Queen Mary, it was designed to be revived, and the office for it was written out in a fair manuscript, yet extant,' of which Burnet has put a copy in his collection.[269] The

[267] T. J. Pettigrew, *Superstitions connected with Medicine and Surgery*, London, 1844, p. 87. In regard to "cramp-rings" see also G. F. Kunz, *Rings for the Finger*, 1917, pp. 341–345. Kunz gives references to the sixteenth-century account of Polydore Virgil (in the time of King Henry VIII of England) that the original cramp-ring was a finger-ring given by Edward the Confessor to a beggar who craved alms of him. The scene is represented on a thirteenth-century tile, of which Kunz gives an illustration.

[268] Burnet, *History of the Reformation*, 1829, vol. ii. p. 644.

[269] No. 25, vol. ii. part 2, pp. 414–417. The office of consecrating the cramp-rings printed by Bishop G. Burnet is from a MS. in Biblioth.

silence in the writers of that time makes him think it was seldom, if ever, practised. In the Liber Niger Domus Regis Edw. IV, is inserted, 'Item, to the kynge's offerings to the crosse on Good Friday, out from the countyng-house for medycinable rings of gold and sylver, delyvered to the jewell-house, xxv. s.'"

Pettigrew,[270] in regard to "charms" for epilepsy, convulsions, fits, &c., writes as follows :—

"Rings composed of different substances have been commonly employed for superstitious purposes. Thus in Berkshire, Brand[271] acquaints us that a ring made from a piece of silver collected at the communion, is a cure for convulsions and fits of every kind. If collected on Easter Sunday, its efficacy is greatly increased. Silver is not necessary in Devonshire; in that county they prefer a ring made of three nails or screws that have been used to fasten a coffin, and that have been dug out of the churchyard. In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1794, we are told that a silver ring will cure fits, which is made of five sixpences, collected from five different bachelors, to be conveyed by the hand of a bachelor to a smith that is a bachelor. None of the persons who gave the sixpences are to know for what purpose, or to whom they gave them. The *London Medical and Physical Journal* for 1815 notices a charm successfully employed in the cure of epilepsy, after the failure of various medical means. It consisted of a silver ring contributed by twelve young women, and was constantly worn on one of the patient's fingers. Lupton (*Book of Notable Things*, p. 92) says: 'a piece of a child's navel-string borne in a ring is good against the falling sickness, the pains

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R. Smith, London. William Beckett has also given the Form of Prayer in his Collection of Records, No. v. See also Waldron's Literary Museum. On this whole subject compare Raymond Crawfurd, "The Blessing of Cramp-Rings—a chapter in the history of the Treatment of Epilepsy," *Studies in the History and Method of Science*, edited by Charles Singer, Oxford, 1917, pp. 165–187.

[270] Pettigrew, *op. cit.*, pp. 61–64. Cf. also the chapter on "Rings of Healing," accompanied by interesting illustrations, in G. F. Kunz's book on *Rings for the Finger*, 1917, pp. 336–354.

[271] *Brand's Popular Antiquities*, Third edition, 1849, vol. iii. p. 300.

of the head, and the collick.' . . . . Paracelsus (*In Archidox. Magic. lib.*) had a ring made of a variety of metallic substances, which he called electrum. He says that rings composed of this metal would prevent the wearers from having either the cramp, palsy, apoplexy, epilepsy, or any pain. If the ring be put on during an epileptic fit it would immediately assuage the disease and terminate the fit." What the ancient Greeks called "electrum" (that is to say, ἤλεκτρον) was firstly, amber, and secondly, a pale yellow alloy of gold and silver. The earliest coins of Asia Minor were made in Lydia (about 700 B.C.) of native electrum, a native "river-gold," containing at least 20 per cent of silver.

In regard to charms against plague and epidemics, Pettigrew[272] quotes the following from a letter (among the Harleian MSS.) of Lord Chancellor Hatton [1540–1591] to Sir Thomas Smith [1556–1609], written at the time of an alarming epidemic:—

"I am likewise bold to recommend my most humble duty to our dear mistress (Queen Elizabeth) by this letter and ring, which hath the virtue to expell infectious airs, and is to be worn betwixt the sweet duggs, the chaste nest of pure constancy. I trust, sir, when the virtue is known, it shall not be refused for the value."

A Greek bronze coin of Laodicea in Phrygia (136–138 A.D.),[273] which I presented to the British Museum, had in ancient times been pierced and furnished with a bronze ring for suspension, probably to be worn as a "charm" against sickness or death, on account of the figures of Asklepios and Hygieia represented on the reverse.

Strictly speaking, an *amulet* was supposed to protect (cf. the etymology of the words *phylactery* and *philatory*,

[272] Pettigrew, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

[273] Described by Mionnet, *Description de Médailles Antiques Grecques*, Paris, 1807–1837, vol. iv. No. 743.

which were kinds of amulets) the possessor, whilst a *talisman* gave him some magical power (like the lamp and ring of Aladdin in the *Arabian Nights*), but the two terms have become practically synonymous. Neither an amulet nor a talisman was ever regarded as being necessarily astrological in character.

In regard to antique and Mediaeval talismans and amulets of all kinds, against the "evil eye," diseases, &c., see also C. W. King's volume entitled, *Early Christian Numismatics and other Antiquarian Tracts*,' London, 1873, pp. 173–247. On p. 202 King narrates a remarkable story regarding one kind of "medical" amulets: "Ismayl Pasha, son of Mohammed Ali, on his return from his expedition to Meroë, took up his quarters with a small guard in a hut at Chendy, Sennaar, imagining the country quite reduced to subjection. But Nimir, the former king, came by night, placed combustibles round the hut, and consumed it, with all those inside. The guard was cut to pieces by these Nubians, with the exception of the pasha's physician, a Greek, who was carried off for the more evil death. His captors drew out all his teeth, which they divided amongst themselves to sew up in their *grigri* bags, it being their firm belief that whosoever carries about him the tooth of a physician (drawn whilst *living*) secures himself thereby from all diseases for all time to come." The kind of African amulet termed a *grigri*, *greegree*, or *griggory*, is generally a little leather bag enclosing passages of the Koran or other charm-like objects. One grigri is supposed to protect the wearer from shot, another from poison, another from venomous beasts, another from evil spirits and witches, and so on.

On p. 316 of the same work King adds the following

interesting note regarding another kind of "medical" amulet: "Mightily esteemed during the Middle Ages as a prophylactic against all disease was the *Sign of Health*—the 'masonic pentacle,' or *Solomon's Seal*, having in each of its exterior angles one of the letters of the word SALVS, thus arranged for the sake of mystery: V.A.L.S.S. It became the badge of the medical profession, and was regularly carried by physicians engraved on their rings. A grand example of the fashion I observed in that treasure-house of similar rarities, the *dactyliotheca* of Mr. Octavius Morgan,[274] a gold ring of extraordinary weight, bearing the life-giving symbol elegantly engraved in a circle formed by the coiled serpent of the god of health." Marguerite de Valois adopted this for her device, perhaps induced by the resemblance of the letters to those of her own family name.

On Mithraic and the various classes of Gnostic amulets and talismans, see Franz Cumont, *Textes et Monuments figurés relatifs aux Mystères de Mithra* (Bruxelles, 1899), and his *Die Mysterien des Mithra* (German edition by G. Gehrich, Leipzig, 1911); and C. W. King, *The Gnostics and their Remains*, second edition, London, 1887. Especially interesting is King's account (*op. cit.*, p. 195) of the explanation of the mode of action of the "evil eye" or the "envious eye," as given in the *Aethiopica* (iii. 8) of Heliodorus, in a passage which is likewise interesting with regard to theories current at the time (fourth century A.D.) on the communicability of infectious diseases: "The air which surrounds us passing through the eyes, as it were through a strainer, and also through

[274] Some of the valuable antiquities from the collection of the late Mr. Octavius Morgan are now in the British Museum.

the mouth, the teeth, and the other passages, into the inward parts, whilst its external properties make their way in together with it—whatever be its quality as it flows in, of the same nature is the effect it disseminates in the recipient, so that when any one looks upon beauty with envy, he fills the circumambient air with a malignant property, and diffuses upon his neighbour the breath issuing from himself, all impregnated with bitterness, and *this*, being as it is of a most subtile nature, penetrates through into the very bone and marrow. . . . Consider also, my Charicles, how many people have been infected with ophthalmia, how many with other pestilential diseases, not from any contact with those so affected, or from sharing the same bed or same table, but merely from breathing the same air. . . . And if some give the stroke of the Evil Eye even to those they love and are well disposed towards, you must not be surprised, for people of an envious disposition act not as they wish, but as their Nature compels them to do." Even amongst non-superstitious moderns the "evil eye" (in the form of a disagreeable "stare") has sometimes been potent enough to produce death (by a duel!). The old saying, "A cat may look at a king," should not be acted on when persons pathologically sensitive to being looked at ("ophthalmophobia") are concerned.

The medical profession has always been and will always be peculiarly exposed to satire, because the "healing art" struggles against disease and death, and because death, by the inexorable laws of nature, must in every case, sooner or later, win the battle.

With reference to the powerlessness of drugs to avert death we have the Mediaeval rhyming ("Leonine") hexameter: "Contra vim mortis non est medicamen in hortis." There is likewise a "Leonine" hexameter contradictory to the above: "Non timor mortis cui salvia crescit

in hortis." The latter, however, is really only a rhyming explanation of the name, *salvia* (sage), which is derived from the Latin word, *salvus* (safe). Cf. also, in the "Schola Salernitana": "Cur moriatur homo cui salvia crescit in horto?"

The old proverb, "Physician, heal thyself" (St. Luke iv. 23), is indeed almost unanswerable (see, however, further on), for in the end Death always comes for the physician himself, as he is represented doing in the various famous "Dance of Death" series. In reality, however, St. Luke's *Ἰατρὲ θεράπευσον σεαυτόν* only meant, "Physician, *treat* yourself," like the Vulgate version, "Medice, cura teipsum." (Similarly, the saying, "Medicus curat, natura sanat," means, "The physician treats—*cares for*—nature heals—*cures*." A favourite phrase in the writings of the great French surgeon, Ambroise Paré, was: "I treated him, God cured him.")

As Shakespeare (*Cymbeline*, Act v., Scene 5) says, "By medicine life may be prolonged, yet death will seize the doctor too." In a dirge, Shakespeare likewise reminds us:—

> "The sceptre, learning, physic, must
> All follow this and come to dust."

Hans Sachs, the "Meistersänger" of Nürnberg, in his poem, *Der Tod ein End aller irdischen Ding*, describes the position of medicine towards death at somewhat greater length. He makes the "Healing Art" say—

> "Ich bin nur ein Hilf der Natur,
> Die Krankheit zu arzneien nur.
> Wo Glück mitwirkt, da hab ich Kraft;
> Sunst hilft kein Fleiss noch Meisterschaft."

If the work of medical and allied sciences be regarded as unending warfare against the forces of disease and death, that is to say, *premature death of any kind*, it is death from real old age and really natural causes that is the true object to be aimed at, and, for practical purposes in life, such death may be regarded as no death at all. Cicero (*De Senectute*, xix) makes Cato major say (I here give the excellent translation in T. Bodley Scott's *The Road to a Healthy Old Age*, London, 1917, p. 36):—"Again, just as apples, when unripe, are torn from trees, but, when ripe and mellow, drop down, so it is violence that takes life from young men, ripeness from old. This ripeness is so delightful to me, that, as I approach nearer to death, I seem, as it were, to be sighting

land, and to be coming to port at last after a long voyage." "Ripeness is all," according to Shakespeare's *King Lear* (Act v., Scene 2), where Edgar says to his father, the Earl of Gloster:—

> "Men must endure
> Their going hence, even as their coming hither:
> Ripeness is all."

Such considerations furnish the best answer to many of the satirical sayings and caricature designs directed against the legitimate claims of medical and surgical practice (including general hygiene and preventive measures). Ripeness and a "natural," almost painless, death constitute an ideal to be aimed at (even if one feels indifferent in regard to one's own fate)—an almost painless death preceded by an old age, "serene and bright," such as Wordsworth invoked for a young lady, "Dear Child of Nature," in the following well-known lines (which I venture to quote, though I must confess extreme ignorance as to the climatology of Lapland and what its nights are like):—

> "But an old age serene and bright,
> And lovely as a Lapland night,
> Shall lead thee to thy grave."

Cf. Milton (*Paradise Lost*, Book xi., line 535):—

> "So may'st thou live, till like ripe fruit thou drop
> Into thy mother's lap, or be with ease
> Gather'd, not harshly pluck'd, for death mature."

For analogous similes in Homer's *Iliad* and in the *Meditations* of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius, cf. Part I. D.

We need not here allude to all the proverbs, epigrams, epitaphs, witty tales, and cheap jokes of the "chestnut" kind—ancient and modern—that exist in dispraise of the doctor. They mostly hint at the cure (*i.e.* "cura" = treatment), or the doctor, being as bad as, or worse than, the disease ("Pessimus morbus est medicus"—so also "Young doctors kill their patients, and old doctors allow them to die"), and suggest that the doctor sometimes, from ignorance or carelessness, does more harm than good, and thus unwittingly plays into the hands of Death.

Many satirical epigrams and caricatures might be traced to moody and cynical humour (and grotesque remarks, with an element of truth in them) of the doctors and surgeons themselves. In the first part of Goethe's *Faust*, when Dr. Faust is walking on Easter morning with his "famulus," Wagner, the latter refers

to the respect and gratitude shown by the peasants towards the former. The doctor (Faust) answers that he and his father (by their electuaries) have in reality done more harm to these peasants than the plague did:—

"So haben wir mit höllischen Latwergen
In diesen Thälern, diesen Bergen
Weit schlimmer als die Pest getobt.
Ich habe selbst den Gift an Tausende gegeben;
Sie welkten hin,—ich muss erleben,
Dass man die frechen Mörder lobt."

Scientists, physicians and surgeons, in certain moods, half in earnest, half in jest (*pour épater le bourgeois*), have indeed often launched disparaging remarks against their own efforts and against their own professions. Mr. William Wale tells me that Oliver Wendell Holmes, the genial "Autocrat of the Breakfast-table," said in a lecture before the Harvard Medical School: "I firmly believe that if the whole materia medica could be sunk to the bottom of the sea, it would be all the better for mankind, and all the worse for the sea." Another medical writer, I think, suggested that it might be a good thing for the world if the great medical library of the surgeon-general's office in Washington, perhaps the largest medical library—at all events, in regard to modern literature—in the world, were to suffer the fate which overtook the great library of Alexandria in Egypt.[275]

[275] According to Edward Gibbon (*Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, chapter xxviii.), the great library of Alexandria was pillaged or destroyed under Theophilus, Archbishop of Alexandria, in A.D. 391. Gibbon throws doubt on the generally accepted account of the Arabic historian, Abulpharagius, that the library was burned in A.D. 640 by order of the Caliph, Omar I. According to Julius Caesar's last Commentary the greater part of the (Royal) library was unfortunately burned when Caesar, in B.C. 48, successfully set fire to the fleet of King Ptolomy XII, at Alexandria.

A typical modern pseudo-epitaph in the style of the satirical epigrams in the Greek Anthology is that on the quack doctor whom Charon did not wish to ferry across the Styx, because in the upper world he was so useful in sending down passengers for Hades (*Nugae Canorae*, by the London surgeon, William Wadd, 1827, epitaph 55)—

> "This quack to Charon would his penny pay:
> The grateful ferryman was heard to say—
> 'Return, my friend! and live for ages more,
> Or I must haul my useless boat ashore.'"

Uncomplimentary epitaphs like this were doubtless suggested by the very complimentary lines on a physician, by Lucilius, or by similar lines on various physicians, in the *Greek Anthology*. An English translation from Lucilius is given by H. P. Dodd[276]:—

> "When Magnus passed below, Dis, trembling, said,
> 'He comes, and will to life restore my dead.'"

This Magnus was probably a physician at the Roman Imperial Court. J. D. Rolleston[277] quotes three epigrams from the *Greek Anthology* illustrating the same fancy of a physician emptying Hades. The first (*Anth. Graec. Plan.*, 270) is an epigram by Magnus (? the above-mentioned physician) on a statue of Galen: "There was a time when, thanks to thee, Galen, the earth received men mortal and reared them up immortal, and the halls of Acheron were empty owing to the power of thy healing hand." The second is an epigram by an anonymous writer (*Anth. Graec. Append.*, Tauchnitz edition, 1829, 119) at the end of an hexameter poem on Asklepiades: "The physician Asklepiades has gone to the home of the blessed, and has left desolation and solitude among the dead." The third epigram is by Crinagoras on the statue of Praxagoras (*Anth. Graec. Plan.*, 273): "The son of Phoebus implanted in your breast, Praxagoras, the knowledge of the healing art. All the ills which arise from long fevers and the balms to place on the wounded skin, thou hast learnt from his gentle wife, Epione. If mortals had a few physicians like thee, the barque of Charon would not have to cross the Styx."

Epigrams in this ultra-laudatory style (cf. Part II. Headings xix., xx.) on the famous dead—patriots, poets, philosophers, painters, sculptors, physicians, &c.—constituted much admired, elegant and fanciful, conceits in ancient times, and may be matched during the Italian

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[276] H. P. Dodd, *Epigrammatists*, London, 1870, p. 50.

[277] J. D. Rolleston, *Proc. Royal Society of Medicine, Section of the History of Medicine*, 1914, vii. p. 8.

renaissance by such epigrams as Cardinal Pietro Bembo's Latin epitaph on the tomb of Raphael (died 1520) in the Pantheon at Rome :—

"Ille hic est Raphael, timuit quo sospite vinci
Rerum magna parens, et moriente mori."

This has been copied in the last lines of Pope's epitaph on the painter, Sir Godfrey Kneller, in Westminster Abbey :—

"Living, great Nature fear'd he might outvie
Her works ; and, dying, fears herself may die."

On the monument to the poet, Edmund Spenser (died 1599), in Westminster Abbey (the monument was destroyed by the Puritans), there was a Latin epitaph, which ended in a similar manner.

Samuel Wesley (1691–1739) is the author of an absurdly exaggerated epigram (inspired by a Greek epigram) on the death of the physician, John Friend, in 1728 :—

"When Radcliffe fell, afflicted Physic cried,
'How vain my power!' and languish'd at his side.
When Friend expir'd, deep struck, her hair she tore,
And speechless fainted, and reviv'd no more.
Her flowing grief no farther could extend;
She mourns with Radcliffe, but she dies with Friend."

A German epigram by G. E. Lessing associates physicians with Laïs and other beautiful courtezans, as being all of them too useful to Death to be allowed to die young.

Martial's satirical epigram [278] on Diaulus (book i. 31 and 48) and on Hermocrates (book vi. 53) are typical examples of the kind :—

"Chirurgus fuerat, nunc est vespillo Diaulus :
Coepit quo poterat clinicus esse modo."

"Nuper erat medicus, nunc est vespillo Diaulus :
Quod vespillo facit, fecerat et medicus."

Cf. the Latin epigram by the sixteenth-century Italian physician, Georgius Anselmus [279] :—

"Sosil, the butcher has become a leech. 'Tis nothing new.
For what he did when butchering, as doctor he will do."

[278] For excellent English versions of most of Martial's epigrams relating to medicine, see Raymond Crawfurd, *Lancet*, 1913, vol. ii. p. 1643.

[279] Printed in Abraham Wright's *Delitiae Delitiarum*, Oxford, 1637, p. 61; English translation given by H. P. Dodd, *The Epigrammatists*, 1870, p. 140.

"Lotus nobiscum est, hilaris cenavit, et idem
Inventus mane est mortuus Andragoras.
Tam subitae mortis causam, Faustine, requiris?
In somnis medicum viderat Hermocratem."

This last epigram by Martial (I have under the present Heading further on quoted the similar epigram by Lucilius, *Anth. Grace.*, Tauchnitz edition, xi. 257) is outdone by the Greek lines which have been attributed to Nicarchus (*Anth. Grace.*, Tauchnitz edition, xi. 118) on a (doubtless imaginary) doctor named Phido [280]:—

"Phido nor hand nor touch to me applied;
Fever'd, I thought but of his name—and died."

Martial's epigram on an oculist who became a gladiator (book viii. 74) is also characteristic:—

"Hoplomachus nunc es, fueras ophthalmicus ante.
Fecisti medicus quod facis hoplomachus."

Cf. The Latin satirical epigram (formerly much appreciated), by Sir Thomas More, on "Nicolaus," an ignorant physician; an English translation of this, given by H. P. Dodd,[281] ends with the lines:—

"The soldier may often be charg'd on the plain—
None live to encounter the doctor again."

C. W. Heckethorn [282] writes: "When Napoleon, in a fit of despondency, said that he would forsake war and turn physician, the sarcastic courtier [Talleyrand] said *sotto voce:* 'Toujours assassin.'"

The sayings and epigrams are numerous in which physicians and surgeons are likened to executioners or

[280] "Drawing-room equivalent" given in Dodd's *Epigrammatists*, 1870, p. 52.

[281] H. P. Dodd, *The Epigrammatists*, 1870, p. 114.

[282] C. W. Heckethorn, *London Souvenirs*, London, 1899, p. 215.

are exhorted not to practise their art on their friends. H. P. Dodd [283] gives an English version of a Latin epigram on "The Physician, the Surgeon, and the Hangman," by Maximilianus Urientius, of Ghent (1559–1613):—

"How differs, I pray, the Physician's part
From his brother, the Surgeon's healing art?
I tell you, the one by his drugs and pills,
By his knife the other, the churchyard fills:
This diff'rence only from the Hangman's seen,
Their work's clumsy and slow, his quick and clean."

Dodd [284] likewise gives an English version of a similar (seventeenth century) Latin epigram, by Jacobus Zevecotius, of Ghent [285]:—

"Gellia the hangman doth, not doctor choose:
The quickest course of physic is the noose."

Such epigrams may be compared with the modern caricature by Th. Heine (referred to further on), professing to show the difference between allopathy and homoeopathy: "With homoeopathy one dies of the disease, with allopathy one dies of the treatment." Several more or less analogous satirical epigrams and caricature designs are alluded to further on under this Heading.

There are, indeed, points of connexion between the healing art and that of the hangman or public executioner. Executioners in the olden times not only used to sell gruesome relics of their work (for instance, parts of the rope used for hanging criminals) as amulets against disease, &c., but even sometimes dabbled in actual medicine and surgery.[286]

[283] H. P. Dodd, *Epigrammatists*, second edition, London, 1875, p. 629.

[284] H. P. Dodd, *Epigrammatists*, first edition, London, 1870, p. 140.

[285] Printed in Abraham Wright's *Delitiae Delitiarum*, Oxford, 1637, p. 163.

[286] Cf. *British Medical Journal*, 1913, vol. ii. p. 1177.

Scientists and medical men have played a humane part in rendering the execution of the death penalty less painful and horrible. "Electrocution," devised in modern times by scientists in America, was adopted by the State of New York in 1888, and the first criminal to be executed by electrocution was William Kemmler, in August, 1890. Dr. Joseph Ignace Guillotin, when Deputy to the Constituent Assembly, actuated undoubtedy by motives of humanity, first suggested the use of his "machine" for decapitation in 1789, but the "guillotine" was not actually evolved till 1792, when its realisation was largely due to the surgeon, Antoine Louis, who himself (May 20th, 1792), only about a month after the first trial of the instrument, fell a victim to its knife. The first occasion on which it was used was in April, 1792, for the execution of a highwayman named Pelletier. According to Duplan, the guillotine was originally called the "petite Louison," and is still known by the name of "Louisette." Dr. Guillotin did not, as Carlyle thought he did, by the irony of fate, perish by his own invention, though in reality he only narrowly escaped that fate in 1794. He was saved by the fall of Robespierre, and lived on almost to the end of the first Napoleon's reign, dying on March 26th, 1814.[287]

Amongst the many epigrams in dispraise of physicians or quacks cited from the *Greek Anthology* by J. D. Rolleston[288] are several which bear on the present subject. An anonymous epigram (*Anth. Graec.*, Tauchnitz edition, 1829, xi. 125) describes a compact between a doctor and a grave-digger, whereby the grave-digger supplies the bandages stolen from the corpses, in return for which the doctor sends all his patients to the grave. An epigram by Nicarchus says (*ibid.*, xi. 115): "If you have an enemy, Dionysius, don't call down on him the wrath of Isis, nor of Harpocrates, nor of any god that makes men blind, but invoke Simon, and you will learn what a god can do and what Simon." Two epigrams (Rolleston writes) allude to artistic tastes combined with the swift dispatch of patients. One is by Nicarchus (*ibid.*, xi. 113):

[287] See Macleod Yearsley's paper on Guillotin, read before the Royal Society of Medicine, Section of the History of Medicine, on November 18th, 1914.

[288] Dr. J. D. Rolleston, *Proc. Roy. Soc. Med., Section of the History of Medicine*, 1914, vii. pp. 3-13.

"The physician Marcus touched the statue of Zeus yesterday, and though it is stone and Zeus, it has gone to-day (like his patients)." The other is by Ammianus (*ibid.*, xi. 188): "Nicetas when he sings is an Apollo of song, and when he practises medicine he is a slayer [there is a pun in regard to the Greek word ἀπολλύων meaning *slaying*] of his patients."

Somewhat the converse of this is an epigram by Matthew Prior (1664–1721) on the English physician John Radcliffe (1650–1714); it refers to his medical skill and his conversational and rough argumentative powers, and is headed, "The Remedy worse than the Disease":–

"I sent for Radcliffe; was so ill,
That other doctors gave me over;
He felt my pulse, prescribed his pill,
And I was likely to recover.
But when the wit began to wheeze,
And wine had warmed the politician,
Cured yesterday of my disease
I died last night of my physician."

Palladas (*ibid.*, xi. 280) describes the surgeon Gennadius as one who, after exacting his fee, conducts his patients to Hades. Rolleston states further that the readiness and impunity with which physicians and surgeons have been said to kill their patients (a favourite theme for the satirist throughout all ages) are exemplified in many of the Greek epigrams. The mere touch (*Anth. Graec.*, Tauchnitz edition, 1829, xi. 114), sight (*ibid.*, 123), thought (*ibid.*, 118), or dream (*ibid.*, 257) of the doctor was said, in satirical epigrams, to have proved fatal. Lucilius, for instance (*ibid.*, 257), wrote: "Diophantus, saw the doctor Hermogenes in a dream, and never woke again, although he wore an amulet" (? an amulet against the "evil eye"). "An anonymous poet stigmatizes Damagoras as outweighing plague in the balance (*ibid.*, 334); and Nicarchus compares another doctor, Zopyrus, to Hermes (Psycho-

pompos), the guide to the infernal regions (*ibid.*, 124); but perhaps the wittiest epigram on the wholesale destruction of the sick is one which has been variously attributed to Lucian, Lucilius, and Agathias (*ibid.*, 401). A doctor sends his son to a tutor, but when the boy had learnt the first three lines of the *Iliad* [which tell of the Trojan war sending many souls to Hades], his father said this lesson could be learnt at home, as he himself sent many souls to Hades, and for that had no need of a tutor."

J. D. Carlyle[289] gives the following translation of an epigram written by one physician on another:—

"Whoever has recourse to thee
Can hope for health no more,
He's launched into perdition's sea,
A sea without a shore.

Where'er admission thou canst gain,
Where'er thy phyz can pierce,
At once the doctor they retain,
The mourners and the hearse."

An answer to a satirical distich, supposed to have been written by Dr. Burton, one of the physicians who attended the poet, Alexander Pope, on his death-bed, is quoted (together with the above) by H. P. Dodd[290]:—

"As both physic and verse to Phœbus belong,
So the College oft dabble in potion and song;
Hence, Burton, resolved his emetics shall hit,
When his recipe fails, gives a puke with his wit."

Joseph Zabara, the Jewish author of the *Book of Delights* (finished about the year 1200), indulges in many gibes against the medical profession, though he himself was apparently a doctor. Thus, the following saying occurs in one edition: "A doctor and the Angel of Death both kill, but the former charges a fee." Another little story is typical of its kind: "A philosopher was sick unto death, and his doctor gave him up; yet the patient

[289] J. D. Carlyle, *Specimens of Arabian Poetry*, 1796, p. 147.
[290] H. P. Dodd, *The Epigrammatists*, London, 1870, p. 115.

recovered. The convalescent was walking in the street when the doctor met him. 'You come,' said he, 'from the other world.' 'Yes,' rejoined the patient, 'I come from there, and I saw there the awful retribution that falls on doctors; for they kill their patients. Yet, do not feel alarmed. You will not suffer. I told them on my oath that you are no doctor.'" [291]

Amongst the Hebrew proverbs given in H. G. Bohn's [292] *Handbook of Proverbs* are the following: "Do not dwell in a city whose governor is a physician"; "That city is in a bad case whose physician hath the gout." Yet many justly famous physicians have been subject to gout—for example, Thomas Sydenham (1624–1689), known on the Continent as "the English Hippocrates."

In regard to satires and caricatures of the medical profession see especially the extensive collection entitled, *Le Mal qu'on a dit des Médicins*, by Dr. G. J. Witkowski, of Paris; on the second series of this work is the appropriate device of a physician riding, with Death mounted on the same horse behind him. H. P. Dodd (*The Epigrammatists*, London, 1870, pp. 114, 115, 140), besides the English translation of a Latin epigram by Sir Thomas More upon Doctor "Nicolaus" (see back), also quotes various equally satirical epigrams composed by medical men against medical men. Several typical German epigrams against physicians are given by E. Holländer, *Die Karikatur und Satire in der Medizin*, Stuttgart, 1905, pp. 175–177.

A clever English satirical epigram is that by "A. C." (*Spectator*, 1897), for which I am indebted to Sir William Osler:—

> "Wise Arruns, asked 'How long will Caius live?'
> Replied, 'Three days the fatal sisters give':
> And Arruns knew the prophet's art. But lo!
> Stronger than gods above or gods below,
> Euschemon comes: his healing art he tries,
> And in a single day poor Caius dies."

[291] See Israel Abrahams, *The Book of Delights and Other Papers*. The Jewish Publication Society of America, Philadelphia, 1912, p. 12.

[292] H. G. Bohn's *Handbook of Proverbs*, London, 1860, p. 272.

Sir A. H. Church wrote me in 1914, in answer to my enquiry, that the above epigram was certainly by his brother, the Rev. A. J. Church (1829–1912), though there is apparently no published collection of his epigrams, short poems, &c., later than the little volume published at Oxford in 1887. This confirms what Mr. J. Y. W. MacAlister told me.

Ben Jonson (died 1637) wrote (as if addressing a physician):—

"When men a dangerous disease did 'scape
Of old, they gave a cock to Esculape:
Let me give two, that doubly am got free—
From my disease's danger, and from thee."

Regarding two physicians being worse than one John Dunscombe (1730–1786) or Joseph Jekyll (1752–1837) puts it:—

"See one physician, like a sculler, plies,
The patient lingers then the patient dies [*or* and by inches dies].
But two physicians, like a pair of oars,
Waft him more swiftly to the Stygian shores."

Dr. A. J. Rice-Oxley (*West London Medical Journal*, 1917, vol. xxii. p. 154) gives the following version, and (like some authorities) attributes it to Sir Samuel Garth, the poet and physician (who in 1699 published the clever poem, "The Dispensary"):—

"Like a pert skuller one physician plies,
And all his art and all his skill he tries;
But two physicians, like a pair of oars,
Conduct you faster to the Stygian shores."

About the end of the eighteenth century in England a medical epigram could apparently hardly become popular unless it referred in one way or another to death. Witness the following very popular ones on the physicians of King George III, namely, William Heberden the younger, Matthew Baillie, and Francis Willis, men at the head of their profession in England, and on the Quaker physician and philanthropist, John Coakley Lettsom, the founder of the Medical Society of London:—

"The King receives three doctors daily—
Willis, Heberden, and Baillie:
Three distinguished clever men—
Baillie, Willis, Heberden;
Doubtful which more sure to kill is—
Baillie, Heberden, or Willis."

"When patients sick to me apply,
I physics, bleeds, and sweats 'em;
Then—if they choose to die,
What's that to me?—I lets 'em."

These humorous lines, with Lettsom's signature at the end, have been (perhaps incorrectly) attributed by some to the physician himself, and if he did write them, he would not be the only physician who for the sake of a kind of grim humour has perpetrated a literary *jeu d'esprit* more or less directed against himself and his profession. Several slightly different versions exist.

The version which I have given above is the one authorized by J. C. Jeaffreson, in his very popular *Book about Doctors*, but Mr. G. Bethell has kindly drawn my attention to three other versions quoted on equally good authority in *The Gentleman's Magazine* for August, 1904 (pp. 133, 134). In all of them the ending imitates Lettsom's signature to his prescriptions, namely, "I. Lettsom." The first is taken from *Old and New London* (vol. vi. p. 279)—

"When any patients call in haste,
I physics, bleeds, and sweats 'em.
If after that they choose to die,
Why, what cares I?
I lets 'em."

The second claims to be the version told by Lettsom himself to the father of Mr. H. S. Cuming—

"If any folk applies to I,
I blisters, bleeds, and sweats 'em.
If after that they please to die,
Well, then I lets 'em."

The third version was obtained from Mr. Gorton, of the "Golden Sun"—

"I, John Lettsom,
Blisters, bleeds, and sweats 'em.
If after that they please to die,
I, John, lets 'em."

In *Notes and Queries* for March 10th, 1906 (p. 191), sent to me also by Mr. Bethell, an epigrammatic reply by a friend of Lettsom is referred to—

"Such swarms of patients do to me apply,
Did I not practise, some would surely die.
'Tis true I purge some, bleed some, sweat some,
Admit I expedite a few, still many call.
I. Lettsom."

Mr. Bethell likewise refers me to *Notes and Queries* for March 17th, 1906 (p. 210), where a quotation is given from *The Wonderful Magazine and Marvellous Chronicle* for the year 1793 (vol. i. p. 346), ending as follows:—

"You say I'm dead, I say you lie,
I physicks, bleeds, and sweats 'em;
If after this my patients die,
Why, *verily*——
J. Lets—'em"

Of only one of these four physicians, namely, Francis Willis, does a portrait-medal exist. The medal in question, of which I had a good specimen in my collection, was struck on the recovery of King George III in 1789, and on the obverse bears a bust of Willis in low relief, with the medallist's signature, C. I. (and a little serpent) on the truncation (the medallist's name is, I believe, unknown). Good portraits exist, however, of the others. Of William Heberden the younger there is a painting by Richard Rothwell, and of Matthew Baillie there is one by John Hoppner, whilst Lettsom occupies a conspicuous place in Samuel Medley's picture of the early members of the Medical Society of London.

It would be too great a task to enumerate all the satirical sayings and epigrams about physicians, surgeons, and the medical profession, and to describe the artistic representatives, in the way of coloured prints, &c., that is to say, the caricatures in art corresponding to the satires and caricatures in literature. The satirical writings of Molière against the medical profession of the seventeenth century have their analogues in modern times in England as well as in other countries. Amongst the bitterest attacks in France may be mentioned Léon Daudet's *Les Morticoles*, in which much of the medical teaching (notably Charcot's school) in Paris during the last decade of the nineteenth century is held up to ridicule and even to abhorrence.

To some extent, a doctor having the care of an acute and serious case may be likened to a whist-player, who, however well he plays, may yet have such bad cards that it is impossible for him to win the game. Yet in other cases his cards may be so good that mistakes in playing do not cause him to lose the game. In yet other cases, however, the playing of one wrong card will give the game into Death's hands. The design of a very striking modern German drawing is, I believe, Death playing a game of chess with a doctor for a human life (unless I am really thinking of Moritz Retzsch's drawing of 1831—the

devil playing a game of chess with a young man for his soul, an angel looking on). A modern satirical cartoon by "Cynicus" (Martin Anderson) represents "Death and the Doctor" playing cards over a coffin. The rather corpulent doctor, seated in a comfortable armchair, plays deliberately without the least appearance of excitement, whilst Death seems eager to finish the game. On the coffin are bags of gold, suggesting the financial importance of the result to the doctor.[293]

The idea of the life of man as a cheating game of cards with Fortune—at which "Death is it That lastly cuts, and makes his hit"—is expressed in an epigram by Thomas Bancroft (about 1633), quoted in Dodd's *Epigrammatists*, London, 1870, p. 236.

Amongst the very large number of satirical designs (sketches, engravings, coloured prints, &c.) in dispraise of physicians, surgeons, apothecaries (and naturally also of quacks and charlatans), several which are figured in Dr. Eugen Holländer's work, *Die Karikatur und Satire in der Medizin* (Stuttgart, 1905), suggest that the drugs and medical treatment, and not the diseases, kill the patients. There is, for instance, a sketch (Holländer, *op. cit.*, p. 223) of the famous "Dr. Requiem, who cured all those that died"; there is the caricature of a charlatan (*ibid.*, p. 162), exhibiting triumphantly the hide of his "last radically cured patient"; there is Daumier's (modern) design of a doctor wondering why all his patients leave him, whilst "imagination" shows a queer procession of imps carrying coffins and the dead bodies of his patients, headed by Death (see *ibid.*, p. 173). Then there is W. Hogarth's "The Company of Undertakers" (1736), also called "The Undertakers' Arms," with the crowded caricature-

[293] Cartoon No. 22 of *Cartoons, Social and Political*, by Cynicus, published at 59, Drury Lane, London, 1893.

portraits of doctors and quacks of the time, and the motto, "Et plurima mortis imago" (Virgil, *Aen.*, lib. ii. 369), between two pairs of crossed bones (see *ibid.*, p. 179). An older print (*ibid.*, p. 178), shows a doctor inspecting the urine of a dead patient, illustrating the saying, "Après la mort, le médecin." A lithograph by Adolf von Menzel, of about 1832 (*ibid.*, p. 290)—"The Difference between Allopathy and Homoeopathy"—shows the allopath and the homoeopath both holding banners with the device of a skull and crossed bones; between them are Mephistopheles and Death, the latter grasping both the banners and saying, "Seid einig! einig! einig!" Another caricature (*ibid.*, p. 337), by Th. Heine, shows two very modern-looking ghosts floating over a cemetery. One of them apparently is saying, "That's all the difference: With homoeopathy one dies of the disease, with allopathy one dies of the treatment." A little German painting (now in the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum) shows a doctor studying in a room overlooking a crowded grave-yard. Death (a skeleton) is visiting the doctor as a friend and colleague, and (according to the paper which he holds) is saying, "Mein lieber Herr Collaborator, Sie sind gar zu fleissig," referring doubtless to the over-full grave-yard towards which his left hand is turned. By D. N. Chodowiecki (1726–1801), who likewise made a series of "Dance of Death" designs, there is a small engraving of Death appearing to a medical student, with the following inscription underneath, which is what the student is supposed to be saying in order to be spared:—

> "De grâce épargne moi, je me fais médecin,
> Tu recevras de moi la moitié des malades."

One of Thomas Rowlandson's "English Dance of

Death" series (first volume, London, 1815) shows Death and the quack doctor "Nostrum," outside the shop of the undertaker, "Ned Screwtight"; and the letterpress (by William Combe, the author of "Doctor Syntax") describes how grieved the undertaker was when his friend Nostrum died so suddenly at his door. His wife explained that it was another job for him, and nothing to be sorry about, but—

> "'You foolish woman,' he replied,
> 'Old Nostrum, there, stretched on the ground,
> Was the best friend I ever found. . . .
> How shall we Undertakers thrive
> With Doctors who keep folks alive? . . .
> We've cause to grieve—say what you will;
> For, when Quacks die, they cease to kill.'"

Similar allusions to the undertaker are of course very frequent. Thus, in "The Apothecary's Prayer," by G. M. Woodward (engraved by Thomas Rowlandson in 1801, and published by R. Ackermann, at 101, Strand, London), the Apothecary prays to Aesculapius that people may be ill and require medicines, and mentions that his neighbour, Crape, the Undertaker, is suffering considerably by his (the Apothecary's) want of practice. I have seen two little English engravings, signed "W. E. G.," not dated, but probably of the early part of the nineteenth century, which might be mentioned in this connexion. One of them depicts an apothecary on a rather sorry hack, which is apparently running away and knocking people over. The inscription below is, "What can be expected of a horse with an apothecary on his back?" Below this are the words *Newcastle Apothecary*. The other shows a huge widely-open mouth, into which a funeral procession of (death-bringing)

medicine-bottles is entering; at the rear of this procession come little figures of Death and the Doctor, apparently

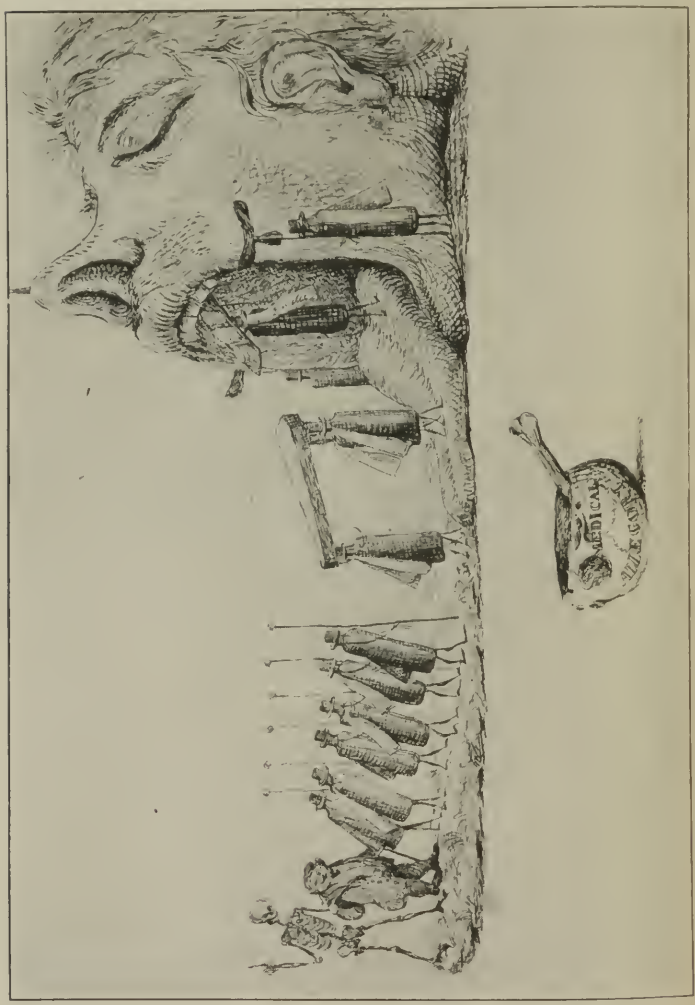

Fig. 36.—"A Medical Allegory." (Wellcome Historical Medical Museum.)

good friends, and chatting with each other. The title, "A Medical Allegory," is inscribed below this print, on a

mortar made out of a human skull with a long bone in it as a pestle. (See Fig. 36.) The first of these engravings is an illustration of "The Newcastle Apothecary,"[294] a comic poem by George Colman the younger (1762–1836), which describes the imaginary fatal result of an apothecary labelling a bottle of medicine: "When taken, to be well shaken." The lines in question are as follows:—

"It was, indeed, a very sorry hack;
But that's of course:
For what's expected from a horse
With an Apothecary on his back?"

In Robert Burns's "Death and Doctor Hornbook," a poem which is illustrated by a small wood-carving in the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum (London), Death gives no flattering account of the skilful doctor in question:—

"That's just a swatch o' Hornbook's way;
Thus goes he on from day to day,
Thus does he poison, kill an' slay,
An's weel paid for't!
Yet stops me o' my lawfu' prey,
Wi' his damn'd dirt."

I must here refer also to the following stanza in "The Devil's Walk" or "The Devil's Thoughts," a poem apparently partly by Robert Southey and partly by S. T. Coleridge, though by some it was thought to have been originated by the witty Richard Porson (1759–1808), Regius Professor of Greek at Cambridge:—

"A 'pothecary on a white horse
Rode by on his vocations,
And the Devil thought of his old friend
Death in the Revelations."[295]

[294] The poem is included in Colman's *Broad Grins*, fifth edition, London, 1811, pp. 27–34.

[295] The allusion is to Revelation vi. 8: "And I looked, and behold, a pale horse, and his name that sat on him was Death, and Hell followed."

This poem has been illustrated by Robert Cruikshank (1789–1856, brother of the famous caricaturist, George Cruikshank) in *Facetiae*, London, 1831, vol. ii.; and also by Thomas Landseer (1795–1880, brother of the animal-painter, Sir E. H. Landseer), *Ten Etchings, illustrations of the Devil's Walk*, London, 1831.

Amongst the caricatures of Medical Consultations (*e.g.* by L. Boilly, 1760) a remarkable one figured, after C. Motte, by Lucien Nass,[296] represents four consultants seated in the patient's room. One of them, with much gesticulation, is explaining his views of the case in an excited manner; his discourse has had a soporific effect, not on his patient, but on his colleagues, and even Death (represented as a skeleton holding a scythe), comfortably seated on the ground behind the chair of one of the physicians, appears to have fallen into a doze.

An eighteenth-century print by John Lightbody, constituting the frontispiece to *A Physical Vade Mecum* (London, 1741), by Theophilus Philanthropos (Robert Poole, 1708–1752), illustrates the curious admixture of theology in some medical writings of the time. The physician (apparently a portrait of Dr. Robert Poole, the author) and patient are seated facing each other; the doctor feels the patient's pulse and prescribes for him. In the foreground are a skeleton and a coffin, the latter bearing the inscription: "As now I am, so must you be. Therefore prepare to follow me." On the right in the distance, Death (as a skeleton) threatens the patient with his dart, telling him: "Prepare to die, for behold Death, and Judgment is at hand." The various figures are connected by bands of inscriptions with a triangle (on

[296] Lucien Nass, *Curiosités Médico-Artistiques*, Paris, first series, p. 6.

which is the word ΘΕΟΣ) amidst clouds and cherub-heads in the sky. One of these bands explains what God is saying to Death: "Hold, stay thy hand, and give space of repentance." Below this whole complicated design are the lines:—

> "In the midst of Life Death doth us pursue,
> Let each therefore with Speed for Mercy sue."

In further illustration of the stories current in dispraise of physicians, I will refer to certain little bronze coins struck in the island of Cos, bearing the portrait of Xenophon, a Coan physician, and a descendant of the family of the Asclepiadae, who practised at the Imperial Court of Rome in the time of the Emperor Claudius. Of three of these pieces in my father's collection the inscription accompanying the portrait on two (possibly of the second century A.D.) is ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝ; on the third (apparently of the first century A.D.) it is ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝ ΙΕΡΕΥC, showing that Xenophon was apparently a priest of Aesculapius, as well as a physician. This Xenophon, according to Tacitus (*Annal.*, xii. 61), obtained certain privileges for his native island from his patron, the Emperor Claudius. According to Tacitus also (*Annal.*, xii. 67), he had the ingratitude to allow himself to be induced by the Empress Agrippina to help her to murder his patron (54 A.D.) by means of a poisoned feather which he was stated to have introduced into his mouth under the pretence of making him vomit.[297] The account of Tacitus runs as follows[298]: "In fact, all the particulars

[297] For other references on the subject, see the notes in Orelli's second edition of the works of Tacitus, Zürich, 1859, vol. i. p. 388; also Pauly and Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Stuttgart, 1899, vol. iii. column 2815.

[298] Bohn's Oxford translation, London, 1854, vol. i. p. 311.

of this transaction were soon afterwards so thoroughly known, that the writers of those times are able to recount 'how the poison was poured into a dish of mushrooms, of which he was particularly fond; but whether it was that his senses were stupefied, or from the wine he had drunk, the effect of the poison was not immediately perceived'; at the same time, a relaxation of the bowels seemed to have been of service to him: Agrippina, therefore, became dismayed; but as her life was at stake, she thought little of the odium of her present proceedings, and called in the aid of Xenophon the physician, whom she had already implicated in her guilty purposes. It is believed that he, as if he purposed to assist Claudius in his efforts to vomit, put down his throat a feather besmeared with deadly poison; not unaware that in desperate villanies the attempt without the deed is perilous, while to ensure the reward they must be done effectually at once." From this account of Tacitus it is clear that Xenophon was called to his Imperial patient when the latter appeared to have eaten some poisonous food. He, as a physician, immediately did what would have been expected of him; namely, he endeavoured to induce vomiting (by tickling the patient's fauces with a feather). It is unlikely that any real evidence was forthcoming that he assisted the murder by introducing poison on the feather, or that he was in any way an accomplice in the crime.

Strictly speaking, under this Heading (Part II. x.) one might also refer to various memorials and sepulchral monuments bearing inscriptions of medical interest. The famous epitaph on Dame Mary Page, in Bunhill Fields Burial Ground (London), records that she died in 1728, at the age of 55 years, and that she was tapped (*paracentesis abdominis*) 66 times in 67 months, and "had taken

away 240 gallons of water, without ever repining at her case, or ever fearing the operation." A similar epitaph on Mrs. Susanna Wood, in the graveyard of Bermondsey parish church, records that that lady died in 1810, in her 58th year, after a long illness, which she bore with the greatest fortitude; "she was tapped 97 times, and had 461 gallons of water taken from her, without ever lamenting her case, or fearing the operation." Under Heading xi., I shall refer to a sepulchral marble at Senlis, commemorating the death, in 1673, after the Caesarian operation, of a woman who saved the life of her unborn child by voluntarily undergoing that operation; she herself died as the result, and thus by her death for the sake of her child, "she succeeded in uniting Love and Death."

Much grim humour of a homely sort has been displayed in epitaphs relating to the causes of death, but the genuineness of many of them may be doubted. There is, for instance, that on the poor old body, who "had two sore legs and a baddish cough, But her legs it was that carried her off." Then there is one on the old woman who appeared "so cunning, While one leg kept still, the other kept running." The following are "chestnut" examples:—

> "This little hero lying here
> Was conquered by the diarrhoea."

> "Here lie I and my four daughters,
> Killed by drinking Cheltenham waters.
> Had we but stuck to Epsom salts,
> We wouldn't have been in these here vaults."

Compare this with the lines on the Abbey Church at Bath, by Dr. Henry Harington (1727–1816):—

> "These walls, so full of monument and bust,
> Show how Bath waters serve to lay the dust."

The next epitaph (on a baby) might well be applied to examples of excessive infantile mortality, of specific origin :—

"Since I am so quickly done for,
I wonder what I was begun for."

In J. Bartlett's *Familiar Quotations* (10th edition, 1914, p. 875) the following is given as the epitaph in Cheltenham Churchyard on a child who died at the age of three weeks :—

"It is so soon that I am done for,
I wonder what I was begun for."

In regard to the death of children, cf. the quaint epitaph by William Browne (1591–1643) on a girl who died at the age of six years [299] :—

"Nature in this small volume was about
To perfect what in woman was left out.
Yet fearful lest a piece so well begun
Might want preservatives when she had done,
Ere she could finish what she undertook
Threw dust upon it and shut up the book."

When the *omnibus* or *bus* was less common than nowadays, Henry Luttrell (died 1851) wrote :—

"Killed by an omnibus—why not?
So quick a death a boon is.
Let not his friends lament his lot—
Mors omnibus communis."

Death from gangrene of the foot commencing after the careless cutting of corns (which has not rarely occurred in senile diabetics and arteriosclerotics) is commemorated by a fanciful epitaph, beginning :—

"Here lie the bones of Richard Lawton,
Whose death was strangely brought on.
Trying one day his corns to mow off,
The razor slipped . . ."

An epitaph or pseudo-epitaph on one of the "born-tired" class, commences as follows :—

"Here lies a poor woman who always was tired,
She lived in a house where no help wasn't hired";

[299] Quoted by H. P. Dodd, *The Epigrammatists*, 1870, p. 220.

and ends thus:—

"Don't mourn for me now, don't mourn for me never;
I'm going to do nothing for ever and ever."

Here I shall draw attention to a curious "poetical conceit" (though not an epitaph) relating to the death-producing effects of renal calculus. The verses in question were quoted by Sir John Bland-Sutton,[300] and are a translation from the seventeenth-century Italian original of Ciro di Pers (? himself a sufferer):—

"Other white stones serve to mark happy days,
But mine do mark days full of pain and gloom.
To build a palace, or a temple fair,
Stones should be used: but mine do serve
To wreck the fleshly temple of my soul.
Well do I know that Death doth whet his glaive
Upon these stones, and that the marble white
That grows in me, is there to form my tomb."[301]

In regard to the last lines cf. the following:—

"One day the surveyor, with a sigh and a groan,
Said, 'Doctor, I'm dying of gravel and stone.'
The doctor replied, 'This is true then, though odd,
What kills a surveyor is a cure for the road.'"

Though not an epitaph, I will also quote Edgar Allan Poe's picturesque reference to one of those terribly sad deaths of young persons, for instance, from acute pneumonia, with which all medical men are familiar. It comes in his ballard of "Annabel Lee":—

"The angels not half so happy in heaven,
Went envying her and me—
Yes! that was the reason (as all men know,
In this kingdom by the sea)
That the wind came out of the cloud one night,
Chilling and killing my Annabel Lee."

[300] Sir John Bland-Sutton, in his Cavendish Lecture, before the West London Medico-Chirurgical Society in 1916, *Medical Press*, London, 1916, vol. 153, p. 293.

[301] This splendid English version is given by G. F. Kunz, *Curious Lore of Precious Stones*, 1913, p. 384. The original Italian poem of Ciro di Pers is quoted by Giuseppi Gonnelli, in his *Thesaurus Philosophicus*, Naples, 1702, pp. 157, 158.

Incidentally, one may note how well this modern poem expresses the ancient Greek idea of the gods being jealous of too much mortal bliss. The Greeks and Romans imagined their anthropomorphic gods and goddesses to be richly endowed with all the human passions. When the human *tyrannos*, or king, became envious or covetous of a nobleman's wealth or influence, the head of the latter had to be cut off, if some other great calamity did not overtake him. And so it was with their deities, only that perhaps they pictured the immortals as being sometimes worse than themselves, more wanton and lascivious, more jealous, cruel and revengeful. Thus Prometheus, for his dangerous encouragement of scientific discovery ("betrayal of nature's secrets"), was said to have been punished in the well-known dreadful way—as an "example to others." Apollo was not contented with merely proving his musical superiority over Marsyas, but flayed that mythological personage alive, for presuming to challenge him to a contest of skill. So also when a mortal became very successful and wealthy, the gods were supposed to wish to humble him. Polycrates, the tyrant of Samos, tried to avert their displeasure by casting his treasured signet-ring into the sea, but not even that could save him.[302]

Henry Heath (about 1615) expresses the different idea of Death carrying off a woman because he loved her, as Hades or Pluto abducted Persephone (Proserpina), according to Hesiod and later ancient poets, and as God (in a different sense) takes away those he loves, according to many modern poets:—

> "In Beatrice did all perfections grow,
> That she could wish or nature could bestow.
> When death, enamour'd with that excellence,
> Straight grew in love with her and took her hence."

In poetry and epigrams death has often been represented as a ravisher, or as coming as, or in the guise of, or in place of, a bridegroom. There is an early unsigned engraving by A. Dürer of "Death as a Ravisher," referred to in Part I. B. Cf. also some sepulchral epigrams in the Greek Anthology, vii. 182 (by Meleager), 183 (by Parmenion), 185 (by Antipater of Thessalonica), 186 (by

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[302] In Christian Europe of feudal Mediaeval times the great nobles tried to avert divine anger and make up for aggressions and ruthless exactions by gifts to the Church and by foundation and endowment of abbeys, priories, churches, and religious charitable institutions. They did not entertain the idea that mere success was likely to incur the divine displeasure, but, on the contrary, regarded it as rather a token of divine favour. It is narrated, however, that a powerful ecclesiastic, when he heard that Rudolph of Hapsburg (originally plain Count of Hapsburg) had obtained the Imperial crown, exclaimed: "Have a care, O God, or Rodolph may take Thy throne too!"—or else uttered words to the same effect.

Philippus), 188 (by Antonius Thallus). No. 182 commences: "No husband but Death did Clearista receive on her bridal night as she loosed her maiden zone." Similarly, No. 183 commences: "(as she had loosed her maiden zone) Death came first and took the maidenhood of Crocale."[303] In No. 188 Hades is said to have burst in at the marriage feast in place of Hymenaeus. In regard to relatively modern times, there is, I believe, a seventeenth-century tomb in the choir of the Gothic church of Handschuchsheim (near Heidelberg), recording that a certain young lady, the last of her line, became the bride of Death.

The modern conception of the most beautiful in body and the most charming and lovable in mind falling early victims to fatal disease, not because they are "too good to live" or specially loved (cf. the saying of Menander and Plautus: "He whom the gods love dies young") and "rewarded by God," but because they are so delicately fashioned in body (*as in mind*) that they cannot resist the onslaught of disease (whether rough and acute or insidious and chronic) to the same extent that their more coarsely constructed fellows can — applies to many deaths of particularly gifted, bright and sympathetic, children and young adults from tuberculosis (and at least formerly, from diphtheria)—and is gracefully expressed in the following verses:—

"'Tis ever thus—'tis ever thus, with all that's best below,
The dearest, fairest, loveliest, are always first to go,
The bird that sings the sweetest, the pine that crowns the rock,
The glory of the garden, the flower of the flock.
'Tis ever thus—'tis ever thus, with creatures heavenly fair,
Too finely framed to 'bide the brunt more earthly natures bear;
A little while they dwell with us, blest messengers of love,
Then spread the wings we had not seen, and seek their home above."

[Cf. Thomas Moore (*The Fire-worshippers*):—

"Oh, ever thus, from childhood's hour,
I've seen my fondest hopes decay;
I never loved a tree or flower
But 'twas the first to fade away."

This has been parodied by many writers, including C. S. Calverley (*Disaster*):—

"'Twas ever thus from childhood's hour!
My fondest hopes would not decay:
I never loved a tree or flower
Which was the first to fade away."

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[303] See translations by W. R. Paton in "The Loeb Classical Library."

In regard to the best and brightest dying first, cf. the following quotations:—

"All that's bright must fade,—
The brightest still the fleetest;
All that's sweet was made
But to be lost when sweetest."
(Thomas Moore.)

"There is no death! The choicest gifts
That heaven hath kindly lent to earth
Are ever first to seek again
The country of their birth.

And all things that for growth of joy
Are worthy of our love or care,
Whose loss has left us desolate,
Are safely garnered there.

Though life becomes a dreary waste,
We know its fairest, sweetest flowers,
Transplanted into paradise,
Adorn immortal bowers."
(J. L. McCreery, of Iowa, U.S.A., three stanzas from his beautiful poem, *There is No Death*, written and published in 1863.)

"Loveliest of lovely things are they,
On earth that soonest pass away.
The rose that lives its little hour
Is prized beyond the sculptured flower."
(W. C. Bryant: *A Scene on the banks of the Hudson.*)

"Stern fate and time
Will have their victims; and the best die first,
Leaving the bad still strong, though past their prime,
To curse the hopeless world they ever curs'd,
Vaunting vile deeds, and vainest of the worst."
(Ebenezer Elliott, *The Village Patriarch.*)

"O, sir! the good die first,
And they whose hearts are dry as summer dust
Burn to the sock."
(Wordsworth, *The Excursion*, Book i.)]

J. D. Rolleston [304] refers to several strange causes of death mentioned in epigrams from the *Greek Anthology*.

[304] J. D. Rolleston, *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine, Section of the History of Medicine*, London, 1914, vii. pp. 34 *et seq.*

A grimly humorous example of such epigrams is the following (*Anthol. Graec.*, Tauchnitz edition, 1829, ix. No. 67): "A young man hung a garland on the column of his stepmother's tomb, thinking that in death her character had changed. But the column fell on the tomb and killed the young man. Children of a former marriage, beware your stepmother's grave!" The epigram by Diogenes Laertius (*ibid.*, vii. No. 112) on the peripatetic philosopher Lycon (third century B.C.) is thus given by Rolleston: "No, by Zeus, we will not forget Lycon, whom gout killed; but what I marvel at most is that he who could only walk with the feet of others, traversed in a single night the long road to Hades." Then there is the celebrated epigram (cf. Part I. A.) by Callimachus, in the Greek Anthology, on Cleombrotus, a youth of Ambracia, who committed suicide by throwing himself down from a high wall after having read Plato's *Phaedo*, on the immortality of the human soul. The epigram was referred to by Cicero, and the act of Cleombrotus was discussed by the Fathers of the Christian Church and was alluded to in another well-known Greek epigram (by Agathias).

A few epitaphs in the Greek Anthology warn the reader of the dangers awaiting persons (in those times, as in present times) on their way home from feasts in a state of drunkenness. An historical disaster, attributed to too much "good cheer," was the wreck of the "White Ship" ("Blanche Nef"), on a rock off Barfleur in calm weather (1120), when Prince William, the only son of King Henry I of England and grandson of William the Conqueror, was drowned, together with over 140 young noblemen of the principal families of England and Normandy. In the tragic story of the wreck, as told by one of the two survivors (a butcher of Rouen), a relieving feature is the conduct of Prince William. He was being rowed away to safety in a boat, but insisted on the boat being put back to the sinking ship, considering that it was preferable to die than to desert his (natural) sister, the Countess de la Perche, who was still on board. When he approached the ship, such numbers jumped into his boat that it sank

with all in it. Thomas Fitz-Stephens, the Captain of the wrecked ship, who succeeded in getting hold of the mast on which the butcher of Rouen saved his life, let go when he heard of Prince William's fate, preferring death by drowning than to survive the disaster. In modern times "speeding the parting guest" with copious draughts of wine has sometimes hastened his exit from the world.

One or two epitaphs refer to the "resurrectionist" period in the history of medical and surgical anatomy[305]:—

"Though once beneath the ground this corse was laid,
For use of surgeons it was thence conveyed.
Vain was the scheme to hide the impious theft—
The body taken, shroud and coffin left.
Ye wretches, who pursue this barbarous trade,
Your carcases in turn may be conveyed
Like this to some unfeeling surgeon's room;
Nor can they justly meet a better doom."

"Her body dissected by fiendish men,
Her bones anatomized,
Her soul we trust has risen to God,
A place where few physicians rise."

This horror of the idea of the dissection and "mutilation" of the body after death is still felt by many, but especially by the uneducated classes. The dissection of a criminal's body by surgeons after his execution was evidently in the minds of the populace (cf. Hogarth's design, "The Reward of Cruelty," to which I have already referred, in Part I. E. and Part II. v.) regarded as a kind of additional, though *posthumous*, ignominious punishment for the crimes committed *ante-mortem*—just as people thought of the quartering of the bodies of rebels, traitors, &c., and the exposure of the head and four-quarters on poles at the main gates and bridges and castles and open spaces of great cities. Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury (died 1109), in a short Latin poem (cf. Part II. xvii.), spoke of a man dying a "second death" when his dead body is tortured (*cruciatur*) by worms. Scarcely more far-fetched was Petrarch's poetical conceit of a great man's "second death"—when his tomb and monument decay and fall to pieces—and his "third death"—when his writings are destroyed or forgotten (cf. Part II. xvii.).

Allied to all this is the fear of having one's tomb and bones disturbed. Sir Thomas Browne, in his *Hydriotaphia* (1658), adduced, as one reason in favour of cremation, that ordinary burial admitted the "tragicall abomination, of being knav'd out of our graves and of having our skulls

[305] See *British Medical Journal*, 1908, vol. i. p. 1340, and *Lancet*, 1903, vol. i. p. 899.

made drinking bowls and our bones turned into pipes." Strange, indeed, it is that, in spite of this protest of his, Norwich, the city where he lived and died, always desirous to honour him, has nevertheless allowed his skull to be exhibited under a glass case in the city museum. The royalist writer, Sir John Berkenhead,[306] in December, 1679, gave directions in his will for his burial in the yard outside the Church of St. Martin-in-the-Fields (by the modern Trafalgar Square, London) instead of inside the church, "because he sayd they removed the bodies out of the church." Compare the feeling which suggested the inscription placed on Shakespeare's tomb at Stratford-on-Avon:—

> "Good friend, for Jesus' sake forbeare
> To dig the dust enclosed heare;
> Bleste be the man that spares these stones,
> And curst be he that moves my bones."[307]

In epitaphs and pseudo-epitaphs the alleged cause of death is naturally often of uncertain meaning to the medical reader. Thus, one may wonder what the nature of the "ague-fits" was in the following epitaph, which (according to Pettigrew) was to be found at Dymock, in Gloucestershire:—

> "Too sweetur babes you nare did see
> Than God amity geed too wee.
> But they wur ortaken wee agur fitts
> And hear they lys has dead as nitts."

In regard to medals and portraits of physicians and surgeons it may be noted that skulls and skeletons sometimes form part of the design, not in allusion to anatomical, medical or surgical work, but for the sake of the *memento mori* idea. Thus, amongst the English series a skull and crossed bones, with the inscription RESPICE FINEM, constitutes the reverse design of the seventeenth century halfpenny token of the surgeon, John Brearcliffe, of Halifax (see Part III., Fig. 75). Then there is the curious frontispiece design in the *Physical Vade Mecum* (1741) by Theophilus Philanthropos (Robert Poole), which I have already described (see back). A printed portrait of the German surgeon, Fabricius Hildanus (1560–1634), that is to say, Wilhelm Fabry, of Hilden (near Düsseldorf), represents him, at the age of fifty-two years, with his left hand resting on a human skull, close to which, on the same table, is a rose; the skull is inscribed, *Talis eris* ("Such you will be"), and below is the motto, *Omnis medela a Deo* ("Every remedy is from God"). Many similar examples could be found.

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[306] According to John Aubrey's *Brief Lives*, quoted by Sir Sidney Lee.

[307] For references to various early transcripts of these lines, see Sir Sidney Lee's *Life of William Shakespeare*, new edition, London, 1915, p. 486.

XI. Death for the Good of Others, or for the Sake of Ordinary Duty or Honour. Martyrdom for Religious, Patriotic, Political, or Social Opinions, or in the Interests of Scientific Discovery and Adventure. Duty, Honour, and Martyrdom.

As illustrating death for the good of others, all medals and other memorials commemorating heroic deeds of life-saving, or attempted life-saving, might be included, as well as the various medals and decorations awarded to those who have risked their lives in defence of, or in helping, others.

> "But whether on the scaffold high,
> Or in the battle's van,
> The fittest place where man can die
> Is where he dies for man."[308]

In this connexion, however, it may be noted that in so far as the death of the individual man is necessary for the progress of the race, the natural death of every one may, in a kind of way, be regarded as a sacrifice or "involuntary martyrdom"—if the term be permitted—for posterity.

This aspect of death, like No. xiv., may be termed an "altruistic" aspect of death. Strictly speaking, all coins, medals, and works of art, with representations or symbols of the Crucifixion of Jesus Christ might be placed under this heading; for the Christian significance of such types is: *Mors tua nostra salus est.* Cf. especially the so-called "Wittenberger Pestthaler" of the sixteenth century, with Moses' brazen serpent on the obverse and the Crucifixion on the reverse. Some of these "Pestthaler" were perhaps really made, as Pfeiffer and Ruland pointed out, at the flourishing mining-town of Joachimsthal

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[308] These lines, by Michael J. Barry, appeared in *The Dublin Nation*, for September 28th, 1844, vol. ii. p. 809. Cf. Henry Newbolt (*Farewell*):—

> "They found the secret of the word that saith,
> Service is sweet, for all true life is death."

in Bohemia. Cf. also the fine sixteenth-century medals by Hans Reinhard of Leipzig, representing the Crucifixion.

The cross and monogram of Christ, used as Christian symbols, have had a curious fate, which to some extent may be followed in minor works of art. They have of course always been emblematic of the Christian doctrine of the salvation of the soul being rendered possible by the sacrificial death of Christ. The Emperor, Constantine the Great, however, after his alleged miraculous vision of the cross in A.D. 312 and his conversion to Christianity, adopted the Christian monogram for his military standard—the *labarum*, as it was thenceforward called—with the motto, Τούτῳ νίκα, or in Latin, *In hoc signo vinces*. The labarum appears on the reverse of certain coins of Constantine the Great, but much more frequently on coins of later emperors. Gradually the cross of Christ came to be used as a potent instrument in the pursuit of earthly power and military conquest and fame. The Crusaders marched against the Saracens and Turks with the cross as their badge and as their standard, singing their stirring military hymn, *Lignum Crucis, Signum Ducis*. Christians also fought against Christians, each party claiming that God was on their side, and the victors attributed their victory to the help of God. *Soli Deo Gloria* ("To God alone be the glory!"), or *Soli Deo Honor et Gloria* ("To God alone be the Honour and the Glory!"), is a frequent inscription on commemorative medals. The handle of the sword itself, owing to its shape, came to be used by the knights of Mediaeval chivalry as the emblem of the cross, symbolical of Christ and the Christian religion. This all makes one think of the allegorical picture (and the fine prints after it) by Frank Dicksee, R.A., called "The Two Crowns," representing the magnificent and spectacular entry of some triumphant ruler of the world, reflecting the brilliant light of human glory from his face and golden crown, whereas, in the shadow by the wayside stands a figure of the crucified Christ, wearing a crown of thorns (cf. the end of Part II. vi.). In regard to opposing Christian rulers, each one claiming that their victories are due to God being on their side, there is the following remarkable *jeu d'esprit* by Coventry K. D. Patmore (1823–1896), intended as a kind of poetical satirical paraphrase of the spirit of letters written in 1870, during the Franco-German war, by the Prussian King (afterwards the Emperor William I) from the seat of war to Queen Augusta:—

> "This is to say, my dear Augusta,
> We've had another awful buster;
> Ten thousand Frenchmen sent below!
> Thank God from whom all blessings flow."

In connexion with superstitious ideas of Divine help the remarkable recklessness of King Richard II ("Rufus") may be referred to by way of contrast. In a superstitious age (the end of the eleventh century) that dare-devil monarch was on one occasion desirous of hurrying

from England to the relief of Le Mans; the sailors entreated him to wait till the weather became more favourable, but he answered that he had never heard of a king being shipwrecked: "Weigh anchor, and you will see that the winds will be with us."

Intimately allied is the subject of death for the sake of ordinary duty, or for the sake of what is rightly or wrongly supposed to be honour. Of countless persons it could be truly said that "they loved duty [or honour] more than they feared death." Many indeed have proved it by the manner of their life and their death. "Nothing is worth living for which is not worth dying for." "Great deaths beget great children." [309]

King Francis I of France, after the battle of Pavia (1525), is said to have written, "Tout est perdu, fors l'honneur" ("All is lost except honour"); [310] but in reality life, and with it hope, remained. When honour is really all that is saved, there is often no voice to tell the tale, no hand to write it, and no artist to celebrate it on a medal.[311]

With the mottoes, "Dum spiro, spero," and "While there is life there's hope" (John Gay, *Fables*), and the hackneyed quotation,

[309] These last two sayings have been (so it is stated) favourites with the Russian democrat, Kerensky.

[310] The actual passage in his letter was: "De toutes choses ne m'est demouré que l'honneur et la vie qui est saulve." Cf. J. A. Dulaure, *Histoire physique, civile et morale de Paris*, 4th edition, Paris, 1829, vol. iv. p. 85.

[311] In regard to medals and decorations for "honour," there are, of course, numerous satirical sayings. Harry Quilter quotes the following anonymous English version of a French epigram on the Cross of the Legion of Honour:—

> "In ancient times—'twas no great loss—
> They hung the thief upon the cross:
> But now, alas! I say 't with grief,
> They hang the cross upon the thief."

The Emperor Napoleon I is said to have remarked, "On n'ira pas chercher une épaulette sur un champ de bataille, lorsque' on peut l'avoir dans une antichambre."

"Hope springs eternal in the human breast" (Pope, *Essay on Man*), may be compared the following proverbial saying from Theocritus: Ἐλπίδες ἐν ζῴοισιν, ἀνέλπιστοι δὲ θανόντες ("Living beings have hopes, but the dead are hopeless," or "There is hope for the living, but none for the dead"). Theognis of Megara in the sixth century B.C. wrote (translation by John Hookham Frere):—

> "For human nature Hope remains alone
> Of all the deities—the rest are flown.
> Faith is departed; Truth and Honour dead;
> And all the Graces too, my friend, are fled."

In the *Prometheus Vinctus* of Aeschylus Prometheus recalls how, amongst his other beneficent gifts to mortals, he gave them "fire," the mother of all arts, and also *blind hopes* to prevent them from always brooding over their unhappy lot (and the fate awaiting them). Cicero, in one of his letters to Atticus (ix. 10), wrote: "Aegroto, dum anima est, spes est" ("For the sick man as long as there is life there is hope").

A sixteenth-century medal of Faustina Sforza, wife of the Marquis of Caravaggio Muzio, has a reverse design and legend signifying: "It is preferable to die than to dishonour one's self by committing a disgraceful action." Two Italian medals of about 1500 bear an inscription having a similar significance: "Prius mori qua(m) turpari." The buttons on a Welsh regiment in the British army bear the inscription: "Gwell angau na chywilydd," signifying: "Better death than dishonour."

Cf. Tacitus, *Vita Agricolae*, xxxiii.: "Honesta mors turpi vitâ potior" ("An honourable death is better than a disgraceful life"). Cf. also Euripides: Τοῦ ζῆν δὲ λυπρῶς κρεῖσσόν ἐστι κατθανεῖν (*Troades*, 632); Οὐ κατθανεῖν δεινὸν, ἀλλ' αἰσχρῶς θανεῖν (uncert. fragment); Σὺ δ' ὥσπερ εἰκός κατθανεῖ κακὸς κακῶς (*Medea*, 1386).

With all this might be compared the reverse inscription on two other medals: "Potius mori quam animo immutari," if the change of mind referred to were intended to imply cowardice. A sixteenth-century finger-ring, referred to later on, has the inscription, "Rather death than fals fayth"; and a ring supposed to have belonged to a Knight Hospitaller of Winckbourne, is

inscribed, "Mieu mori que change ma foi" ("Better to die than change my faith"). Compare the family mottoes: "Mutare fidem nescio"; "Mutare vel timere sperno." The saying, *Besser Land und Leute verlohren als einen falschen Eid gesehworen*,[312] was placed on certain German coins of Philip IX, Landgraf of Hesse (1552), and Henry II, Count of Mansfeld (1593) (Madai, *Vollst. Thaler-Cabinet*, Nos. 1240, 1783, 4303). "Safety first!"—is a good motto, especially when crossing a crowded thoroughfare in London, but it is not always the best maxim in life. Cf. Ralph Waldo Emerson (*Sacrifice*):—

> "Though love repine and reason chafe,
> There came a voice without reply,—
> 'Tis man's perdition to be safe
> When for the truth he ought to die.'"[313]

Under this heading should belong all medals (and similar memorials) on the death of those who have under-

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[312] In Shakespeare's *King Richard II* (act iii., scene 2), King Richard says:—

> "The worst is worldly loss thou canst unfold.
> Say, is my kingdom lost? why, 'twas my care;
> And what loss is it to be rid of care?
> Strives Bolingbroke to be as great as we?
> Greater he shall not be; if he serve God,
> We'll serve him too, and be his fellow so:
> Revolt our subjects? that we cannot mend;
> They break their faith to God, as well as us:
> Cry woe, destruction, ruin, loss, decay;
> The worst is death, and death will have his day."

[313] Cf. also Emerson's *Voluntaries*:—

> "So nigh is grandeur to our dust,
> So near is God to man,
> When duty whispers low, Thou must,
> The youth replies, I can!"

For similar patriotic inspiration see also Emerson (*Boston*):—

> "For what avail the plough or sail,
> Or land or life, if freedom fail?"

gone martyrdom for their religious,[314] patriotic, political, or social opinions. We may instance the medals on the death of John Huss in 1415, of French Huguenots in 1572 and 1685, of Archbishop Affre at Paris in 1848, of John van Olden Barneveldt (political) in 1619, of James Graham, first Marquis of Montrose, in 1650, and of the brothers De Witt (political) in 1672.[315] For convenience, however, medals commemorating political executions like that of Barneveldt and that of Montrose, and political murders like that of the De Witts, whether there be an element of martyrdom about them or not, have been included under Heading v.

Here belong also medals and similar memorials of the "martyrs" in the cause of the progress of science and the progress of civilization, notably those who have lost their lives in perilous exploration by land or by sea, including Arctic and Antarctic expeditions: David Livingstone (1873), Henry Hudson (1611), Sir John Franklin (1847), Captain R. F. Scott, and the brave com-

[314] In regard to devices which have been supposed to relate to martyrdom, a curious instance of Mediaeval misinterpretation of an antique gem-type may be mentioned. An antique engraved gem in the British Museum, which King describes as representing the Muse Thalia, seated, contemplating a comic mask, with a young faun balancing himself on a pedestal before her, was (King thinks) in Mediaeval times supposed to represent Herodias gloating over the severed head of St. John the Baptist, whilst her daughter Salome practised her steps. The Mediaeval silver setting of this antique gem bears the inscription, IE SVI SEL DE AMVR LEL ("I am the seal of loyal love"). See C. W. King, *Handbook of Engraved Gems*, second edition, 1885, Pl. xxxv. No. 1; but is King correct as to the Mediaeval interpretation? For ancient representations of the martyrdom of Christians, see the illustrations in F. Cabrol's *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne*, Paris, vol. i. part i. cols. 423–438.

[315] It is remarkable how few medals there are of men who have devoted or sacrificed their lives to the good of their fellows. I believe, for instance, that there is no medal of the "leprosy-hero," Father Damian (Joseph Damian de Veuster, 1840–1889).

panions who died with him in his successful Antarctic expedition (1912). These heroes perished in the struggle of civilization against the physical agencies of Nature, and so have others who have lost their lives in the adventurous pursuit of scientific (chemical, medical, &c.) knowledge.[316] With them may be reckoned those who, in the cause of civilization, have met their deaths, not from natural physical agencies, but at human hands, in uncivilized parts of the world—such as Captain James Cook (1779) and General C. G. Gordon (1885), of whom there are a few numismatic and similar mementos.

On certain medals, rings, &c., commemorating the death of King Charles I of England, a martyr's celestial crown is represented as being conferred on him instead of his lost earthly one. Similarly, on the monument, in St. Andrew's (Parish Church) in Scotland, commemorating the murder (1679) of James Sharp, Archbishop of St. Andrews, by Covenanters on Magus Muir, the archbishop is represented as receiving a celestial crown in exchange for his earthly mitre.

Strictly speaking, all medals and similar memorials connected with patriotism may likewise be admitted here, including those commemorating individuals who have risked or lost their lives in fighting for or defending the real or fancied interests of their country. It is remarkable how few numismatic memorials there are of the great patriotic heroes of Greek and Roman history and legend, though patriotism in ancient Greece and

[316] The ardent natural philosopher, Robert Boyle (1627–1691), is said to have remarked that he feared death only because after it he would know all things, and no longer have the delight of making discoveries. (See R. A. Gregory, *Discovery or the Spirit and Service of Science*, London, 1916, p. 18.)

Rome was probably considered the highest of all virtues. The legendary patriotism and good faith of M. Atilius Regulus is not commemorated on any of the coins of the Roman Republic struck by members of the gens Atilia. So, also, we look in vain to (genuine) coins for representations of Marcus Curtius, Horatius Cocles, and other legendary heroes of Roman patriotism, though in Renaissance and later times the traditional exploits of Marcus Curtius, &c., were sometimes represented on medals and minor works of art as types of valour, patriotism, &c. A silver denarius struck by L. Manlius Torquatus (who was quaestor in 104 B.C.) bears on the obverse a torque (torques) surrounding the head of the goddess Roma. This is an allusion to the famous exploit of T. Manlius Imperiosus Torquatus, who, in the war against the Gauls (361 B.C.), killed a gigantic Gaul in single combat, and obtained the surname of Torquatus from wearing the torque taken from the dead body of his adversary. Here, however, we touch upon the large class of medals and other minor works of art commemorating deeds of valour of various kinds and at various ages in the world's history, including posthumous medals of real or legendary heroes, such as Renaissance medals of ancient Greek and Roman patriots, modern medals of Joan of Arc, &c. Such medals are, of course, too numerous to be included in my list.

In regard to coins of certain Greek towns bearing the portrait of the deified Antinous, it should be noted under the present heading that, according to some conjectures, this beautiful youth, who was drowned in the Nile (122 A.D.) during one of Hadrian's journeys, voluntarily gave up his life for the sake of, and from some (possibly

Egyptian) superstitious point of view, as a kind of substitute for, the Emperor Hadrian.[317]

Amongst medals commemorating deaths for patriotism and military duty in relatively modern times there are those of James Wolfe and the capture of Quebec (1759), Nelson and the battle of Trafalgar (1805), and Sir John Moore at Corunna (1809), and a vast number of medals and jettons of the military and naval heroes of all countries. The motto, "Dulce est pro patriâ mori" (cf. Horace, *Od.*, iii. 2. 14), occurs on a German mortuary Thaler of 1676 and on a Transylvanian medal of 1605. A medal on the death of Marshal Schomberg at the battle of the Boyne (1690) has on its edge the inscription, "Pro religione et libertate mori, vivere est." Here, too, belong some coins and medals commemorating the death of King Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden at the victorious Battle of Lützen (1632), bearing various inscriptions. Very fine is the medal described in Part III. (date 1915), by Henri Nocq of Paris, presented (Fondation Maurice Barrès) to the nearest relative of every French writer killed on the battlefield, in the Great European War; and noteworthy is its inscription: *Credidi propter quod locutus sum . . . . . et mortuus.*

Bronze medallions, plaques, engraved gems, and finger-rings representing the early Roman legend of the suicide of Lucretia might perhaps (in spite of Beza's "common sense" epigram, quoted later on in Part III.) be regarded as illustrating one side of this aspect of

[317] The relations of Hadrian to Antinous remain shrouded in mystery, and perhaps it is best so, though surely it has been too readily accepted that Antinous was merely Hadrian's "Ganymede." A curious idea it would have been to think of the deified Antinous as merely a kind of Ganymede in the other world to the Roman Emperor, deified ("Divus Hadrianus Augustus") to a kind of Jupiter.

death. An antique paste is figured by F. de' Ficoroni [318] as representing Sextus Tarquinius threatening Lucretia, but it seems to me that it might represent the slaying of Clytaemnestra by Orestes, in spite of what Ficoroni described as a figure of Psyche on the altar in the background. At any rate, representations of Lucretia were popular in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries as emblems of chastity and honour. An Italian engraving (sixteenth century) of Lucretia, by Marcantonio Raimondi, bears the inscription, *Ἄμεινον ἀποθνήσκειν ἢ αἰσχρῶς ζῆν* ("Better to die than to live disgracefully"). The fine (Mantuan?) medal (described in Part III.) of Giulia Astallia (a "Lucretia" of the fifteenth century) has a phoenix on the reverse, with an inscription signifying: "a unique example of courage and chastity." On a German sixteenth century bronze (cf. Part III., sixteenth century) the Roman Lucretia is represented with her right foot on a human skull, as if, in her case, suicide implied not death, but the conquest of death. An Italian niello finger-ring of the fifteenth century, figured in Thomas Wright's introduction to Fairholt's *Miscellanea Graphica*,[319] from the Londesborough Collection, bears a representation of Lucretia holding a dagger to her breast, doubtless emblematic of chastity and honour (cf. Part IV. Subdivision ii.).

On an early sixteenth-century Flemish tapestry (in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London), inspired by Petrarch's *Trionfi*, the "Triumphal Death of Chastity" is represented. Chastity, seated on her triumphal chariot drawn by unicorns, surrounded by the Roman

[318] F. de' Ficoroni, *Gemmae Antiquae Litteratae*, &c., Rome, 1757, second part, Tab. iii. Fig. 4.

[319] Fairholt's *Miscellanea Graphica*, London, 1856, p. 75.

Lucretia, Scipio Africanus Major and other attendants, and with Cupid, his arms bound behind him, standing as a prisoner in front of her, is being speared by Atropos, who, accompanied by the other two Fates (Lachesis and Clotho), mounted on the oxen-drawn car of Death, meets the triumphal procession. On the second portion of the same tapestry (to the right of the scene just described) the three Fates have conquered and are seated victorious in the triumphal car of Death with Chastity at their feet. A similar early sixteenth-century Flemish tapestry is preserved at Hampton Court. On another tapestry in the Victoria and Albert Museum the three Fates are seen standing on a prostrate female figure, which, according to a French sixteenth-century design, is evidently meant to represent Chastity.

In reference to Scipio (that is to say, Scipio Africanus Major) as the type of male continence in Renaissance art, cf. *Burlington Fine Arts Club Exhibition Cat.*, London, 1912, p. 127. The famous anecdote of Scipio's continence and magnanimity (after the capture of Carthago Nova in Spain, B.C. 209) is narrated in Livy's *Annals of Rome*, xxvi. 50.

A monument of female virtue of another kind may here be referred to. It is a sepulchral marble relief by a sculptor named Malouvre, of Senlis, and is figured by Marcel Aubert.[320] It represents a young woman floating on a cloud, with a tender suffering expression and attitude of self-sacrifice. In front of her is a baby, offering her in the right hand a palm-branch, and holding in the left a scroll inscribed, "Meruisti." Below is an inscription, preceded by the Latin hexameter line, "Mors et Amor tanto potuerunt funere jungi" ("Love and Death could be united by such a funeral"). The deceased woman, the wife of Pierre de Puget, voluntarily

[320] Marcel Aubert, *Cathédrale de Senlis*, Senlis, 1910.

underwent the Caesarian operation for the sake of her child, who was thus delivered and lived, whilst she herself died (1673).

In this connexion I would add the following note. Physicians and others who have had the opportunity of frequently seeing women sent into hospital after childbirth, suffering from various forms of puerperal fever, cannot fail to have been struck by the psychical condition often present in such cases. The septic poisons (toxins) of the disease seem to not rarely act on the patient's brain so as to produce a state of almost complete mental "euphoria," with relative absence of sensations of pain and anguish, even when death is inevitable and is rapidly approaching. The whole expression of the patient is one of beatitude, sublime contentment and happy resignation to whatever fate is awaiting them, suggesting the wonderful "peace of God, which passeth all understanding." Fortunately, recovery does sometimes occur in such cases, and then perhaps it is better still to witness the charming manifestations of the radiant "psyche," on the gradual return of corporeal activity and all those interests and loves which constitute the best of life.

With the subject of this chapter (Part II. xi.) the following personal and family mottoes [321] may be considered in addition to the mottoes and epigrams already given: "Aut mors aut vita decora"; "Mors aut vita decora"; "Mors potius maculâ" (cf. back, Tacitus, &c.); "Mors patriae, mors mea"; "Melius mori quam inguinari"; "Mori potius quam foedari"; "Potius mori quam foedari"; "Prius mori quam foedari"; "Potius mori quam fidam fallere"; [322] "Prius mori quam fidem fallere"; "Malo mori quam foedari"; "Malo mori quam maculari"; "Malo mori quam turpari"; "Malo pati quam foedari"; "Mourir plutôt que se souiller"; "Plutôt mourir que se salir"—"que changer"—"que mentir"—

[321] See J. Dielitz, *Die Wahl- und Denksprüche*, new edition, Frankfurt a M., 1888.

[322] How well this would serve as a motto for many a dog faithful unto death to a human master, how well for many a human slave!

"que pâlir"—"que vivre sans vertu"—"que flêchir"—"que plier"—"que ployer."[323]

Shakespeare (*Troilus and Cressida*, Act v., Scene 3) wrote:—

"Life every man holds dear; but the brave man
Holds honour far more precious-dear than life."

And Shakespeare also wrote:—

"Set honour in one eye, and death i' the other,
And I will look on both indifferently;
For, let the gods so speed me, as I love
The name of honour more than I fear death."

Wordsworth, in describing the *Character of the Happy Warrior*, pictures this ideal knight as one—

"Whom neither shape of danger can dismay
Nor thought of tender happiness betray."

Cf. Part II. xvi., and Dürer's famous allegorical copper-plate engraving (1513) of "the true knight," commonly spoken of as "The Knight, Death and the Devil" (Fig. 37).

One of the best-known quotations in the English language is from Richard Lovelace (1618-1658), "To Lucasta, on going to the Wars":—

"I could not love thee, dear, so much,
Loved I not honour more."

Juvenal (*Sat.*, 8. 83) declared:—

"Summum crede nefas animam praeferre pudori,
Et propter vitam vivendi perdere causas."

Plautus (B.C. 254-184), in his comedy, *Captivi* (iii. 5. 32) proclaimed: "Qui per virtutem peritat, non interit."

[323] In some cases the motto may be connected with the heraldic use of the ermine, *i.e.* referring to the power of some of the Mustelidae to save their lives by ejecting a fluid of intolerable odour, which compels their pursuers to abandon the chase.

On one plate of a fifteenth-century Italian (Umbrian) pair of wafering-irons is the inscription, VBELMVRIRE · TVTA · LAVITA · ONORA ("A fine death honours the whole life"), a motto found on other household objects of the same period.[324] Henry J. Newbolt, in his *Sacramentum Supremum*, has the following lines:—

"Life is no life to him that dares not die,
And death no death to him that dares to live."

Schiller's *Die Braut von Messina* ends with the declaration:—

"Das Leben ist der Güter höchstes nicht,
Der Uebel grösstes aber ist die Schuld."

A. C. Swinburne (*Thalassius*) emphasizes:

"How he that loves life overmuch shall die
The dog's death, utterly."

Cf. also Swinburne, *The Triumph of Time*:—

"At the door of life by the gate of breath,
There are worse things waiting for man than death."

In connexion with the whole subject of the present heading the question must, of course, frequently arise: "What is right? what is one's duty?" *Securus judicat orbis terrarum*—is a maxim commonly supposed to be correct, but the world's opinion of what is right and what is wrong changes with the times——from age to age, according to the knowledge and prejudice of the age. Everybody, however, must decide what, according to his present knowledge, is to be regarded as right or wrong, and that is the main question for the individual at the moment, though later on he may have opportunities of increasing his knowledge, and his opinions may change. In spite of such mottoes as *Facta non verba*, and the Biblical sayings—"By their fruits ye shall know them" (St. Matthew vii. 16), and, "Each tree is known by its own fruit" (St. Luke vi. 44)—a man can only really be judged by the quality of his intentions and the quantity and degree of his endeavours in relation to his strength and ability and circumstances: well I wot, if there be a hereafter and a judgment, a man will not only be judged by what during his life he has done and what he has left undone, but still more, by how he has tried to do what he believed to be right. Some such pronouncement as that, but beautifully worded, J. H. Shorthouse skilfully put into the meditations of his hero, John Inglesant, in his well-known novel of that name (1881). On this subject many illustrations could doubtless be adduced from the fields of art and epigram.

[324] See W. L. Hildburgh, "Italian Wafering-Irons of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries," *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, 1915, second series, vol. xxvii. p. 183.

XII. The "Epicurean" Attitude towards Death.

The debased "Epicureanism" of so-called followers of Epicurus in Roman times has been already considered (cf. Part I. A.), and Roman gems (cf. Part IV.) exist engraved with *memento mori* devices, plainly advocating present enjoyment of the sensual pleasures of life. Various other Roman or Graeco-Roman antiquities are described (cf. Part I. A. and Part IV.), conveying similar so-called "Epicurean" hints: "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die" (in the words of St. Paul, explaining a pagan aspect of life, First Epistle to the Corinthians xv. 32); or, as Philip Doddridge has put it—in part of his epigram on the motto attached to his family arms, "Dum vivimus vivamus":—

> "'Live while you live,' the epicure would say,
> 'And seize the pleasures of the present day.'"

The rest of this well-known epigram, said by Dr. Johnson to be one of the finest in the English language, is as follows:—

> "'Live while you live,' the sacred preacher cries,
> 'And give to God each moment as it flies.'
> Lord, in my view let both united be;
> I live in pleasure when I live to Thee."

In regard to the Christian interpretation of the Latin, *Dum vivimus vivamus*, we may also quote Milton (*Paradise Lost*, Book xi. line 553): "But what thou liv'st, live well." *Dum vivimus vivamus* has been adopted as a motto by countless individuals and many families of many countries, by various societies and institutions, and doubtless by dining clubs. A medalet or medallic member's ticket of the Porcellian Club (founded in 1789), of the Harvard University (Massachusetts, U.S.A.), has the motto in question on the obverse, with the date, 1831.[325]

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[325] See Malcolm Storer, "Medallic Harvard," in *The Harvard Graduates' Magazine*, for June, 1916.

A mortal's manifestations of love and friendship towards the fellow-mortals whom he holds most dear might sometimes with advantage be stimulated by the Epicurean *Carpe diem* maxim, and many a pang of vain regret might be thereby lessened—

"But oh! the very reason why
I clasp them is because they die."

Cf. William Johnson Cory (1823–1892), *Ionica*, "Mimnermus in Church" (the last stanza):—

"Forsooth the present we must give
To that which cannot pass away;
All beauteous things for which we live
By laws of time and space decay.
But oh! the very reason why
I clasp them is because they die."

Even if pleasure may at times be stimulated or intensified by the recollection that it cannot last, there is, it must be owned, some bitter-sweet in the idea of the happiness or "joy whose hand is ever at his lips bidding adieu."

Some persons' mental temperament is naturally of so happy a kind that they might, if fortunately placed amidst suitable surroundings, truthfully say, with the sun-dial in the garden—

"Serene I stand amid the flowers,
And only count life's sunny hours."

On the other hand, some persons who spend their lives in the pursuit of pleasure, fortune, or fame, have a feeling of *Après nous le déluge*, and would perhaps like to be consoled for the approaching end or ruin of their own life by the knowledge that it would be accompanied by some great world-cataclysm (floods, fires, earthquakes, wars, &c.), or the end of all things: *Ἐμοῦ θανόντος γαῖα μιχθήτω πυρί.* An idea that their death is to be immediately shared by vast numbers of others may have

occasionally acted as a poor kind of solace, even to wise and good men.

In many countries, and amongst peoples of the most different religious opinions, there have been from time to time rumoured prophesies, or forebodings, of an approaching final annihilation of the world or of the whole universe. The younger Pliny wrote (for his friend, the historian Tacitus) a description of the great eruption of Mount Vesuvius, in the summer of the year A.D. 79, when Pompeii was buried in volcanic ashes, and when his uncle, the elder Pliny, died (apparently from sudden cardiac failure connected with fatigue or the inhalation of noxious vapours—but he was a corpulent man, whose heart was previously probably not sound). Many of the people, it was stated, were convinced that the final "endless night" of which they had heard had come upon the world. The younger Pliny, himself, thought that "he was perishing in company with the universe and the universe with him—*a miserable and yet a mighty solace in death.*"

XIII. Contemplative Attitudes. Mindfulness of Death, and a Cloistered Life of Contemplation, as a Preparation for Death.

"Mihi oppidum carcer et solitudo paradisus." "Regnum mundi contempsi propter amorem domini nostri Iesou Christi."

A life of contemplation and quiet study in a cloister, withdrawn from worldly passions and ambitions, calmly awaiting and ever mindful of the coming of death, was a monkish ideal of former times. Some of the ideals of the early ascetic recluses in the desert are reflected in *Paphnutius*, a Latin drama by Roswitha, or Hrotsuit, nun of Gandersheim, in the tenth century; an English version was not long ago privately acted in London. The contrast between the life of the religious recluse and an ordinary worldly life is pictorially expressed in the well-known fresco of the fourteenth century (already alluded to) known as the "Triumph of Death" in the Campo Santo of Pisa. (Cf. Part I. B. and Part I. D.)

A human skull was often kept to serve the purpose of a simple kind of *memento mori*, by monks and religious recluses in their cells—as is seen in many prints, pictures, and works of art, of various periods. Workmen, digging near Holyrood Palace, found a skull, "which had no doubt formed the solitary companion of one of the monks" of Holyrood Abbey (founded in 1128). It had a hole in the top of the cranium, probably for securing a crucifix, and over the brow was traced in antique characters, *Memento mori*. The relic in question was procured by the late Sir Patrick Walker. (Cassell's *Old and New Edinburgh*, vol. iii. p. 44.)

The *memento mori* design on the reverse of an Italian *cinquecento* medal (Fig. 48), by Giovanni Boldu, apparently suggested the design of a marble medallion

which I have seen on the façade of the famous Church of the Carthusian Monastery (Certosa) near Pavia, though the legend, *Innocentia et memoria mortis*, was substituted for that on the medal ("Io son fine"). An Italian medal of Fra Cesario Contughi, by Sperandio (fifteenth century), represents Fra Cesario, in the dress of the Servite order, seated in a contemplative attitude, with a death's-head by his side. The inscriptions, "Mors omnibus aequa" and "Vita est meditatio," on a Danish memorial medal of George Hojer (1670), were obviously meant to suggest that a contemplative life is the best means of preparing for, and being ready for, death, which no one can escape. The same may be said in regard to a medal of Nicolas Georg de Raigersperg, with his motto, *Cogita mori ante mortem.*

It is, perhaps, the aspect of death from the old religious point of view of the preparation for death (by prolonged meditation on death and the almost necessarily associated withdrawal of interest and energy from the affairs of life) which has more than any other cause tended to make all studies connected with the idea of death unpopular in modern times. Indeed, the constant meditation on death and the unceasing demand, *Vigilate et orate*, during life, may sometimes have helped to make death longed for as a happy release. It is not astonishing that such mottoes should sometimes have occurred as, "Melior mors vitâ" ("Death is better than life"), chosen by the Dutch prelate, J. van Neercassel, who died in 1686. Cf. Heading xvii., on Pessimism in regard to Life.

It is also not surprising that in extreme instances—more or less as a result of the traditional Christianity handed down from Mediaeval times—a morbid brooding and pathological love of death and everything connected

with death (*thanatophilia* of French authors—not the same as, though it may be combined with, *necrophilia*) should have arisen in mentally peculiar individuals and families. This was, perhaps, the case in the Spanish Hapsburg dynasty, which ended (1700) with the feeble King Charles II.

Cf. P. R. Mersey, *L'Amour de la Mort chez les Habsbourg*, Ollier-Henry, Paris, 1912. In a kind of way, however, *thanatophilia* (morbid love of death) may be interpreted as excess in a courageous method of opposing too much love of life—an opposition (dictated by man's religious or moral opinions) towards extreme and selfish indulgence of the conservative animal instinct of self-preservation. This instinct finds part of its natural expression in healthy love of life and joy of living, and in ordinary fear of death (not morbid fear of death, or *thanatophobia*) and avoidance of death as far as possible, by shunning unnecessary and useless risks and dangers to life.

Havelock Ellis[326] insists on the Mediaeval brooding over death being peculiarly congenial to the Spanish temperament. The Escorial, founded by King Philip II of Spain in the sombre mountains to the north-west of Madrid, includes a royal palace and the royal mausoleum of the Spanish sovereigns. In this gloomy "palace of death," as Havelock Ellis calls it, the reigning monarch may descend directly from his state rooms to view the sarcophagus prepared long before he was born to receive his body when he dies. In the huge pile there is nothing so essentially Spanish as the little suite of dark rooms which Philip II "built for himself, so that he might lie on his dying bed with its outlook on the high altar, fingering the same crucifix as his father, the still mightier monarch, Charles V, also held when he too lay dying, in the same Spanish way, gazing at the altar in the Convent of Yuste."

Intimately allied to the subject of the present Heading is the question of asceticism in general (not merely religious asceticism) and the influence of ascetic habits in the practical life of modern times. C. A. Mercier (*The Flesh and the Spirit*) "shows the deep foundations in human nature on which ascetic practices rest, their value to the community and to the race."

[326] Havelock Ellis, *The Soul of Spain*, London, 1908, pp. 24, 25.

XIV. Activity and Utility. Mindfulness of Death as an Incentive to Right Living, Charity, helping Others, and making the Best Active Use of Life.

"Teach us to remember that we must die, so that we may become wise" (Psalm xc. 12, after Luther's translation); "In all thy matters remember thy last end, and thou shalt never do amiss" (Ecclesiasticus, Revised Version, vii. 36); "Remember thy last end, and cease from enmity" (*ibid.*, Revised Version, ch. xxxviii. 6); "Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might; for there is no work, nor device, nor knowledge, nor wisdom, in the grave, whither thou goest" (Ecclesiastes ix. 10). "I must work the works of him that sent Me, while it is day: the night cometh when no man can work" (St. John ix. 4). Of this last passage Goethe has given a poetical version:—

"Noch ist es Tag, da rühre sich der Mann!
Die Nacht tritt ein, wo niemand wirken kann."

The above-mentioned quotation from the 90th Psalm occurs on a Danish medal, dated 1634, which will be described later on (see Part III.). Life may well be regarded as a period during which man should make the best use he can of his strength, his light, and his free will (however little the last may be), before the darkness of death overtakes him. "I expect to pass through this world but once. Any good therefore that I can do, &c." [327] Cf. G. J. Whyte-Melville (1821-1878): [328] "Life is but to

[327] See Benham's *Book of Quotations* (p. 448), on the many persons to whom this saying has been attributed. Stephen Grellet (1773-1855), an American quaker of French birth, seems the most likely of them.

[328] Appropriately quoted by R. W. MacKenna, *The Adventure of Death*, London, 1916, p. 2.

do a day's work honestly, and death, to come home for a day's wages when the sun goes down."

An attitude of this kind towards death should be contrasted with those attitudes that suggest a merely contemplative life and withdrawal from worldly cares and temptations (Heading xiii.) or that suggest a life devoted to sensual pleasure (Heading xii.). It tends to induce a life, not of selfish idleness or sensual pleasure, but of activity and utility. The past is unalterable and irretrievable, the future is uncertain and hidden from us, but the present is ours, for us to use it well.

Miss S. F. A. Caulfeild (*House Mottoes and Inscriptions*, Revised edition, London, 1908, p. 53) says that over the door of the schoolmaster's house at Leyburn, Yorkshire, is the following:—

"Time is thou hast; see that thou well employ.
Time past is gone; thou canst not that employ.
Time future is not, and may never be.
Time present is the only time for thee."

Cf. similar views, as expressed by R. W. Emerson, in *Society and Solitude*, and cf. also Cicero, *De Senectute*, chapter xix. 69 (translation by C. R. Edmonds): "Hours indeed depart from us, and days and months and years; nor does past time ever return, nor can it be discovered what is to follow."

In regard to the whole subject of this chapter (Part II. xiv.) the following passages from the poems of Longfellow may be compared:—

"Trust no future, howe'er pleasant;
Let the dead past bury its dead!
Act, act in the living Present!
Heart within, and God o'er head!"
(*A Psalm of Life.*)

"It is the heart, and not the brain,
That to the highest doth attain."
(*The Building of the Ship.*)

"Live I, so live I,
To my Lord heartily,
To my Prince faithfully,
To my Neighbour honestly,
Die I, so Die I."
(After the *Sinngedichte* of Friedrich von Logau.)

W. E. H. Lecky[329] wrote: "A life of active duty is the best preparation for the end, and so large a part of the evil of death lies in its anticipation, that an attempt to deprive it of its terrors by constant meditation almost necessarily defeats its object, while at the same time it forms an unnaturally tense, feverish, and tragical character, annihilates the ambition and enthusiasm that are essential to human progress, and not unfrequently casts a chill and a deadness over the affections." Living a life of activity and utility, such as I have here referred to, would, doubtless, by some be regarded as "the best form of Epicureanism" ("Labor ipse voluptas"), were it not that the word "Epicureanism" in this connexion might be supposed to signify that the attainment of pleasure is the prime motive, rather than merely a frequent and agreeable consequence or accompaniment, of the active life ("Non dux, sed comes voluptas").

Montaigne concluded that, "let philosophers say what they will, the final end we all have in view, even in virtue itself, is pleasure." He held that the pleasure which the Stoic takes in being strong enough to resist the pleasures of sense is only pleasure of a higher kind. He maintained that the quest of virtue is not disagreeable, for even the pursuit must have a savour of the (unattainable) quality itself. "The happiness which shines in virtue illumines all its avenues and approaches, from the first entrance to the last inner-gate." The highest blessing that virtue can confer is, Montaigne contends, the contempt of death.[330]

As illustrating the particular aspect of life and death under consideration, we may refer to medals and medalets of physicians or medical societies, inscribed with the famous Hippocratic aphorism: Ὁ βίος βραχύς, ἡ δὲ τέχνη μακρή (as on a medal commemorating the foundation

[329] W. E. H. Lecky, *History of European Morals*, 1905 edition, vol. i. p. 203.

[330] See W. Lucas Collins, *Montaigne*, 1879, p. 122.

of the Medical Association of Warsaw, 1809), or its Latin translation, "Ars longa, vita brevis" (as on a medal of J. H. Pozzi, 1697-1752, poet and physician of Bologna, and on another of Dr. C. G. B. Daubeny, 1795-1867, of Oxford).

"Art is long, and time is fleeting" (Longfellow's *Psalm of Life*); "Ach Gott! die Kunst ist lang, und kurz ist unser Leben" (Goethe's *Faust*). The Latin form occurs in Seneca's *De Brevitate Vitae*.

Under the present heading the familiar "Respice finem" might be replaced by "Respice vitam." It is not so much "Think of the end," as "Think of the shortness of life, and make active use of the time you have," or, as Benjamin Franklin (*Pennsylvania Almanac*, 1758) said, "Dost thou love life? Then do not squander time, for that is the stuff life is made of." "There will be sleeping enough in the grave" (Benjamin Franklin, *ibid.*). "Shall I not have all eternity to rest in?" exclaimed Thomas Carlyle. In his *Past and Present* (1843) he regarded all "true work" as religion: "Admirable was that saying of the old monks, *Laborare est orare.*" The motto, "Ora et labora," occurs on some German coins of the seventeenth century, namely, on some so-called "Kippermünzen," coins of very bad quality, struck about 1620.[331] Resting easily leads to rusting, so Luther thought. He is supposed to have said: "Rast' ich, so rost' ich" ("If I rest, I rust"—Resting leads to rusting). An old German proverb was: "If I rest, I rust, says the key." "It is better to wear out than to rust out" (saying attributed to Richard Cumberland, Bishop of Peterborough, 1631–1718).

The Greek signifying, "For the night cometh" (after St. John ix. 4) was adopted as a motto by Dr. Samuel Johnson, on his watch, and by

[331] See *Münzen und Medaillen der Welfischen Lände—Das mittlere Haus Braunschweig—Linie zu Wolfenbüttel*, by E. Fiala, Leipzig, 1906, pp. 215 *et seq.*

Sir Walter Scott, on a sun-dial at Abbotsford. "Ask me for anything but time!" was a pregnant phrase of the great Napoleon, according to Colonel G. F. R. Henderson's *Life of Stonewall Jackson*. Compare the following sayings and sun-dial inscriptions: "Life is fleeting as the shadow"; "You may waste, but cannot stop me"; "There is nothing more precious nor time"; "Days make years"; "Time and tide stay for no man" (on a sun-dial on old London Bridge); "Every hour shortens life"; "Time when past is irreparable"; "(Soles) pereunt et imputantur" (Martial, *Epig.*, lib. v. 20. 13); "Horae cedunt, et dies, et menses et anni, nec praeteritum tempus unquam revertitur" (Cicero, *De Senectute*, xix. 69). This last passage from Cicero's writings has been already referred to above in its English rendering. Amongst old sun-dial mottoes are also the following:—"Laborare est orare"; "Ora et labora"; "Qui laborat orat"; "Labor ipse voluptas"; "Labora dum lucet." In the following lines (English, and also in a kind of Mediaeval Latin hymnologist style) I have endeavoured to put together some of the views expressed by Carlyle, in his enthusiastic encomium on "true work" (included in *Past and Present*, 1843), and by other old and modern writers on the physical and mental advantages of work and exercise:—

"Let others rest, if they would rust
Before they must return to dust.
It's exercise that I advise,
And so will you, if you are wise."

"Ambulare, se curare;
Se movere est valere;
Laborare est orare;
Nox et quies imminent."

A memorial medal of the reign of Christian III of Denmark bears an inscription similar to those seen on old sun-dials, "Bedenck das Endt und die Stunde" ("Remember the end and the hour," that is to say, do not waste precious hours), recalling the words of Thomas à Kempis (1380–1471): "Memento semper finis, et quia perditum non redit tempus" (Book I. ch. 25. 11). A little gold enamelled coffin-shaped pendant in the British Museum bears the words, "Cogita mori ut vivas," *i.e.* "Think of dying, that you may live (properly in this world, and thus obtain everlasting life)." "Live to die" is one of many similar inscriptions to be found on old memorial finger-rings. The thought of death as an inducement to help others is well illustrated by many medals to the "pious memory" of founders of, and donors to, colleges, hospitals, and other philanthropic and charitable institutions.

This attitude towards death is to some extent illustrated by epitaphs of the following type:—

"That I spent, that I had;
That I gave, that I have;
That I kept, that I lost."

Amongst the various epitaphs containing passages like this, the best known in England are probably the Courtenay (Earl of Devonshire) one, and the Robert Byrkes one (Doncaster), of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries respectively; but the idea of such epitaphs was probably derived from one of the tales in the *Gesta Romanorum*, a monk's compilation of the thirteenth or fourteenth century.[332] In digging the foundations for a palace, says the tale, the workmen came upon a golden sarcophagus, inscribed as follows: "I have expended; I have given; I have kept; I have possessed; I do possess; I have lost; I am punished. What I expended, I had; what I gave away, I have." Possibly the idea is older still, for a saying preserved from the lost works of a Roman poet of the Augustan age is: "Hoc habeo quodcunque dedi."

The same idea is suggested by the Mediaeval doggerel, already referred to: "O dominus dives, non omni tempore vives; Fac bona dum vivis, post mortem vivere si vis." Compare the following epitaph-advice (1592): "Lyve well and Dye never, Dye well and Live ever" (epitaph on Joane Brodnax, 1592); also the more ordinary mottoes, "Vive ut vivas in vitam aeternam"; "Vive ut postea vivas."

Under the figure of a priest on a circular brass plate

[332] See the English translation by Charles Swan, the edition published by Routledge and Sons, London, 1905, tale xvi. page 109. In Swan's translation, revised and corrected by Wynnard Hooper, as reprinted by G. Bell & Sons (in their "York Library," London, 1905, page 39), the passage reads: "What I formerly expended, I have"—which is evidently a mistake.

in St. Peter's Church, St. Albans, occurs (according to Pettigrew) a Latin version as follows :—

"Quod expendi habui,
Quod donavi habeo ;
Quod negavi punior,
Quod servavi perdidi."

The same (according to Pettigrew) is on a brass of John Killyngworth (1412), formerly in Eddlesborough Church, now in Pitstone Church (Buckinghamshire), and also on a brass at St. Olave's Church, Hart Street, Minories, London. The same epitaph is quoted in the notes to Jeremy Taylor's *Holy Dying*, and is to be found in John Weever's *Ancient Funerall Monuments* (1631), which also contains the following once well-known epitaph inscription (similar to verses on a hearse quoted in Part IV. ii.) :—

"Respice quid prodest praesentis temporis aevum ;
Omne quod est, nihil est, praeter amare Deum."

In Weever's book (p. 19) are given two other Latin lines (also quoted in Jeremy Taylor's notes on the same subject), which were apparently taken from an addition to the *Vox Clamantis* (John Gower, 1325–1408) :—

"Da dum tempus habes ; tibi propria sit manus haeres ;
Auferet hoc nemo, quod dabis ipse Deo." [333]

Of the Courtenay epitaph which formerly existed in Tiverton Church (Devonshire) there are various accounts. It is mentioned in Tristram Risdon's *Survey of Devonshire* (finished in 1630) and in many other works, as being on the tomb of Edward Courtenay, third Earl of Devon, called the blind or "good erle," who died in 1419. The following is the version given by Pettigrew :—

"Hoe! hoe! who lies here ?
I, the goode Erle of Devonshere ;
With Maud, my wife, to me full dere,
We lyved togeather fyfty-fyve yere.
What wee gave, wee have ;
What wee spent, wee had ;
What wee left, wee loste."

[333] Cf. the "Temple Classics" edition of Taylor's *Holy Dying*, London, 1901, p. 353.

The epitaph on Robert Byrkes, dated 1579, formerly in Doncaster Parish Church, is given in Edward Miller's *History and Antiquities of Doncaster* (1804, p. 74), and in Richard Gough's *Sepulchral Monuments of Great Britain* it is mentioned as "new cut" upon the tomb:—

"Howe, Howe, who is heare?
I Robin of Doncaster and Margaret my feare [wife].
That I spent, that I had,
That I gave, that I have,
That I left, that I lost. A.D. 1579.
Quoth Robertus Byrkes, who in this world did reign
Threescore years and seven, and yet lived not one."

The Robert Byrkes in question was Mayor of Doncaster in the years 1569, 1573, and 1577.

The great popularity of such epitaphs was shown by their repetition in various parts of England. In the Parish Church of Leck, in Derbyshire, I have seen the following version forming the epitaph of a certain Thomas Osborn, who died in 1749:—

"As I was, so be ye;
As I am, ye shall be;
That I gave, that I have;
That I spent, that I had;
Thus I end all my cost;
What I left, that I lost."

H. P. Dodd refers to a tombstone in St. Stephen's Church, at Ipswich, to the memory of a certain Stephen Manister, who died in 1751. The tombstone, by desire of the deceased, bore the inscription:—

"What I gave, I have; what I spent, I had;
What I left, I lost, for want of giving."

On the picture, entitled, "Sic transit gloria mundi," by G. F. Watts, in the Tate Gallery (National Gallery of British Art) in London, the artist inscribed—

"What I spent, I had.
What I saved, I lost.
What I gave, I have."

Francis Quarles probably had a similar idea in mind when he wrote the puzzle verses—

"The goods we spend we keep; and what we save
We lose; and only what we lose we have."

And it is said that an epitaph on a lady in an Italian churchyard declares: "Here lies Estella, who transported a large fortune to heaven in acts of charity, and has gone thither to enjoy it." Cf. the seventh

stanza of Bishop C. Wordsworth's hymn—No. 365 in Hymns Ancient and Modern:—

> "We lose what on ourselves we spend,
> We have as treasure without end
> Whatever, Lord, to Thee we lend,
> Who givest all."

An epigram by Martial (*Epig.*, v. 42) points to the advantages of generous liberality from a worldly point of view; an English version, after William Hay, quoted by H. P. Dodd, ends:—

> "Who gives to friends so much from Fate secures,
> That is the only wealth for ever yours."

The corresponding Latin lines are:—

> "Extra fortunam est quicquid donatur amicis:
> Quas dedaris solas semper habebis opes."

A Greek epigram by Lucian (English version quoted by H. P. Dodd) points to the same conclusions:—

> "He who his wealth to generous ends applies,
> Is rich, and honoured by the good and wise.
> He, who for endless treasure ever sighs,
> Whilst pile on pile, and bags on bags arise,
> Shall toil like yonder bees with fruitless care,
> And others shall the luscious honey share."

Inscriptions on ancient Egyptian sepulchral stelae, &c., show, however, how in ancient Egypt charity was regarded as a virtue, the practice of which would be helpful to the practiser in the judgment of his soul after death.

There are, of course, numerous poems, paintings and works of art illustrating Mediaeval and later aspects of charity. One need merely instance the poems and works of art referring to Saint Elisabeth of Hungary (1207–1231), and the ceremonious distributions of alms and washings of the feet of the poor, as observed at the

various Christian courts of Europe; the legendary idea of Saint Martin dividing his military cloak with a naked beggar; the story of "The Lady of La Garaye," as poetically told (1862) by Mrs. Norton, and how Claude Toussaint, Comte de la Garaye, and his wife (died 1755, 1757), gave up their gay worldly life, converted their château of La Garaye (near Dinan, in Brittany) into a hospital, and studied medicine and surgery in order to take care of the sick.

Edward Gibbon,[334] the historian, in commenting on the above-mentioned Courtenay epitaph, says that it "inculcates with much ingenuity a moral sentence, which may, however, be abused by thoughtless charity." Modern England has, indeed, witnessed an exuberant growth of charitable institutions of all kinds, competing one with another, and sometimes impeding or suffocating each other, necessitating the expenditure of vast sums of money in their administration. Perhaps we are approaching a time when a great part of this work will be undertaken by the State out of the State revenues (income tax, &c.), and when those with superabundance of wealth will devote much of their superfluous funds towards paying off the National Debt. [But probably the present income tax and death duty arrangements will considerably reduce the number of persons able or inclined to act in this manner.] Perhaps also increased State-control would tend to diminish the abuses of charity and lessen the evil effects due to misdirected charity; it might also remove the feeling of degradation sometimes felt by deserving recipients of (well-directed) charity.

With all the preceding may be contrasted the reputed epitaph (anonymous, in the *Greek Anthology*, vii. 325) of King Sardanapalus, and the Latin epitaph (*Corp. Inscr. Lat.*, vol. ix. No. 2114): "Dum vixi vixi quomodo condecet ingenuom, quod comedi et ebibi tantum meu(m)

[334] In the "Digression on the Family of Courtenay," appended to Chapter lxi. of his *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. Gibbon regarded the English Courtenays as being a branch of the same house that produced the three Byzantine Emperors of that family name, who reigned at Constantinople. He pointed out that there was not much question of any fall in the English family, such as the motto of the Powderham Courtenays would seem to suggest: *Ubi lapsus, quid feci?* ("Where have I fallen; what have I done?").

est." The Sardanapalus epitaph is translated by W. R. Paton ("The Loeb Classical Library") as follows: "I have all I ate and drank and the delightful things I learnt with the Loves, but all my many and rich possessions I left behind."

With this may be contrasted No. 326 (attributed to the cynic philosopher, Crates of Thebes), which is rendered by Paton (*loc. cit.*) as follows: "I have all I got by study and by thought and the grave things I learnt with the Muses, but all my many and rich possessions Vanity seized on."

The passage of Cicero (*Tusc. Disputat.*, v. 35) relating to the Sardanapalus epitaph runs as follows: "Quo modo igitur jucunda vita potest esse, a quâ absit prudentia, absit moderatio? Ex quo Sardanapalli, opulentissimi Syriae regis, error adgnoscitur, qui incidi jussit in busto:

"'Haec habeo, quae edi, quaeque exsaturata libido.
Hausit: at illa jacent multa et praeclara relicta.'

'Quid aliud,' inquit Aristoteles, 'in bovis, non in regis sepulcro inscriberes? Haec habere se mortuum dicit, quae ne vivus quidem diutius habebat quam fruebatur.'" J. D. Rolleston refers to a similar epitaph by Simonides of Cos (*Anth. Graec.*, vii. 348) on Timocreon of Rhodes, "a fellow-poet celebrated alike for his satirical and gastronomic prowess." It is translated by W. R. Paton ("The Loeb Classical Library") as follows: "Here I lie, Timocreon of Rhodes, after drinking much and eating much and speaking much ill of men."

This may be compared with the next epigram in the Greek Anthology (vii. 349, anonymous), which is thus rendered by W. R. Paton (*loc. cit.*): "After eating little and drinking little and suffering much sickness I lasted long, but at length I did die. A curse on you all!"

XV. Death and Love, and the "Crown of Life." The Praise of Death.

A well-known picture might reasonably be interpreted by any one looking at it as representing the angel of death conducting away a human soul, who in the gloom recognizes the face of the messenger, transformed from that of death to that of love. To this picture a quotation from the first of Elizabeth Barrett Browning's *Sonnets from the Portuguese* has been added—

> "'Guess now who holds thee.'
> 'Death,' I said; but then
> The silver answer rang,
> 'Not Death, but Love.'"

Death is a veiled figure. What kind of aspect does the removal of the veil reveal to the dying? Is it the aspect suggested by Edward Bulwer-Lytton, Lord Lytton (1805–1873), the novelist, in two stanzas of his poem on *Love and Death*?—

> "When death smites the aged,
> Escaping above
> Flies the soul re-deliver'd
> By Death unto Love."
>
> "And if, nobly hoping,
> Thou gazest above,
> In Death thou beholdest
> The aspect of Love."

In keeping with this meaning is the following stanza from Edmond G. A. Holmes's poem, *To Death*:—

> "And yet perchance death's mask of terror hides
> The very face divinely fair and bright,
> Whose baffling beauty lures us on and guides
> Our hearts into the light."

Wordsworth poetically described a miserable crowd before "the footsteps of a throne," crying:—

> "'Thou art our king, O Death! to thee we groan.'
> I seemed to mount those steps; the vapours gave
> Smooth way: and I beheld the face of one
> Sleeping alone within a mossy cave,
> With her face up to heaven; that seemed to have
> Pleasing remembrance of a thought forgone;
> A lovely Beauty in a summer grave!"

Oliver Goldsmith refers to the removal of death's "mask of terror," in the following lines:—

"Death, when unmask'd, shows me a friendly face,
And is a terror only at a distance;
For as the line of life conducts me on
To Death's great court, the prospect seems more fair."

A kind of allegorical illustration of the same nature is suggested by what happened at Castle Perilous in Lord Tennyson's "Gareth and Lynette" (*The Round Table*), when Sir Gareth was confronted by the fearsome image of Death:—

"At once Sir Lancelot's charger fiercely neigh'd,
And Death's dark war-horse bounded forward with him.
Then those that did not blink the terror, saw
That Death was cast to ground, and slowly rose.
But with one stroke Sir Gareth split the skull.
Half fell to right and half to left and lay.
Then with a stronger buffet he clove the helm
As throughly as the skull; and out from this
Issued the bright face of a blooming boy
Fresh as a flower new-born."

"Death's mask of terror" has indeed to be bravely met by the strong and the weak, the healthy, the diseased and the dying.

The saying, "La Mort est le baiser de Dieu," is supposed to have been suggested from old Jewish (scriptural) sources. Death may perhaps, like Pain, be consoled by Love.

Cf. Alfred Austin, *Lamia's Winter Quarters*, London, 1898, p. 58:—

"The sweetest thing in all the world is pain
Consoled by love."

A mother may be consoled for both the pains of labour and the danger of death connected with child birth by the knowledge that a child has been born into the world. Cf. St. John xvi. 21: "A woman, when she is in travail, hath sorrow, because her hour is come: but as soon as she is delivered of the child, she remembereth no more the anguish, for joy that a man is born into the world."

This may be compared to a kind of "plasmal" idea of "immortality gained through having offspring," in some respects analogous to August Weismann's modern doctrine of the immortality of germ-plasm. Jelliffe in a review[335] of an article by G. Stanley Hall, on "Thanatophobia and Immortality," writes: "It is the idea of the life still existing beyond the body, the difficulty of accepting annihilation, that makes man adhere to the belief in the existence of souls in some other world after death. This provides a compensation for the crude fact of bodily death, just as love finds its redemption from mere passionate gratification in immortality in its offspring. . . . To live in one's children brings a satisfaction of the immortality wish, and removes the sting of death. Contemplation of their future may even enter into the happiness pictured in the life beyond."

The idea of Love and Death being united by a mother voluntarily undergoing the Caesarian operation for the sake of her child, who was thus delivered and lived, whilst she herself died, is expressed by the inscription on a monument (referred to under Heading xi.): "Mors et Amor tanto potuerunt funere jungi." The lady in question, the wife of Pierre de Puget, died at Senlis in 1673. So also, in the Greek play by Euripides, did Alcestis, the ideal woman, wife and queen, "succeed in uniting Love and Death," by "daring for love to die"—to save the life of her husband, Admetus.

From another (religious) point of view death and love may be connected, as an inscription recalls, which is cut on a château of Lavolte, on the Rhone: "Omnia praetereunt praeter amare Deum,"[336] a favourite saying of Kaspar Cruciger (1504–1548), the German Protestant theologian and friend of Luther—a saying doubtless after Thomas a Kempis.

Another manner of union of Death with Love or Friendship is implied by the pentameter—"Te teneam moriens deficiente manu"—addressed by Samuel Johnson, on his death-bed, to his old friend, Bennet Langton.

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[335] *Journ. Nervous and Mental Disease*, 1917, vol. xl. p. 274.

[336] See Miss S. F. A. Caulfeild's *House Mottoes and Inscriptions*, new edition, London, 1908, p. 107. Cf. the inscription on an old hearse which I quote in Part IV. ii., together with a reference to Thomas a Kempis.

The actual handclasp of a dying person may be sometimes analogous to the grasp of a patient being anaesthetised for a surgical operation.

Johnson held Langton in the highest esteem, and on one occasion said to Boswell: "I know not who will go to Heaven if Langton does not. Sir, I would almost say, *Sit anima mea cum Langtono*."

Johnson's fear of dying and dislike of the subject of death has probably been often overestimated. Undoubtedly he expressed his dread of it in conversations with Dr. William Adams (his old friend, Master of Pembroke College, Oxford) and others, and on different occasions he well explained the reason why, from his religious point of view, there were logical grounds for fearing death. Indeed, when Boswell (1777) mentioned an acquaintance, who used to fear death greatly, but at that time contemplated his approaching dissolution with equanimity, Johnson answered: "Sir, this is only a disordered imagination taking a different turn." He was also sometimes impatient of discussing or dwelling on the subject of death. He told Boswell (during their tour to the Hebrides): "If one was to think constantly of death, the business of life would stand still." On another occasion when Boswell pressed the subject on him, he seemed annoyed, and answered: "It matters not how a man dies, but how he lives. The act of dying is not of importance, it lasts so short a time. . . . A man knows it must be so and submits. It will do him no good to whine." When Boswell then tried to continue the conversation, he was quite provoked and said: "Give us no more of this . . . Don't let us meet to-morrow." Such conversations are, however, not out of keeping with his having had Greek words engraved on his watch (see Part II. xiv.), signifying, *For the night cometh* (after St. John ix. 4). Johnson had the courage not to fear to admit his fear regarding death—and, in his downright, blunt way, probably exaggerated that fear and, moreover, explained, his logical reasons for it. At the end he certainly met his approaching death in a manly manner.

A hope of the survival of conjugal love after death and a renewal of a happy married life in another world is obviously indicated on various ancient sarcophagi and sepulchral monuments. On a well-known archaic (sixth century B.C.) Etruscan terracotta sarcophagus, from Cervetri (the ancient Caere), in the British Museum [337]—which bears various allusions to death and a life after death—the husband and wife are represented reclining on the cover, apparently taking part in a banquet of the

[337] *Terracotta Sarcophagi, Greek and Etruscan, in the British Museum*, by A. S. Murray, London, 1898, Plate ix.

blessed in their after-life. This sarcophagus incidentally likewise suggests that the Etruscan ladies must have been honoured and esteemed, and must have held a high and influential position in the Etruscan social life of the period. The wealthy ancient Egyptians hoped for a life of domestic bliss after their earthly death. Thus, in the papyrus of Anhai (about 1040 B.C.) this lady is seen meeting her father and mother in the Sekhethetep (a kind of "Elysian Fields") and sailing with her husband in a boat on one of the canals; in the papyrus of the scribe Ani (about 1500 B.C.) the deceased is seen seated with his wife Thuthu, playing draughts.[338] Nowhere, however, is the hope for the renewal of conjugal happiness in the life to come better expressed than on the modern sepulchral monument of the surgeon, E. P. P. Macloghlin (1855–1904), and his wife, the work of the sculptor, Alfred Gilbert, R.A. (made about 1908). This is now to be seen in the hall of the Royal College of Surgeons (Lincoln's Inn Fields, London), and bears the appropriate motto, *Mors Janua Vitae*. The affectionate couple are represented in an attitude of tender endearment, holding and examining a richly ornamented casket in front of them (intended for the reception of their ashes), the decorations on which and on the base of the monument are emblematic of the survival of souls and spiritual love after death.

In regard to love's power of changing the aspect both of life and death, see George Meredith's beautiful *Hymn to Colour*, beginning:—

> "With Life and Death I walked, when Love appeared,
> And made them on each side a shadow seem."

[338] Cf. E. A. Wallis Budge, *A Guide to the Egyptian Collection in the British Museum*, London, 1909, pp. 137–151.

From the same highly poetical point of view Life and Death may be imagined as both "dancing" to the melody of Love—see *One Hundred Poems of Kabir*, translated by Rabindranath Tagore, 1914, Book ii. 103—as quoted by Robert Bridges, in *The Spirit of Man*, 1916, No. 66.

Love, like religious faith, may indeed be said to conquer death, when death loses its sting by means of love, and when love produces a fearlessness towards death and a willingness to die or to risk death for the sake of others. One of G. F. Watts's pictures in the Tate Gallery (London) represents "Love Triumphant" (over death). The idea of Love (in the form of Cupid) shooting a dart at Death is not unknown as a partly playful, partly serious, design amongst minor work of art.

See, for example, the illustration on page 248 of *Pétrarque*, by the Prince d'Essling and Eugène Müntz, Paris, 1902. In a poem in the *Greek Anthology*, Cupid is said to be able to shoot his darts "even to Acheron and the King of Hades." According to Thomas Stanley's English version (seventeenth century)—

> "His hand, though little, can an arrow throw;
> To Hell he shoots, and wounds the powers below." [339]

On the other hand, Love is often compelled to witness the separation of two lovers by Death. Compare the subject of one of Jost Ammann's emblematic devices (at the end of *Enchiridion Artis Pingendi*, Francof., 1578): Death is about to cut off two lovers with his scythe, whilst Cupid hovers over them. The idea of death cutting off lovers is illustrated by the following epigram attributed to Simonides, translated by John Sterling [340]:—

> "Ah! sore disease, to men why enviest thou
> Their prime of years before they join the dead?
> His life from fair Timarchus snatching now,
> Before the youth his maiden bride could wed."

Dodd compares this epigram with the epitaph on Euphemius (English version by Samuel Wesley junior) by St. Gregory Nazianzen

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[339] See the *Greek Anthology*, in Bohn's Classical Library, London, 1852, p. 150.

[340] Quoted by H. P. Dodd in his *Epigrammatists*, 1870, p. 54.

(about 325–390 A.D.), one of the fathers of the Eastern Christian Church :—

"A blooming youth lies buried here,
Euphemius, to his country dear.
Nature adorned his mind and face
With every Muse and every Grace;
About the marriage-state to prove,
But Death had quicker wings than Love."

The fanciful idea of Love wounding or killing Death is made use of in a Latin epigram of the early seventeenth century, by Balthasar Bonifacius,[341] of which H. P. Dodd[342] quotes the following English translation :—

"Yon eye, that into shade the sunlight throws,
Death, had he sight, would have no heart to close.
My life upon 't, e'en Death himself would die
Of love, at sight of yonder starry eye."

This poetical conceit may be compared with the idea of Time throwing a dart at Death, which is contained in the well-known epitaph sometimes ascribed to Ben Jonson, but almost certainly by William Browne (1591–1643?) on Mary, Countess of Pembroke (1561–1621), the mother of the poet's patron, William Herbert, third Earl of Pembroke (1580–1630), and sister of Sir Philip Sidney ("Astrophel") :—

"Underneath this sable hearse
Lies the subject of all verse,
Sidney's sister—Pembroke's mother.—
Death, ere thou hast slain another,
Learn'd and fair and good as she,
Time shall throw his dart at thee."

This beautiful epitaph may in some respects be compared with the following lines "on a dead lady," by Sir Edwin Arnold, from an Italian original (in which Death is poetically represented as being ennobled by the beauty and grace of the deceased, so that the survivor begins to look forward to, instead of dreading, the approach of his own death) :—

"Death cannot change her face, tender and fair!
'Tis she who changes Death, and makes him dear."

One has from several considerations to acknowledge that deaths, like births, are both necessary and beneficial

[341] Printed in Abraham Wright's *Delitiae Delitiarum*, Oxford, 1637, p. 97.

[342] H. P. Dodd, *The Epigrammatists*, London, 1870, p. 157.

for the progress of the human race. Moreover, as Montaigne wrote: "We hold death, poverty, and grief for our principal enemies; but this death, which some repute the most dreadful of all dreadful things, who does not know that others call it the only secure harbour from the storms and tempests of life, the sovereign good of nature, the sole support of liberty, and the common and sudden remedy of all evils?" Doubtless, in a kind of way, natural death may be regarded as a manifestation of Nature's love for her children.

It is, of course, in a quite different sense that the French poet, Pierre de Ronsard (1524–1585), wrote: "L'Amour et la Mort n'est qu'une mesme chose." Aleister Crowley has written a poem headed "Mors Janua Amoris,"[343] as if death were the entrance to both life and love, and he quotes a passage from Kelly: "None but the dead can know the worth of love." Here one may also call to mind the strange paradoxical truth (cf. Part I. B.) in biology, which Anatole France expresses thus: "All union of sexes is a sign of [coming] death; and we could not know love were we to live indefinitely."

It is interesting that on Roman works of art the Genius of Death so closely resembles a Cupid, the "Genius of Love." He differs by his more serious appearance: his torch is inverted and extinguished, or he is extinguishing it, and occasionally he is without wings, to express (according to C. W. King) the cessation of movement at death.

It seems as if death and decay are as necessary for life and growth as life and growth are for death and decay, as the existence of pain and sadness is for pleasure and gladness, grief for joy, misery for happiness, evil for good, opposition for valour, vice for virtue, pessimistic ideas for optimistic ideas, darkness for light, female sexuality for male sexuality, negative electricity for

[343] *The Works of A. Crowley*, 1905, vol. i. p. 175.

positive electricity; a consideration of this "polarity" throws some light on the "mystery" of pain, misery, and death. It is difficult to believe that anything necessary and beneficial for the race would not appear kind and beneficial to the individual also if only he were able to understand everything about it. According to a fragment of the *Hypsipyle* of Euripides, quoted by Plutarch and—as "from an old poet"—by Cicero,[344] "what is necessary cannot be grievous." "Death cannot be an evil, since it is universal"—is how Schiller expressed a similar idea, in conversation with his sister-in-law, Caroline von Wolzogen. Cf. Jean de La Bruyère (1645–1697): "If some men died and others did not, death would indeed be a most mortifying evil."

The motto, "Marcet sine adversario virtus" (from Seneca, *De Providentiâ*, cap. ii.), appears on the reverse of three medals which have been published as of the fifteenth century."[345] Mr. G. F. Hill has, however, kindly pointed out to me that only the last of these is genuine, namely, the medal by Jean de Candida,[346] of his friend and patron, Robert Briçonnet, enlightened scholar of the new learning, French statesman and Archbishop of Rheims, who died in 1497. I have been able to examine one of the supposed medals of Francesco Accolti.[347] In the production of that piece probably a plaster cast of the medal of Robert Briçonnet served as the foundation. In the plaster cast the portrait on the obverse could have been slightly altered, the legend changed to FRAN · ACCOLTIVS · ARET ·, and the date (1455) added (incuse) below the bust. From the plaster cast thus altered a sand-casting in bronze could easily be obtained. To some extent the motto on the medal of Briçonnet may be taken as suggesting the doctrine of progress by struggle. See also the remarks on this subject in the Preface to this book.

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[344] Referred to in Robert Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, Part 2, Sect. 3, Memb. 1.

[345] *Vide* A. Armand, *Les Médailleurs Italiens*, 2nd edition, Paris, 1883, vol. ii. pp. 51, 74, 85.

[346] See H. de la Tour, *Revue Numismatique*, Paris, 1894, 3rd series, vol. xii. p. 327, and pl. viii.

[347] Armand, *loc. cit.*, vol. ii. p. 51.

Man's whole life is a mixture of pleasure and pain, a *dulcamara* or *bittersweet*, a γλυκύπικρον. (Cf. Apuleius, *Florid.*, iv. 18.) C. W. Heckethorn (London, 1899, p. 68) writes that Thomas, Lord Erskine (1750–1823), the famous judge, "when dining one day at the house of Sir Ralph Payne, afterwards Lord Lavington, found himself so indisposed as to be obliged to retire after dinner to another room. When he returned to the company, Lady Payne asked how he found himself. Erskine took out a piece of paper and wrote on it":—

"'Tis true I am ill, but I need not complain;
For he never knew pleasure, who never knew Payne."

In regard to the idea of "polarity" with pleasure and gladness at one pole and pain and grief at the other, cf. Thomas Edward Brown (1830–1897):—

"For thus it is God stings us into life,
Provoking actual souls
From bodily systems, giving us the poles
That are His own, not merely balanced strife."

Though, indeed, more or less pain and grief seem to be essential to human life and to constitute part of "man's nature" (cf. Robert Burns: "Nature's law, That man was made to mourn"), man certainly often by his conduct in life helps Nature to prevent any deficiency in the supply, and, as Burns (in the same verses on "Man was Made to Mourn") has put it—

"Man's inhumanity to man
Makes countless thousands mourn."

J. G. Fichte (1762–1814) wrote: "All death in nature is birth, and in death appears visibly the advancement of life. There is no killing principle in nature, for nature throughout is life; it is not death that kills, but the higher life, which, concealed behind the other, begins to develop itself. Death and birth are but the struggle of life with itself to attain a higher form." Yet the mystery remains! Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767–1835) wrote: "Death is but a word to us. Our own experience alone can teach us the real meaning of the word."

In regard to the "mystery" of pain, misery, disease, and death, it is characteristic of man's anthropomorphic conception of Deity (or Nature) to think that pain might have been spared and mortals rendered happier if things on earth had been otherwise arranged from the beginning. Nietzsche even asked: "Is man only a mistake of God, or God only a mistake of man?" To Alphonso the Wise (1221–1284), King of Leon and Castille, is attributed the saying: "Had I been present at the creation, I would have given some useful hints for the better ordering of the universe." In the same way Étienne de Vignolles, surnamed "La Hire," a famous French condottiere (1390–1443), is said to have prayed: "O God, pray do for La Hire to-day, what Thou

wouldst La Hire would do for Thee, if he were God, and Thou wert La Hire." [348] In Maurice Maeterlinck's mystic play, *Pelléas et Mélisande* (1892), at the end of the second scene of the fourth act, the old King (Arkël) says: "Si j'étais Dieu, j'aurais pitié du coeur des hommes." Similarly, in George MacDonald's well-known novel, *David Elginbrod* (1862), the character after whom the novel is named, refers to an old epitaph at Aberdeen :—

> "Here lies I, Martin Elginbrod,
> Have mercy on my soul, Lord God,
> As I would have gin I were God
> And thou wert Martin Elginbrod."

According to W. S. Walsh's *Handbook of Literary Curiosities* (London, 1893) there have been many epitaphs of the same kind in both Great Britain and America, but the one alluded to from a churchyard in Aberdeen is as follows :—

> "Here lies I, Martin Elmrod;
> Have mercy on my soul, gude God,
> As I would have gin I were God,
> And thou wert Martin Elmrod."

Pity is indeed a worthy human sentiment, but probably the ultimate working of Nature in the universe is too perfect to make pity needed. To understand all would be to admire all, not to pardon, pity, or regret anything; though Madam de Staël's sentiment, *comprendre c'est pardonner*, is a true one of human sympathy. The working of Nature, it must be remembered, includes man's progress in scientific knowledge; Nature mercifully yields up some of the secrets of her methods to man, although man is popularly supposed, Prometheus-like, to wrest them from her; thus man gradually but surely acquires partial mastery over her, as soon as he is fit to be entrusted with such god-like power. How do we know that misuse of the power, thus gained through scientific knowledge, has not in the past led to retrograde steps in civilisation—and may not in the future plunge man back into the dark ages? In regard to man's anthropomorphic conception of Deity and Immortality cf. the end portion of Part II. ii.

Like life, love, charity, wisdom, folly, &c., dark death even has had admirers. The interpretation of death, like the interpretation of life, varies according to individual temperament and passing mood, and much may be sung by poets and others "in praise of death" (cf. under

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[348] Cf. Baron Ferd. Rothschild's *Personal Characteristics from French History*, London, 1896, p. 10.

Heading iv.). Thus, Walt Whitman, in his *Memories of President Lincoln*, hails death as follows:—

"Dark mother, always gliding near with soft feet,
Have none chanted for thee a chant of fullest welcome?
Then I chant it for thee, I glorify thee above all,
I bring thee a song that when thou must indeed come,
come unfalteringly."

"Come lovely and soothing death,
Undulate round the world, serenely arriving, arriving,
In the day, in the night, to all, to each,
Sooner or later, delicate death."

Cf. Sir Edwin Arnold (*She and He*):—

"What a strange delicious amazement is death,
To be without body and breathe without breath."

The same poet thus addresses a statue representing the Genius of Death[349]:—

"For he hath righted thee, deep-injured Death,
And graved thee in the glory which thou wearest;
So we shall call thee with our latest breath
Of friends the best, of dear consolers, dearest."

In a similar way Azrael, the Mohammedan "Angel of Death," is greeted as a welcome visitor.[350]

Pierre de Ronsard's *Hymne de la Mort* was also, in a poetical kind of way, in praise of death. According to Brantôme it was read (probably for consolation) by the young Frenchman, Chastelard, on the day of his execution at St. Andrews, February 22, 1562–3.[351]

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[349] Sir Edwin Arnold, *Poems Narrative and Lyrical*, Oxford, 1853, p. 120.

[350] *Pearls of Faith*, by Sir Edwin Arnold, London, 1883, p. 195.

[351] Chastelard, who on the mother's side was a grand-nephew of Bayard, the "Chevalier sans peur et sans reproche," was condemned to death after having been detected hiding in the bed-chamber of Mary Queen of Scots, February 12, 1562–3.

In his *Hymn to Death* Alfred Austin refers to a not always disagreeable influence of the idea of death on human life:—

> "I love the doubt, the dark, the fear,
> That still surroundeth all things here."

Of course, to those who believe in a future existence, especially to those who incline to the doctrine of a gradual evolution of souls by passage through the trials of life, natural death (but rarely if ever suicide) may sometimes appear as a reward for troubles bravely borne—in fact, as the "crown of life" (Edward Young, *Night Thoughts*, 1742); though the latter expression is usually applied to events of life other than its termination.

> "Unto each man his handiwork, unto each his crown,
> The just fate gives;
> Whoso takes the world's life on him and his own lays down,
> He, dying so, lives."
>
> (A. C. Swinburne, *Songs before Sunrise*.)

A suitable device for a mortuary medal of some persons would be that of a skeleton placing a wreath on an armed knight, emblematic of virtue and valour.

In connexion with this aspect of death I would quote the following passages, though I have referred to them elsewhere in the book:—

> "Mors, ultinam pavidos vitâ subducere nolles,
> Sed virtus te sola daret."
>
> Lucan (*Phars.*, lib. iv. 580).

> "Sweet Death, so let me call thee so, thy hand
> Alone can bring our shipwreck'd souls to land."
>
> Joseph Beaumont (1616–1699).

> "But where's the passage to the skies?—
> The road through Death's black valley lies.
> Nay, do not shudder at my tale;
> Tho' dark the shades, yet safe the vale."
>
> Charles Cotton (1630–1687).

A representation of "Death crowning Life," and Edward Young's words, alluded to above ("Death is the

crown of life"), are both suggested by the passage in Revelation (ii. 10): "Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life"—the German version of which appears on a seventeenth-century medal by Sebastian Dadler. St. John Chrysostom, in his Panegyric of the Martyrs, says: "Had they not been mortal, they could not have died. Had they not died, they would not have been martyrs; so that had there been no death, there would have been no crown. Without an end to life there would have been no martyrdom." A Sterbemünze on the death (1644) of Albert II, Duke of Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach, has the inscription, "Coronam vitae accipe." The words of Henry Vaughan (1622–1695) are quite similar in meaning: "Dear beautious Death, the jewel of the just." With this may be compared the design of G. F. Watts's allegorical painting, "Death crowning Innocence," innocence being symbolised by an infant tenderly held in the arms of a winged figure of Death. The idea of the martyr's "celestial crown" is illustrated further on by the description of certain memorial medals, finger-rings, &c. (See Parts III. and IV.)

One of Gabriello Symeoni's emblems is a human skull crowned with a wreath and accompanied by the words, "Victoria limes."[352] A death's-head crowned with a laurel wreath and surmounted by a winged hour-glass forms a prominent part of the device on the mortuary medal of a Dutch lady, dated 1662 (see description of the medal in Part III. under that date). A remarkable sculptured death's-head, crowned and winged, by the Lorraine sculptor of the sixteenth century, Ligier Richier, is figured in *Aesculape*.[353] It formed part of the mausoleum, which Antoinette de Bourbon had constructed (1552) at Joinville (Haute-Marne) in memory of her husband, Claude de Lorraine, first Duke of Guise, who died in 1550.[354]

[352] See *The Heroicall Devices of M. C. Paradin, &c.*, English translation by P. S., London, 1591, p. 319.

[353] *Aesculape*, Paris, supplement for February, 1913, p. 29.

[354] On similar works of the same artist, see Paul Denis, *Ligier Richier*, Paris, 1911, and Jules Guiart's article in *Aesculape*, Paris, January, 1913, p. 19.

As death is the final act or incident of life, it completes it and may be said to "crown" it in the same way that "finis coronat opus" ("the end crowns the work," "the end crowns all," though it may not justify the means). Epictetus, when asked by the Roman Emperor, Hadrian, why the dead were crowned with garlands, is said to have answered that it was to signify that by death they had overcome the labours, sorrows, and cares of this life. A "crown of death" is likewise spoken of, like one speaks of the "crown of love" and the "crown of life," and this reminds one of the succession of "triumphs" in Petrarch's *Trionfi:* the "Triumph of Love," the "Triumph of Chastity over Love," the "Triumph of Death over Chastity," of "Fame over Death," and so on.

A modern novel, by Rose Schuster, 1912, is called, *The Triple Crown*, *i.e.* the crown of love, the crown of life, and the crown of death. E. H. Parker's Ode on President J. A. Garfield (assassinated at Washington in 1881) is sometimes quoted as follows:—

"Life's race well run,
Life's work well done,
Life's crown well won,
Then comes rest."

Obviously also it may be conceived that death, like love, plays an important part in the unfolding, or evolution, and gradual perfection, of the soul. From this point of view death may perhaps be regarded as "the most beautiful adventure of the soul" that is afforded by life. I do not know if such an idea is in any way connected with the design of *Love and Death*, the painting by G. F. Watts,[355] but Edward Carpenter's

[355] In Watts's painting (1877), *Love and Death*, Death is represented as a tall figure draped in white, forcing his way through a portal, crushing Love back amongst garlands of roses.

Drama of Love and Death (London, 1912) argues that death may have a kind of awakening effect upon the soul similar to the generally acknowledged awakening and purifying effect of true love.

Charles Frohman, the theatrical manager, who was drowned when the steamship "Lusitania" was sunk (May 7th, 1915), was reported to have, just before his own death, given this as a reason why death should not be feared. His words were (as reported by the actress, Miss Rita Jolivet): "Why fear death? It is the most beautiful adventure in life." One of Frohman's greatest theatrical successes was his production of Sir James M. Barrie's *Peter Pan* (1904), and at the end of one of the acts the boy-hero of the play, Peter Pan, "the boy who would never grow up," says: "To die will be an awfully big adventure." [356]

Somewhat more distantly in connexion with the subject of love and death one may remember that countless beautiful women, who have long since passed away, like François Villon's "neiges d'antan," have been in a way immortalised by portraits and amatory verses, made of them or for them during their lives. Indeed, what better sepulchral memorials are there of good and beautiful women than portraits, epigrams, and dedications, sometimes addressed to the ladies themselves, and generally made by or for the men who loved and respected them during life! I remember a charming medallion portrait plaquette (cast), made in 1880, by the modern French sculptor and medallist, Louis Oscar Roty, of his wife, Madame Marie Augustine Roty, bearing the following Latin inscription below the portrait: "Tuum, carissima conjux, vultum aere fixi, ut te semper ante oculos habeam juvenem semper et felicem." It is a memorial of this kind that lasts, not for life alone, but, so to speak, for ever.

[356] Cf. *Charles Frohman*, by I. F. Marcosson and Daniel Frohman, London, 1916.

XVI. Predestination and the Free Will in regard to Aspects of Death.

It cannot be denied that the fatalistic idea expressed in the Italian motto of the Russells (Dukes of Bedford, &c.), *Che sara sara*[357] ("What will be, will be"), has in practice often proved helpful and comforting to countless persons besides Oriental soldiers and followers of Mohammed.

This brings up the whole question of whether it is justifiable to support and maintain and adhere to a religious or moral doctrine, or to invent one, because the doctrine in question is useful and comforting, and of noble or beneficial influence in some particular calling or mode of life—even when one cannot absolutely believe in the truth of it. Be such a course justifiable, surely it must be admitted that Napoleon, from his military point of view, improved on the ordinary fatalistic, *Che sara sara*, if, as is supposed (see further on) he declared that Death might overtake the coward, but never the brave, until his hour was come.

The passive "Kismet" attitude towards life and death, right and wrong, may, however, well be contrasted with that expressed in the oft-quoted quatrain of W. E. Henley (1849–1903)—

> "It matters not how strait the gate,
> How charged with punishments the scroll,
> I am the master of my fate;
> I am the captain of my soul."

Cf. Longfellow (*The Builders*):—

> "We are architects of Fate,
> Working in these walls of Time."

[357] This motto, or an equivalent, occurs on various medalets. I remember, for instance, having seen a medal-like "pass" of some kind, bearing the Bedford coat of arms, with the motto in question below it.

In connexion with Henley's above-mentioned verses, the tenth edition of Bartlett's *Familiar Quotations* refers to some lines by James Benjamin Kenyon, ending :—

"Be the proud captain still of thine own fate."

Cf. also the following verses in praise of equanimity attributed to Archilochus about B.C. 714–676.[358]

"Toss'd on a sea of troubles, Soul, my Soul,
Thyself do thou control;
And to the weapons of advancing foes
A stubborn breast oppose;
Undaunted 'mid the hostile might
Of squadrons burning for the fight.

Thine be no boasting, when the victor's crown
Wins thee deserved renown;
Thine no dejected sorrow, when defeat
Would urge a base retreat;
Rejoice in joyous things—not overmuch
Let grief thy bosom touch
'Midst evil, and still bear in mind,
How changeful are the ways of humankind."

There is no real contradiction between the vigorously objective attitude of W. E. Henley, &c., and the mystic, more passive, attitude, expressed by many, such as is suggested by the following stanza of Omar Khayyam :—

"I sent my Soul through the Invisible
Some letter of that After-life to spell,
And by and by my Soul returned to me,
And answered, I myself am Heaven and Hell."

Death may sometimes be successfully resisted by determined action, and a plaque, already referred to, representing Death in an attitude of fear or submission before Valour (or Virtue), was perhaps intended to express this idea. Napoleon, who believed in his "star"

[358] English version, after Hay, given by Lord Neaves, *The Greek Anthology*, Edinburgh, 1874, p. 105.

of destiny, is (as stated above) supposed to have said, "Death overtakes the coward, but never the brave until his hour is come"—a useful idea—more helpful than the Oriental "Kismet" attitude—for a military commander to instil into the minds of his followers, but a curious aphorism to come from one who himself indirectly caused the death of such a multitude of brave men.

In one of her letters Madame de Sévigné, speaking of Marshal Turenne's death (1675), pointed out how glorious it was and how his reputation could have gained nothing had he lived longer. The cannon that killed him at that moment seemed to her to have been for that very purpose "loaded from all eternity."

Lucan (*Pharsalia*, ii. 75) wrote: "Mors ipsa refugit Saepe virum." Cf. James Russell Lowell:—

> "The brave makes danger opportunity;
> The waverer, faltering with the chance sublime,
> Dwarfs it to peril."

Compare also the proud motto of Margaret of Austria (1480–1530), Regent of the Netherlands, daughter of the German Emperor Maximilian I, and (by her mother) granddaughter of Charles the Bold of Burgundy: "Fortune—infortune—forte une."

The motto of Margaret of Austria may be read on her tomb in the church at Brou. On the upper slab of the tomb she is sculptured lying in queenly state, crowned with a diadem and clothed in rich robes, with a greyhound sleeping at her feet. On the lower slab she is represented, by a kind of *gisant* figure, as a mortal woman robbed of all her state.[359] This motto of the great princess belongs to the group of which those of the Rohan family of France and the Barons of Coucy (who built Coucy Castle, in Dép. Aisne, France, 1225–1230) may be accepted as the types:—

> "Roi ne peux, duc ne veux, Rohan je suis."
>
> "Roi ne suys,
> Ne prince, ne duc, ne comte aussy,
> Je suys le sire de Coucy."

There are several variations of these Rohan and Coucy mottoes.

[359] Cf. Christopher Hare (Marian Andrews), *The High and Puissant Princess Marguerite of Austria*, London, 1907, p. 336.

Here I would refer again to Albrecht Dürer's famous copper-plate engraving (1513), which he himself called "Der Reuter" (Fig. 37), representing the "true knight,'

FIG. 37.—Dürer's "The Knight, Death and the Devil" (1513).

a mounted soldier in splendid armour, who rides onwards to the end, by the way of duty, not deterred by the threats of Death, nor disturbed by the suggestions of the loath-

some Devil (with a pig-like snout [360]), who both accompany him. Death explains to the knight the meaning of an emblem of mortality (a human skull) which lies exposed before him, and points out the common end which necessarily awaits every man; the Devil doubtless is seizing the opportunity for recommending the enjoyment of the grosser practices of hedonism before the inevitable decay of the body removes all opportunity for fleshly delights. Perhaps the fox's skin on the knight's lance signifies that he has successfully overcome the cunning temptations of the Devil. In this wonderful allegorical design by Dürer the ideal knight is not represented as the champion of chivalry in Mediaeval romance, the rescuer of beautiful and distressed princesses from "durance vile," nor as the Renaissance "chevalier sans peur et sans reproche," but rather as the "Christian hero" (typified later on in John Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress"), or, still more so, as the true "knight of duty" of the modern civilised world, irrespective of differences in creed. He is the brave soldier and morally courageous man :—

> "Der dem Tod ins Angesicht schauen kann,
> Der Soldat allein, ist der freie Mann."
> (Schiller, *Wallensteins Lager*, Elfter Auftritt.)

Lionel Cust, in his fine explanation of *The Engravings of Albrecht Dürer* (London, 1894, p. 62), quotes a German poem in regard to the design in question :—

> "Across my path though Hell should stride,
> Through Death and Devil I will ride."

[360] There is something of the goat about this composite animal, and it may be noted that according to the strange notions of the Eastern sect called the "Manicheans," the Devil was represented by a goat. Dürer's devil has certainly no obviously enticing qualities, and it is difficult to imagine that such a devil would find many followers.

The original German (for the reference to which I am indebted to Mr. Campbell Dodgson) is given in Fried. Christoph. Förster's *Sängerfahrt* (Berlin, 1818, pp. 61–63). It is from an anonymous poem, entitled, "Der Ritter durch Tod und Teufel," which ends with the following lines:—

> "Lass kommen die Hölle mit mir zu streiten,
> Ich werde durch Tod und durch Teufel reiten."

Of course, many different explanations of Dürer's meaning have been offered. It has been suggested that the horseman is not a good knight, but a bad and worldly one, being warned by death, just as in the Mediaeval "Tale of the Three Living and the Three Dead" the great and powerful of this world are represented as being reminded of the inevitable end (see Part I. B.). It has also been suggested that the horseman represents Franz von Sickingen (1481–1523), the great knight of the reformation in Germany, and that the letter **S.** on the tablet was meant by Dürer to stand for Sickingen, and that the castle in the distance was meant for Sickingen's Castle of Ebernburg, near Kreuznach. But the features of the horseman do not resemble those of Sickingen in his known portraits. On this whole subject see Joseph Heller's *Das Leben und die Werke A. Dürers*, Bamberg, 1827, vol. ii. p. 503. On page 151 of the same work Heller describes a painting at Brussels, which has been named both "Der Ritter durch Tod und Teufel" and "Franz von Sickingen," and was probably the work of another artist, though based on Dürer's engraving in question. The painting at Brussels inspired the German poem "Der Ritter durch Tod und Teufel," which I have above referred to, and which is quoted by Heller at length (*loc. cit.*, p. 504). I have already mentioned (Part I. B.) that the German author De la Motte-Fouqué (1777–1843) wrote his story, *Sintram und seine Gefährten*, as a kind of explanation of the same engraving.

The *Psychostasia* scenes on Greek vases, &c., described in Part IV., have much to do with this Heading, and so, strictly speaking, have all representations of Doom (Ker, or the "Keres"), Necessity, and Inexorable Fate (Atropos and the other Moirae or Parcae). The doctrine of predestination was frequently used in the best ancient Classical Literature for the purpose of consolation, but not as an excuse for assuming a lazy, passive attitude in life.

XVII. Pessimism. Aspects of Death from Standpoints of Pessimism in Regard to Life. Thanatophilia.

This aspect, which should really have followed No. iv., may be contrasted with Nos. xiv. and xv. (optimistic views).

A somewhat cynical or mocking attitude towards the "eternal riddle"—the meaning of life and death—or rather towards endeavours to answer the riddle—was assumed by Heinrich Heine—

> "Sagt mir, was bedenkt der Mensch?
> Woher ist er gekommen? Wo geht er hin?
> Es murmeln die Wogen ihr ewiges Gemurmel,
> Es wehet der Wind, es fliegen die Wolken,
> Es blicken die Sterne gleichgültig und kalt,
> Und ein Narr wartet auf Antwort."

The following famous epigram by Palladas from the Greek Anthology (*Anth. Graec. Palat.*, x. 58) is hardly a desirable development of Solon's *ὅρα τέλος μακροῦ βίου* (referred to under medals in Part III.)—

> Γῆς ἐπέβην γυμνός, γυμνός θ' ὑπὸ γαῖαν ἄπειμι·
> Καὶ τί μάτην μοχθῶ, γυμνὸν ὁρῶν τὸ τέλος;

Latin versions of it have been given by Janus Pannonius (died 1472), William Lily (died 1522), and Sir Thomas More (died 1535), the last one as follows:—

> "Nudus ut in terram veni, sic nudus abibo.
> Quia frustra sudo, funera nuda videns?"

Cf. *Job* i. 21: "Naked came I out of my mother's womb, and naked shall I return thither"; also the First Epistle of St. Paul to Timothy vi. 7: "We brought nothing into this world, and it is certain we can carry nothing out." St. John Chrysostom (A.D. 347–407), in regard to his persecution by the Empress Eudoxia (through whose influence over her husband, Arcadius, Emperor of the East, Chrysostom was exiled in A.D. 404), made light of all the harm she could possibly do him, and amongst other things said: "Be it she confiscates my goods, naked came I unto the world and naked must I return."

A rather happy turning of the epigrams of the *Intravi nudus* type is given by Longfellow in his *Tales of a Wayside Inn*:—

"Our ingress into the world
Was naked and bare;
Our progress through the world
Is trouble and care;
Our egress from the world
Will be nobody knows where:
But if we do well here
We shall do well there."

Longfellow's English version seems, however, to have been taken from that of John Edwin (1749–1790):—

"A man's ingress into the world is naked and bare,
His progress through the world is trouble and care;
And lastly, his egress out of the world, is nobody knows where.
If we do well here, we shall do well there:
I can tell you no more if I preach a whole year."

In a somewhat similar way Sir Rabindranath Tagore reasons: "Because I love this life, I know I shall love death as well."

In regard to "man's ingress and egress" the following curious epigram of the time of King James I of England is quoted in Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, edition of 1849, vol. ii. p. 275:—

"Nature, which headlong into life did throng us,
With our feet forward to our grave doth bring us;
What is less ours than this our borrowed breath?
We stumble into life, we goe to death."

Sir Thomas Browne in his Hydriotaphia (1658) also alluded to this custom of carrying the corpse with the feet forwards at funerals.

Palladas (*Anth. Graec. Palat.*, x. 85) refers to us mortals as being kept and reared up for Death, like a herd of swine to be slaughtered. Compare Marian Evans Cross ("George Eliot") in the *Spanish Gipsy* (Book ii.):—

"Death is the king of this world: 'tis his park
Where he breeds life to feed him. Cries of pain
Are music to his banquet."

An epigram in the Greek Anthology, attributed to Simonides, refers pessimistically and cynically to the perpetual succession of heirs, each heir in turn rejoicing when his predecessor dies. Marcus Aurelius, however,

in his "Meditations," reflects that men seldom die without others thereby becoming, or fancying themselves, the better off; and he puts this forward as a kind of consolation, to be added to other consolations, for the prospect of one's death.

There may be pessimists (as there doubtless have been many) who think life cruel because they fear that the soul with all its noble aspirations must decay and die with the body. W. S. Walsh quotes the following epitaph by Professor William Kingdon Clifford (1845–1879), the mathematician: "Traveller, pass not by this inscription, but stand, and hear, and learn something before you pass on. There is no boat of Hades, no boatman Charon, no dog Cerberus, but all the dead are bones and dust and nothing else." This reminds one of the late Latin epitaphs with words such as, *Pulvis, cinis, nihil.*

Even the idea of death as a dreamless unending sleep may seem dreadful or sad, as it is represented in the idyl on the death of Bion, formerly attributed to Moschus:—

> Αἰαῖ, ταὶ μαλάχαι μὲν, ἐπὰν κατὰ κᾶπον ὄλωνται,
> Ἥδε τὰ χλωρὰ σέλινα τό τ' εὐθαλὲς οὔλον ἄνηθον
> Ὕστερον αὖ ζώοντι καὶ εἰς ἔτος ἄλλο φύοντι·
> Ἄμμες δ' οἱ μεγάλοι καὶ καρτεροί, οἱ σοφοὶ ἄνδρες,
> Ὁππότε πρᾶτα θάνωμες, ἀνάκοοι ἐν χθονὶ κοίλαι
> Εὕδομες εὖ μάλα μακρὸν ἀτέρμονα νήγρετον ὕπνον.

What is the object of it all, the pessimists have asked: to what can life and all its strivings lead but to decay and the silent darkness of the grave? Thus on a seal of Chosroës I, the Great, of Persia (Part IV. ii.), there is said to have been an inscription signifying, "The way is very dark, what can I see? One lives once only, what can I desire? Behind me is Death, what can delight me?" In the Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam (Edward FitzGerald's

translation, 4th edition, stanza 63) the pessimistic idea is the same, though the context is "Epicurean":—

"Oh threats of Hell and Hopes of Paradise!
One thing at least is certain—*This* life flies;
One thing is certain, and the rest is Lies;
The Flower that once has blown for ever dies."

From this point of view one has to admit that "every life is a tragedy," because life always ends in death. Such an unpleasant conception of life may succeed the naïve idea of the children's fairy tales which end with the words: "And they all lived happily ever afterwards." Nevertheless, with the growth of intellect and knowledge (with or without the support of religious faith) the mental outlook tends to gradually enlarge, and then man becomes inclined to admit: Life is *not necessarily* a tragedy, even though it necessarily ends in death; perhaps even, could one know all, life would *never* have the aspect of a real tragedy, and what seems to be a "life-tragedy," or a tragic ending of "life," may really be merely a tragic incident or episode in the long unending drama of a soul.

Compare Psalm lxxxix. 47, 48, "Remember how short my time is: wherefore hast Thou made all men in vain? What man is he that liveth, and shall not see death? Shall he deliver his soul from the grave?" So also the following Latin verses, inscribed on a sun-dial at Monza (Italy), and elsewhere:—

"Quod fuit, est, et erit, perit articulo brevis horae.
Ergo quid prodest esse, fuisse, fore?
Esse, fuisse, fore, heu! tria florida sunt sine flore,
Nam simul omne perit quod fuit, est, et erit."

On a large brass astrolabe and sun-dial, signed by Ieronimus Wulparia, of Florence (1577), in the museum of Perugia,[361] are two inscriptions, as follows:—

"Nil nomen, nil fama juvat, nil candida virtus:
Tempus enim rapido singula dente vorat."

"Hora fugit, celeri properat mors improba passu."

[361] See Mrs. Gatty's *Book of Sun-Dials*, enlarged edition of 1900.

In this connexion I would quote stanzas 9 and 11 of Gray's *Elegy in a Country Churchyard*:—

"The boast of heraldry, the pomp of pow'r,
And all that beauty, all that wealth e'er gave,
Await alike the inevitable hour.
The paths of glory lead but to the grave.
Can storied urn, or animated bust,
Back to its mansion call the fleeting breath?
Can honour's voice provoke the silent dust,
Or flatt'ry soothe the dull cold ear of death?"

Compare also certain passages in Shakespeare's plays—

"And so, from hour to hour, we ripe and ripe,
And then from hour to hour, we rot and rot:
And thereby hangs a tale."
(*As You Like It*, act ii., scene 7; see also other plays.)

"To-morrow, and to-morrow, and to-morrow,[362]
Creeps in this petty pace from day to day,
To the last syllable of recorded time;
And all our yesterdays have lighted fools
The way to dusty earth [dusty death]. Out, out, brief candle!
Life's but a walking shadow; a poor player,
That struts and frets his hour upon the stage,
And then is heard no more: it is a tale[363]
Told by an idiot, full of sound and fury,
Signifying nothing." (*Macbeth*, act v., scene 5.)

Almost as pessimist, though less painful, is the meaning expressed by John Gay (1688–1732), in his own epitaph (inscribed on his sepulchral monument in Westminster Abbey)—

"Life is a jest, and all things show it;
I thought so once, and now I know it."

---

[362] Cf. Silas Weir Mitchell (*Of One Who seemed to have Failed*): "Death's but one more to-morrow."

[363] Cf. Psalm xc. 9: "We spend our years as a tale that is told."

This *jeu d'esprit*, although it has been engraved on his tomb, must not be regarded as necessarily the true expression of Gay's attitude towards life. It probably represents merely a passing mood, and may perhaps be compared to that expressed in the following French verses:—

"La vie est vaine:
Un peu d'amour,
Un peu de haine . . .
Et puis—bon jour!

La vie est brève:
Un peu d'espoir,
Un peu de rêve . . .
Et puis—bon soir!"

Some may be or may have been pessimists because of certain tenets in the Christian or other religions, especially with regard to future punishments and the hopelessness of the idea of everlasting damnation.

Here one may quote some stanzas from William Dunbar's magnificent "Lament for the Makaris [Poets]," composed about 1508:—

"Our pleasance here is all vain glory,
This false world is but transitory,
The flesh is bruckle, the fiend is slee [sly, cunning].
Timor mortis conturbat me.

The state of man doth change and vary,
Now sound, now sick, now blythe, now sary [sorry],
Now dancing merry, now 'like to dee.'
Timor mortis conturbat me.

No state on earth here stands sicker [safe],
As with the wind waves the wicker [reed],
So waves this world's vanity.
Timor mortis conturbat me."

Cf. the following stanzas from the celebrated Mediaeval Latin monastic chant (supposed to be by Thomas of Celano, who died in 1253) included in the Roman Catholic Mass for the Dead:—

"Dies irae, dies illa
Solvet saeclum in favilla,
Teste David cum Sibylla."

"Quantus tremor est futurus,
Quando Judex est venturus,
Cuncta stricte discussurus!"

"Judex ergo cum sedebit,
Quidquid latet, apparebit:
Nil inultum remanebit."

"Quid sum miser tunc dicturus?
Quem patronum rogaturus,
Cum vix justus sit securus?"

Some of these stanzas are sung by the choir in the cathedral scene towards the end of the first part of Goethe's *Faust*. Cf. also Part II. v., on sayings such as: "Inferno nulla est redemptio," and Dante's "Lasciate ogni speranza, voi ch'entrate."

If there is a single infallible judgment on a man's whole life after his death, such a judgment must be extremely interesting—if not too terrifying—for the mind of the individual in question—supposing, of course, that the mind survives death and is able to know about the verdict and the steps by which it is reached. How interesting, for instance, it would be for a thoughtful physician to witness the balancing up, one against another, of his own or his friends' good and evil activities during life, the potentialities, the abilities, the disabilities, and the physical and mental limitations. For, the estimation of the disabilities and limitations would surely involve all sorts of questions of medical interest: questions of congenital and inherited diseases and defects, brain conditions, the supply of internal secretions from the pituitary gland and other endocrine glands, &c.

It was especially the orthodox teaching of Mediaeval Christianity that (theoretically) favoured a pessimistic attitude towards the life of this world. All worldly enjoyments were regarded as essentially sinful, and as so many devil's snares surrounding man's life from cradle to grave. The life after death was everything. Saint Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux, in spite of his strenuously objective nature, exclaimed, "Nasci miserum, vivere poena, angustia mori!" Compare his hymn, *Cum sit Omnis Homo Fenum*:—

"Homo dictus es ab humo,
Cito transis, quia fumo
Similis efficeris. . . .
O sors gravis! O sors dura!
O lex dira, quam natura
Promulgavit miseris!
Homo nascens cum moerore
Vitam ducis cum dolore
Et cum metu moreris."

The *Rythmus de Contemptu Mundi*, which has been

attributed to St. Bernard of Clairvaux,[364] contains the following stanzas:—

"Homo miser, cogita; mors omnes compescit,
Quis est ab initio, qui morti non cessit?
Quando moriturus est, omnis homo nescit:
Hic qui vivit hodie, cras forte putrescit."

"Qui de morte cogitat, miror quod lactatur;
Cum sic genus hominum morti deputatur,
Quo post mortem transeat homo, nesciatur:
Unde quidam sapiens ita de se fatur:

Dum de morte cogito, contristor et ploro,
Verum est quod moriar, et tempus ignoro,
Ultimum quod nescio, cui jungar choro:
Ut cum sanctis mereat jungi, Deum oro."

"Quam breve festum est, haec mundi gloria!
Ut umbra hominis, sunt ejus gaudia,
Quae semper subtrahunt aeterna praemia
Et ducunt homines ad dura devia."

"O esca vermium! O massa pulveris!
O roris vanitas, cur sic extolleris?
Ignorans penitus, utrum cras vixeris!
Fac bonum omnibus, quamdiu poteris."[365]

In the famous Latin poem, *De Contemptu Mundi*, by Bernard of Morlaix (or "of Cluny"), a Benedictine monk of the twelfth century, the following lines occur:—

"Hic breve vivitur, hic breve plangitur, hic breve fletur;
Non breve vivere, non breve plangere, retribuetur."

These lines are in England well known, owing to J. M. Neale's English hymn, "Brief life is here our portion," and another part of the poem is still popular in the form of Neale's hymn, "Jerusalem the golden." Cf. "Nasci, laborare, mori." Some naturally maintained that death was better than life, "Melior mors vitâ" (a motto used by the Dutch prelate, J. van Neercassel, who died in 1686).

The following verses (chiefly "Leonine" hexameters) are from a Latin poem of the twelfth century, attributed to Bernard of Morlaix, but included by J. Mabillon

[364] See J. Mabillon's collection of the works of St. Bernard of Clairvaux.

[365] Some of the stanzas of this Latin poem are printed, under the heading, *De Mundi Vanitate*, amongst the *Latin Poems commonly attributed to Walter Mapes*, collected and edited by Thomas Wright, published by the Camden Society, London, 1841, pp. 147, 148.

amongst the works of St. Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux (I have followed the text given by Mabillon) :—

"Vox divina sonat quod nemo spem sibi ponat
In rebus mundi, quae causam dant pereundi.
Quisquis amat Christum, mundum non diligit istum
Sed quasi foetores spernens illius amores,
Estimat obscoenum quod mundus credit amoenum."

"Vita brevis, velut umbra levis sic annihilatur,
Sic vadit, subitoque cadit, dum stare putatur."

"Fallitur insipiens vitae praesentis amore:
Sed sapiens noscit quanto sit plena dolore.
Quidquid formosum mundus gerit et pretiosum,
Floris habet morem, cui dat natura colorem,
Mox ut siccatur totus color annihilatur."

Cf. the Mediaeval "Leonine" hexameters:—

"Dic, homo, vas cinerum, quid confert flos facierum?
Copia quid rerum? Mors ultima meta dierum."

I have selected the following stanzas from a Latin poem (of the twelfth century?) on the Worldly Life—"Vita Mundi"—as edited from the manuscript by Édélestand du Méril, in his work, *Poésies populaires latines du Moyen Âge.*[366] By one authority the poem has been attributed to St. Bernard of Clairvaux :—

"Heu! heu! mundi Vita,
Quare me delectas ita?
Cum non possis mecum stare,
Quid me cogis te amare?"

"Vita mundi, res morbosa,
Magis fragilis quam rosa,
Cum sis tota lacrymosa,
Cur es mihi graciosa?"

[366] Édélestand du Méril, *Poésies populaires latines du Moyen Âge*, Paris, 1847, p. 108. Compare the verses, "de contemptu mundano," which I have quoted in Part I. A., from a manuscript poem, dated 1267, published by Édélestand du Méril, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

"Vita mundi, res acerba,
Vita levis et superba,
Cum sis nimis iracunda
Cur me petis furibunda?"

"Vita mundi, res immunda,
Solis impiis jocunda,
Nutrimentum vitiorum,
Quid habes in me decorum?"

"Vita mundi, res amara,
Vita brevis atque rara,
Cum sis tota plena dolo,
Cur in te vivere volo?"

"Ego te nunquam amabo
Et in te nunquam sperabo;
Contra te semper pugnabo;
Ad te nunquam propinquabo."

"Si volebam jejunare,
Me dicebas aegrotare,
Et monebas manducare,
Nisi vellem pejorare."

"Ad hoc regnum me vocare,
Juste Judex, tu dignare,
Quem expecto, quem requiro
Ad quem anxius suspiro."

Owing to the remarkable lilt of the above verses, one can imagine them being roared out like a modern Moody and Sankey or a Salvation Army hymn. The wonderful lilt of some of the Latin Mediaeval hymns by Bernard of Morlaix and others may reflect the spirit of the armies of monks and Crusaders who thronged to the Holy Land. In "Jerusalem the Golden" Bernard of Morlaix held out to the Mediaeval world something to be aimed at beyond the earthly Jerusalem. The latter was, indeed, captured by the Crusaders, who were the real "Salvation Army" of Mediaeval times. A genuine Latin war-hymn chorus is that attributed to Berthier of Orleans[367]:—

"Lignum crucis
Signum ducis
Sequitur exercitus;
Quod non cessit
Sed praecessit
In vi Sancti Spiritus."

[367] See J. M. Ludlow, *The Age of the Crusades*, Edinburgh, 1897, p. 2. The religious poets of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were indeed the great masters of the Mediaeval Latin rhyming verse—St. Bernard of Clairvaux, Bernard of Morlaix, St. Thomas Aquinas ("Doctor Angelicus"), Thomas of Celano, Jacopone (da Todi), Adam de Saint-Victor, &c.

With all these verses *de contemptu mundi* may be compared portions of various other Latin poems and prose writings relating to "scorn of the world." The shorter one of two such poems by Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury (1033–1109), called "the second Augustine," as printed in Migne's *Patrologiae Cursus Completus*, commences :—

"Quid probitas, quid nobilitas, nisi mors animarum?
Unde superbit homo, cum constet quod moriatur?
Nam caro mortalis, et quisquis ei famulatur
Morte perit duplici, quia post obitum cruciatur.
Quid prodest homini, si vivat saecula centum,
Cum moriens vitam transisse putet quasi ventum?"

In Anselm's longer *Carmen de Contemptu Mundi* the following passages are characteristic :—

"Non tonsura facit monachum, non horrida vestis;
Sed virtus animi, perpetuusque rigor.
Mens humilis, mundi contemptus, vita pudica,
Sanctaque sobrietas: haec faciunt monachum.
Haec vos in coelum, monachi, quadriga levabit:
Haec post hanc vitam praemia summa dabit.
Nil tonsura juvat, juvat aut vilissima vestis,
Si lupus es, quamvis esse videris ovis."

"Magnum nomen habes, clara est tibi fama per orbem,
Laudat te mundus; sed moriere tamen."

"Fumus et umbra levis tota est haec gloria mundi."

In the following vivid description he almost overdraws the ills that human flesh is heir to; but we must remember that very much less was known in Anselm's days than now in regard to the medical and surgical relief of aches and pains of all kinds. Nowadays pain can frequently be removed by ordinary rational methods which formerly lasted very long or was only escaped from by death. Now we have the various anodyne coal-tar derivatives.

Surgical anaesthesia—the "death of pain"—and surgical asepsis and antisepsis—the "death of microbes"—often enables the modern healing art to ward off death and "kill" the cause of pain.

"Si nunc aspicias animalia caetera quaeque;
Invenies tantis subdita nulla malis.
Nos capitis laterumque dolor, febrisque fatigat:
Totum hominem tollit lepra, chiragra manus,
Dira podagra pedes; oculos ophthalmia caecat:
Obsidet arctati pectoris asthma vias.
Laesa suos claudit lithiâ vesica meatus:
Viscera torquentur, parsque pudenda, colon.
Dens dolet, aut cervix; os torpet; lingua ligatur.
Splen tumet; aegrotat pulmo, laborat hepar.
Cor marcet; renes patiuntur; solvitur alvus;
Brachia nil possunt; languida crura jacent."

Compare the whole trend of Anselm's verses to the following epigram in the Greek Anthology by Palladas, an epigrammatist said to have been admired by Erasmus of Rotterdam. The English version is given by Lord Neaves (*The Greek Anthology*, Edinburgh, 1874, p. 107):—

"The Body is a torture to the soul;
A hell, a fate, a load, a stern control,
That weighs it to the ground with many woes,
Nor e'er allows it to enjoy repose.
But from the Body, as from Death, set free,
It flies to God and Immortality."

In like manner, Pope Innocent III (died 1216), in his prose writing, *De Contemptu Mundi* (Migne's edition), pictures (with some humour) the supposed evils of old age. In fact, he gives us a kind of caricature of its infirmities: "Si quis autem ad senectutem processerit, statim cor ejus affligitur, et caput concutitur, languet spiritus et fetet anhelitus, facies rugatur, et statura curvatur, caligant oculi, et vacillant articuli, nares effluunt, et crines deffluunt, tremit tactus, et deperit actus, dentes putrescunt, et aures surdescunt. Senex facile provocatur,

difficile revocatur; cito credit, et tarde discredit, tenax et cupidus, tristis et querulus, velox ad loquendum, tardus ad audiendum, sed non tardus ad iram: laudat antiquos, spernit modernos; vituperat praesens, commendat praeteritum, suspirat et anxiatur, torpet et infirmatur. Audi Horatium poetam: 'Multa senem circumveniunt incommoda.' Porro nec senes contra juvenem glorientur, nec insolescant juvenes contra senem, quia quod sumus iste fuit. erimus quandoque quod hic est."

Compare especially Juvenal's famous description of the evils of old age in his tenth satire. Yet, though Terence (*Phormio*, act iv., scene 1) was perhaps partially right (before Cicero wrote *De Senectute*) in saying that "Senectus ipsa est morbus" (cf. Galeni *de Sanitate tuendâ*, liber primus, caput v.), old age may nevertheless be "serene and bright," as Wordsworth wished it to be in his poem, "To a Young Lady":—

> "But an old age, serene and bright,
> And lovely as a Lapland night,
> Shall lead thee to thy grave."

With the passage from thirteenth century Italy the following one from seventeenth century England may well be compared. It is from section i. of the first chapter of Jeremy Taylor's *Rule and Exercises of Holy Dying* (1651): "Baldness is but a dressing to our funerals,[368] the proper ornament of mourning, and of a person entered very far into the regions and possession of death: and we have many more of the same signification; grey hairs, rotten teeth, dim eyes, trembling joints, short breath, stiff limbs, wrinkled skin, short memory, decayed appetite. Every day's necessity calls for a reparation of that portion, which death fed on all night, when we lay in his lap, and slept in his outer chambers. The very spirits of a man

[368] "Ut mortem citius venire credas,
Scito jam capitis periisse partem."
(Petronii Arbitri, *Satyricon*, cap. cix.)

prey upon the daily portion of bread and flesh, and every meal is a rescue from one death, and lays up for another; and while we think a thought, we die; and the clock strikes, and reckons on our portion of eternity: we form our words with the breath of our nostrils, we have the less to live upon for every word we speak."

In this way, after Jeremy Taylor, a *memento mori* significance may be attached to almost every physical phenomenon and almost every sensory impression in life. St. Paul speaks of "daily dying," and in regard to poetical and devotional *memento mori* comparisons of every night's rest to a "daily dying," cf. Part II. iv. In regard to the whole subject cf. also *Midnight Meditation*, by Henry King (1592–1669), Bishop of Chichester:—

"Each drooping season and each flower doth cry,
Fool! as I fade and wither, thou must die.
The beating of thy pulse (when thou art well)
Is just the tolling of thy passing bell:
Night is thy hearse, whose sable canopy
Covers alike deceased day and thee.
And all those weeping dews which nightly fall,
Are but the tears shed for thy funeral."

With King's lines H. P. Dodd (*The Epigrammatists*, London, 1870, p. 222) compares the following epigram, entitled *Fatum Supremum*:—

"All buildings are but monuments of death,
All clothes but winding sheets for our last knell,
All dainty fattings for the worms beneath,
All curious music, but our passing bell:
Thus death is nobly waited on, for why?
All that we have is but death's livery."

Cf. Hannah More (*King Hezekiah*):—

"How short is human life! the very breath,
Which frames my words, accelerates my death."

Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury (died 1228), amongst other works, wrote a Latin poem on Contempt of the World. Another *De Contemptu Mundi* is referred to in the Dictionary of National Biography (London), as the work of Alexander Neckam or Necham (1157–1217), Abbot of Cirencester, the author of *De Laudibus Divinae Sapientiae*, and *De Naturis Rerum*

(see *Alexandri Neckam de Naturis Rerum*, edited by Thomas Wright, London, 1863).

In Petrarch's Latin dialogues, *De Contemptu Mundi*, are many interesting quotations, including, in the first dialogue, the celebrated passage from "Juvenal" (*Sat.*, x. 172), doubtless (directly or indirectly) well known to Shakespeare and Elizabethan dramatists:—

> "Mors sola fatetur,
> Quantula sint hominum corpuscula."

In the third dialogue he makes Saint Augustine quote from his (Petrarch's) Latin epic poem *Africa*, the passages regarding a great man's "second death" (that is, when his tomb and monument decay and fall to pieces), and his "third death" (that is, when his writings are destroyed or forgotten):—

> "Mox ruet et bustum, titulusque in marmore sectus
> Occidet, hinc mortem patieris, nate, secundam.
> . . . . Libris autem morientibus, ipse
> Occumbes etiam: sic mors tibi tertia restat."

The idea of a sepulchral monument being outlived by the memory (the reverse is what often actually happens) of the dead is expressed in Shakespeare's lines:—

> "The memory of him for whom this stands,
> Shall outlive marble and defacers' hands."

Milton's epitaph on Shakespeare—

> "What needs my Shakespeare for his honour'd bones
> The labour of an age in piled stones;
> Or that his hallow'd reliques should be hid
> Under a star-y-pointing pyramid?"—

is very different in sentiment from the well-known epitaph actually inscribed (cf. the end of Part II. x.) on Shakespeare's tomb in the Holy Trinity Church at Stratford-on-Avon:—

> "Good friend, for Jesus' sake forbeare
> To dig the dust enclosed heare;
> Bleste be the man that spares these stones,
> And curst be he that moves my bones."

This denunciation against anyone who disturbes his bones is doubtless not by Shakespeare himself, and is not peculiar to his tomb. The

sentiment is rather that of antique Pagan Roman times, and in this connexion T. J. Pettigrew (*Chronicles of the Tombs*, London, 1857, p. 194) quotes the following Roman sepulchral inscription from the tomb of C. Tullius Barnaeus: C. TVLIVS . C. L. BARNAEVS OLLA EIVS SI QVI(S) OBVIOLARIT AD INFEROS NON RECIPIATVR. Pettigrew refers also to an early Christian inscription recorded by Charles Maitland, commencing, MALE PEREAT INSEPVLTVS, and signifying: "If anyone violate this tomb, let him perish miserably, lie unburied, and not arise, but have his lot with Judas." Pettigrew likewise quotes the following two sepulchral Latin inscriptions from the tomb of the Frankish King, Childeric I, who died in 481 A.D.: *Tempore nullo volo hinc tollantur ossa Hilperici* (on the stone coffin), and (inside the stone coffin), *Precor ego Ilpericus non auferantur hinc ossa mea.* The tomb of Childeric I, when opened in 1654, was found to contain a golden signet-ring and other valuable objects (see Part II. xix.). In regard to the violation of tombs for the sake of treasure compare several of the epitaphs by Saint Gregory of Nazianzus, called "the Theologian" (4th century A.D.), in the Greek Anthology (cf. Part II. xix.).

After all, Petrarch's poetical allegory of a great man's second and third deaths (the idea of which is quite in keeping with the general sentiment of the successive "triumphs" of Love, Chastity, Death, Fame, &c., in his Italian poem, *Trionfi*, so popular in renaissance times) was scarcely more far-fetched than was Archbishop Anselm's (just quoted) idea of a man's "second death," when, after his real death, his flesh is "tortured" ("cruciatur") through being "eaten by worms."

A Mediaeval religious aim was indeed to purify the soul not only by physical methods, namely, by hard manual labour and ascetic mortification of the body, but also by psychical methods, *e.g.* by endeavouring to drain to the dregs the manifold cup of sympathetic mental suffering. Thus, in the beautiful poem by Jacopone (Jacopo da Todi, who died in 1306), commencing, "Stabat Mater dolorosa," we have—

> "Eia, Mater, fons amoris,
> Me sentire vim doloris
> Fac, ut tecum lugeam."

Compare Richard Chenevix Trench, Archbishop of Dublin (1807–1886):

> "Yet suffering is a holy thing;
> Without it what were we?"

Anselm's fancied *posthumous* horrors may be compared to the popular dread (notably in the England of

the eighteenth century) of having one's body "anatomized" in the dissecting-room or cut open for necropsy purposes. This carries one back to the days of the "resurrectionists" and "body-snatching" (cf. the epitaphs, &c., in Part II. x., relating to this subject). Nowhere is this feeling better illustrated than in Hogarth's "Reward of Cruelty," already referred to (Part II. v.). Clearly, in such a caricature the anatomists and surgeons were held out to youthful hooligans as bogies to children, namely, as additional instruments of (*post-mortem!*) punishment for the crimes committed by murderers, highwaymen, &c.

In this connexion it is worth mentioning that the respect of human beings for the dead bodies of their fellows and their elaborate funeral and sepulchral customs have been attributed more or less to a horror of the idea of *post-mortem* conditions of the body (cf. Part II. x.). Thus Jelliffe,[369] in a review of an article by G. Stanley Hall, on "Thanatophobia and Immortality,"[370] writes: "We really know very little of the fate of the dead body. Our thanatophobia has prevented the dwelling in imagination upon the changes that must occur, much less has it allowed any true scientific investigation which may, if we ever overcome this, throw valuable light upon the process of evolution by a study of physical devolution, or upon our knowledge of the disease germs in their relation to a dead host.[371] It is excessive shrinking from the *post-mortem* conditions, Hall thinks, that has contributed largely to the manifold and elaborate burial customs, which are so many cover phenomena to cover up the unbearable thoughts rather than to preserve the body to be again at some future time the habitation of the soul."

[369] Jelliffe, *Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease*, New York, 1917, vol. xlv. p. 273.

[370] G. Stanley Hall, *Amer. Journ. Psychology*, 1915, vol. xxvi. p. 550.

[371] A good deal of medical and scientific work has been done on these subjects, for instance, in regard to the fate of both saprophytic and pathogenic microbic parasites in the dead bodies of their hosts, particularly as to the action of gas-producing anaërobic bacteria. The flora and fauna of dead bodies at different stages of decomposition and disintegration have been studied, notably by Mégnin. The latter, for instance, pointed out (at the Académie des Sciences, Paris) that the so-called "worms" inhabiting decaying corpses were not really worms but the larvae of beetles and insects, derived from eggs laid on the dead bodies.

Some persons, unsupported by religious faith, are pessimists because of unhappy circumstances in their present life, and because of the misery which they see around them. Of course the author of verses expressing such feelings need not himself be a pessimist. Francis Thompson writes :—

"Nothing begins, and nothing ends,
That is not paid with moan ;
For we are born in others' pain
And perish in our own."

To some extent this recalls the style of an epigram translated by Dr. Samuel Johnson[372] from the French of Isaac de Benserade :—

"In bed we laugh, in bed we cry
And born in bed, in bed we die;
The near approach a bed may show
Of human bliss to human woe."

R. W. Buchanan, in *Baldur the Beautiful*, has the following verses :—

"We wake in a dream, and we ache in a dream
And we break in a dream, and die!"

P. B. Shelley, in various poems, analyzed many of the aspects of death ("How wonderful is Death! Death and his brother Sleep," *Queen Mab*, i.), including the idea of death as the end of a painful life, not relieved by hope. He wrote :—

"The babe is at peace within the womb,
The corpse is at rest within the tomb,
We begin in what we end."

In one of his *Fragments*, dated 1820, is the following :—

"First our pleasures die, and then
Our hopes, and then our fears: and, when
These are dead, the debt is due,
Dust claims dust—and we die too.

[372] Quoted in Dodd's *Epigrammatists*, London, 1870, p. 245.

All things that we love and cherish,
Like ourselves must fade and perish.
Such is our rude mortal lot:
Love itself would, did they not."

These lines by Shelley seem to be a poetical version of ideas expressed by Bichat, the great French physiologist,[373] in regard to death from old age.

According to Bichat, "Life is the sum total of functions which resist death." Cf. A. Dastre's *Life and Death*, translated by W. J. Greenstreet, London, 1911, p. 28. In this book Dastre gives a review of Bichat's and various physiological and philosophical views of modern times regarding life and death.

So, Bichat says, animal life comes to cease gradually; so each of the ties which enchain us to the pleasure of living are broken little by little, the pleasure escapes us unawares, and when at length a man has become oblivious of the cost, then death strikes him. This is not really a pessimistic idea at all, and Sir W. S. Savory,[374] from whom I have taken this passage, adds, "Is there not something inexpressibly gentle[375] in this gradual severance of the ties between the conscious man and the world around him by the decay of the senses?" Jean de La Bruyère (1645–1696) observed that "a long sickness seems to have been placed between life and death, in order that death itself may become a relief both to those who die and to those who are left." Montaigne wrote: "Observe in all the ordinary changes and declinations we undergo, how nature hides from us the sight of our loss and decay. What remains to an old man of the vigour of his youth

[373] Bichat, *Recherches physiologiques sur la Vie et la Mort*, 1800.

[374] Sir W. S. Savory, *On Life and Death*, London, 1863, p. 182.

[375] In regard to the relation of love to death, cf. Part I. B. and Part II. xv.

and of past days? I do not believe we should be able to endure such a change if it came upon us all at once; but nature leads us by the hand little by little down a gentle and imperceptible slope, step by step, and so lowers us into that wretched state, and accustoms us to it. So that we feel no shock when youth dies in us, though this is in essence and reality a harder death than the final dissolution of a feeble body, which is nothing more than the death of old age."[376]

Cf. James Thomson (1700–1748), the author of "The Seasons," in his lines on the death (1731) of the Scotch painter, William Aikman:—

> "As those we love decay, we die in part;
> String after string is severed from the heart,
> Till loosened life, at last, but breathing clay,
> Without one pang is glad to fall away."

If living were regarded as merely weariness, empty vanity, misery, a painful dream, or a "fitful fever," a purposeless carrying of a heavy burden almost too heavy to be borne, then death would have to be looked forward to as the only curer, the only giver of peace or rest.

A pessimistic attitude towards life is well expressed in the verses of Theognis of Megara (sixth century B.C.):—

> Πάντων μὲν μὴ φῦναι ἐπιχθονίοισιν ἄριστον,
> Μηδ' ἐσιδεῖν αὐγὰς ὀξέος ἠελίου,
> Φύντα δ' ὅπως ὤκιστα πύλας Ἀΐδαο περῆσαι
> Καὶ κεῖσθαι πολλὴν γῆν ἐπιεσσάμενον.

John Hookham Frere's English version is as follows:—

> "Not to be born—never to see the sun—
> No worldly blessing is a greater one!
> And the next best is speedily to die,
> And lapt beneath a load of earth to lie."

The same sentiment ("Not to be born, 'twere best," &c.—

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[376] W. Lucas Collins, *Montaigne*, 1879, p. 125.

J. H. Merivale's rendering) is contained in one of the fragments of the Greek lyric poet Bacchylides (fifth century B.C.). In the *Oedipus Coloneus* of Sophocles a very similar passage[377] (line 1225) forms part of a song of the Chorus, which Professor R. C. Jebb has thus translated: "Not to be born is, past all prizing, best; but, when a man hath seen the light, this is next best by far, that with all speed he should go thither, whence he hath come." Very similar is the ending of a pessimistic epigram against life, attributed to Posidippus or Crates, in the Greek Anthology. Cf. the epitaph in the Greek Anthology (vii. 383), attributed to Philippus of Thessalonica, ending with the words: Φεῦ μακαριστοί, ὅσσοι ἀπ' ὠδίνων οὐκ ἴδον ἠέλιον. The same opinion has been expressed or quoted in the writings of Alexis, the uncle and teacher of Menander (*Mandrag.*, fragment, about B.C. 350), Cicero (*Tuscul. Disput.*, I. 48. 115), and lastly, Ausonius (*Idyll.*, xv. 49—about A.D. 350):—

"Optima Graiorum sententia, quippe homini aiunt,
Non nasci esse bonum, natum aut cito morte potiri."

An opposite view of life is expressed by Metrodorus (epigram in the Greek Anthology), and Juvenal (Satire x., translated by W. Gifford) wrote: (Grant me)

"A soul prepared to meet the frowns of fate,
And look undaunted on a future state;
That reckons death a blessing, yet can bear
Existence nobly, with its weight of care;

[377] According to newspaper reports, this passage was quoted by Herbert Baron de Reuter in a letter he wrote just before he shot himself, April 19th, 1915. (See *The Times*, London, April 21st, 1915, page 4.) But Tennyson (*The Two Voices*) must nevertheless be nearly right:—

"Whatever crazy sorrow saith,
No life that breathes with human breath
Has ever truly longed for death."

If life be indeed "a valley of tears," as jewel-like George Herbert (1593–1633) liked to call the scene of our "earthly pilgrimage," then it is surprising how few persons really want to get out of it. I remember hearing Professor P. C. H. Brouardel (1837–1906) remark something of the kind during a medico-legal post-mortem examination before students at the Paris *Morgue*.

That anger and desire alike restrains,
And counts Alcides' toils, and cruel pains,
Superior far to banquets, wanton nights,
And all the Assyrian monarch's soft delights."

Epicurus, in a letter to Menaeceus (transcribed by Diogenes Laertius in the *Lives of the Philosophers*), asked why the author of the pessimistic opinions above referred to, if he seriously held them, did not himself voluntarily depart from this world. However, individuals may be subject to temporary "pessimistic moods" without killing themselves; such persons exist now, as they existed in Goethe's time, and doubtless existed long before the days of Epicurus.

A. Schopenhauer, in his Essay on Suicide (*Parerga und Paralipomena*, 1851), merely defended the *right* of human beings (sane human beings) to kill themselves; he admitted the natural obstacles in the way to prevent them.

Theognis himself was doubtless in a "pessimistic mood" when he wrote the verses in question. Other remaining fragments of his were written in very different moods. He it is, however, who has inspired Matthew Prior (1664–1721) in the following lines (*Solomon*, book iii.):—

"Who breathes must suffer; and who thinks, must mourn;
And he alone is blessed, who ne'er was born."

Heinrich Heine, likewise after Theognis, has it:—

"Der Tod ist gut, doch besser wär' es,
Die Mutter hat uns nie geboren."

Cf. also the following epigram in the Greek Anthology (vii. 339, anonymous).[378] "It was not for any sin of mine that I was born of my parents. I was born, poor

[378] Translated into English as follows by W. R. Paton, in the "Loeb Classical Library."

wretch, and I journey towards Hades. Oh death-dealing union of my parents! Oh the necessity which will lead me to dismal death! From nothing I was born, and again I shall be nothing as at first. Nothing, nothing is the race of mortals. Therefore make the cup bright, my friend, and give me wine the consoler of sorrow." In regard to "Epicurean" suggestions in this connexion, cf. Part I. A. and Part IV. i. of this book. As to the expression of regret at the marriage of parents, cf. *Anthol. Grace.*, vii. 309 (anonymous, Paton's translation, *loc. cit.*): "I, Dionysius, lie here, sixty years old. I am of Tarsus; I never married and I wish my father never had."

On the other hand, one can conceive a ghost answering Theognis in the following words:—

"'Tis better to have lived and died
Than never to have lived at all"—

altered from Tennyson's lines:—

"'Tis better to have loved and lost
Than never to have loved at all";

and A. H. Clough's lines:—

"'Tis better to have fought and lost,
Than never to have fought at all."

In regard to sayings such as that it is better to be a "have-been" than a "never-was," one may well repeat an anecdote related in a London newspaper about the late George Senior (died 1915) of Sheffield. On the day after he had, with some feeling of relief, given up his duties as Lord Mayor of Sheffield, an old friend greeted him in the street with the words, "Well, Jarge, thou'rt now a good-old-has-been." To which Senior replied, "Aye, but that's better nor bein' a nivver-wasser." This expression, *a has-been*, may be compared to the Roman *fuit* and *vixit* (see footnote in Part I. A.). Cf. the famous passage in Virgil's *Aeneid* (book ii. line 325): "Fuimus Troes, fuit Ilium" ("We have been Trojans, Troy has been," that is to say, "Troy exists no longer").

The expressions of Theognis and Prior are rivalled by Byron in his *Euthanasia* (1812):—

"'Aye but to die, and go,' Alas!
Where all have gone, and all must go!
To be the nothing that I was,
Ere born to life and living woe!

"Count o'er the joys thine hours have seen,
Count o'er thy days from anguish free;
And know, whatever thou hast been,
'Tis something better not to be."

Herodotus narrated that a Thracian tribe used to lament on the occasion of a birth, and rejoice on that of a death in the family.

This "Thracian" view of life may have been connected with ideas of economy and the difficulty or troublesome burden of rearing children; and one must remember the great frequency of the exposition of children throughout antiquity. There can hardly be a doubt that similar, even if "philosophical," pessimistic views of life, though seldom, if ever, leading to actual (active) suicide, have sometimes in modern times exerted an anti-procreative effect, and encouraged Malthusian or so-called "birth-control" practices. There seems, however, little danger at present of the human race really suffering in this direction from the above pessimistic causes. It is indeed held by some that undue insistence on "Eugenics" may seriously diminish the birth-rate; but in regard to some classes of the population may not Eugenics be truly furthered by effective "birth-control" (especially self-control) to the great advantage of generations to come? From national and international points of view, however, other problems—international rivalry and "balance of power"—complicate these questions to a very real degree. Possibly future generations will see the day when the relative permissible breeding-rates of nations will become one of the most important questions of international politics, and when the fact of a nation breeding too rapidly (that is to say, beyond its share in the world's means) will be regarded as one of the very few justifiable grounds for a declaration of war against it by its neighbours. Fortunately, such a suggestion still appears merely a brutal *reductio ad absurdum* of the whole discussion. Cf. F. P. Weber, *The Rights of Nations compared to the Rights of Individuals and the question of International Arbitration Courts* (privately printed), London, 1915.

In regard to the "Thracian" view of life one may well compare Ecclesiastes vii. 1 and 2: "And the day of death [is better] than the day of one's birth. It is better to go to the house of mourning than to go to the house of feasting."

Following is an English version, given by Lord Neaves,

of an epigram on the "Thracian" view of life, attributed to Archias, in the Greek Anthology :—

"Praiseworthy are the Thracians, who lament
The infant that hath left its mother's womb:
Who deem those happy, too, whom Death has sent
Without prevision to the peaceful tomb."

Cf. Robert Bland, the younger :—

"Thracians! who howl around an infant's birth,
And give the funeral hour to songs and mirth!
Well in your grief and gladness are expressed
That life is labour, and that death is rest."

One of the Latin epigrams by John Owen (died 1622) was translated by Robert Hayman (seventeenth century), as follows :—

"We cry, being born; from thence thus argue I:
If to be born be bad, 'tis good to die."

This may be contrasted with another epigram given in Robert Hayman's *Quodlibets* (1628) :—

"When we are born, our friends rejoice; we cry:
But we rejoice, our friends mourn, when we die."

Cf. the following epigram by Sir William Jones (1746–1794), after an unknown Persian author :—

"On parent knees, a naked new-born child,
Weeping thou sat'st, while all around thee smiled:
So live, that sinking to thy life's last sleep,
Calm thou may'st smile, while all around thee weep."

Another English translation is given as follows by J. D. Carlyle (1759–1804) in his *Specimens of Arabian Poetry* (1796) :—

"When born, in tears we saw thee drown'd,
While thine assembled friends around,
With smiles their joy confest;
So live, that at thy parting hour,
They may the flood of sorrow pour,
And thou in smiles be drest!" [379]

[379] See H. P. Dodd's *Epigrammatists*, 1870, p. 99.

Sir Thomas Browne, though not a pessimist, quoted (*Religio Medici*, 1643) the following passage from Lucan (*Phars.*, lib. iv. 519):—

> "Victurosque dei celant, ut vivere durent,
> Felix esse mori";

and, after Seneca (*Theb.*, 152)—

> "Eripere vitam nemo non homini potest;
> At nemo mortem";

he himself wrote, "There is therefore, but one comfort left, that, though it be in the power of the weakest arm to take away life, it is not in the strongest to deprive us of death." Pliny asserted that the greatest favour Nature had bestowed on man was the shortness of his span of life. (Compare also Part II. Heading iv.)

Such sayings do not really express a pessimistic attitude towards life any more than do A. C. Swinburne's lines (*The Garden of Proserpine*)—

> "We thank with brief thanksgiving
> Whatever gods may be
> That no life lives for ever;
> That dead men rise up never;
> That even the weariest river
> Winds somewhere safe to sea."

With the above quotation from Lucan's *Pharsalia*—which may be translated: "And the gods conceal from those who are to live how happy a thing it is to die, so that they may continue to live"—one should compare the following verses from the English poet, Edmund Spenser (1552–1599), who was evidently familiar with the passage from the *Pharsalia* in question:—

> "Unwise and wretched men, to weete what's good or ill,
> We deeme of Death as doome of ill desert;
> But knew we, fooles, what it us bringes until,
> Dye would we dayly, once it to expert!"

Cf. Mary Emily Bradley:—

"O Death, the loveliness that is in thee,
Could the world know, the world would cease to be."

On the other hand, the ancients might have opposed to Lucan's idea an older Greek quotation (Sir Edwin Arnold, after Sappho, about 600 B.C.):—

"To die must needs be sad, the gods do know it;
For were death sweet, they'd die, and straightway show it."

In regard to the above quotation from Lucan another passage may be compared, in which Lucan (*Phars.*, lib. iv., 580) expresses a wish that death (being such an excellent thing) might not come to cowards, but only to the brave (*i.e.* might be the reward only of the brave):—

"Mors, utinam pavidos vitâ subducere nolles,
Sed virtus te sola daret."

In Plato's *Phaedo* Socrates answers the question why a man should not hasten his own end when death is better than life, by supposing that man has no right to release himself, being a kind of possession or prisoner of the gods, who will call him at their pleasure. In Spenser's *Faërie Queene* (book i. canto ix. stanza 41) the Red Cross Knight answers the arguments of Despair by likening the moral obligation of man in that respect to the duty of a military sentinel, who must not leave his post until he is called away by his commanding officer. Montaigne summed up his own opinion on the subject of suicide in the following words: "There is more courage in bearing the chain by which we are bound than in breaking it, and more evidence of fortitude in Regulus than in Cato."[380]

Melancholic and pessimistic ideas often lend themselves well to lyrical expression. It is doubtless to temporary pessimistic moods of learned men and poets that we owe many beautiful passages in poetry and prose. Occasional pessimistic moods form part of the inmost nature of most thoughtful individuals, and it is because, as Shakespeare says, "one touch of nature makes the whole world kin,"[381] that the "wisdom of the Son of

[380] W. Lucas Collins, *Montaigne*, 1879, p. 129.
[381] Shakespeare, *Troilus and Cressida*, Act iii., Scene 3.

Sirach," and certain pessimistic passages (in the Psalms, &c.), some of them attributed to David or Solomon, have often excited admiration, even amongst those who are neither Jews nor Christians. They ring out pessimistic notes, which awaken the memory of similar solemn melodies in the artist's and the student's mind. A touch of human sympathy and fellow-feeling in unhappiness, together with the absence of any feeling of selfishness, jealousy, or revenge, often gives a special charm to the poetical expression of pessimistic ideas.

It is especially the human sympathy in misfortune and grief which is the "touch of nature" that "makes the whole world kin." Cf. Virgil, *Aeneid*, i. 462: "Sunt lacrymae rerum, et mentem mortalia tangunt." The words of the Preacher (Ecclesiastes i. 2 and xi. 8) have helped to give comfort or at least a feeling of resignation to many great persons in their misfortunes, and to many fallen rulers of the world. When, at Constantinople, in A.D. 534, Gelimer, the last king of the Vandals in Africa, graced the triumph of Justinian's general, Belisarius (himself later on to experience in his own person the vicissitudes of human affairs), the Vandal ruler "was clad in a purple robe, and still maintained the majesty of a king." He advanced slowly. "Not a tear escaped from his eyes, not a sigh was heard; but his pride or piety derived some secret consolation from the words of Solomon, which he repeatedly pronounced: *Vanity! Vanity! All is Vanity!*" [382]

It is the "touch of nature," perhaps, that explains the feeling of calm content—or even "sweetness"—that has been sometimes felt in melancholy. It was not, however, from this point of view that Robert Burton, in the poetical abstract at the commencement of his *Anatomy of Melancholy*, wrote:—

> "All my joys to this are folly,
> Naught so sweet as Melancholy."

Most thoughtful persons (even if "born optimists") have experienced pessimistic as well as optimistic moods. In one of her best novels [383] Ouida (Louise De la Ramée) wrote: "Coleridge cried, 'O God, how glorious it is to live!' Renan asks, 'O God, when will it be worth while to live?' In nature we echo the poet; in the world we echo the thinker."

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[382] Cf. Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, chapter xli.
[383] *Chandos*, 1866.

To a temporary pessimistic mood we probably owe Albrecht Dürer's "Melencolia" (Fig. 38), his famous

FIG. 38.—Dürer's "Melencolia" (1514).

engraving published in 1514, the year in which his mother died. Lionel Cust[384] writes: "In this engraving

[384] Lionel Cust, *The Engravings of Albrecht Dürer*, London, 1894, p. 63.

all is dark and gloomy. 'Vanity of vanities, all is vanity,' dreams Melancholy. 'What use are wings, what worth the crown of bays, what avails it to build, to measure, to level, to weigh, to solve problems of mathematics, alchemy, or philosophy, when the only end is nothing? Night and eternal sleep is all that man has to look forward to in this life.' The rainbow is the only note of hope in the composition, while the comet seems to denote the existence of another world beyond human comprehension."

Several seals, medals, &c., having a pessimistic significance will be described later on. An old English memorial finger-ring is inscribed—

"Breath paine, Death gaine."

On certain medals, &c. (see Part III., especially under the dates 1634, 1662, and 1827), human life is likened to a soap-bubble. That is a rather pessimistic view, but some there may be who wish that the "bubble of life," the gift of Nature to her children, consisting of life's hopes and aspirations—and even its illusions, its mirage, and its dreams—will never burst, at all events, not till death has overtaken them.

Compare the following beautiful passage in Andrew Macphail's Cavendish Lecture (1917), on "A Day's Work"[385]: "We live not by truth but by illusion, and the human heart creates those illusions which alone make life tolerable. There is a profound instinct which impels us to war against the truth, against reality. We eschew the fact, and take refuge in evasion. From the facts of life we fly to hope. The human race has nourished itself upon fiction, myth, and miracle. It still finds its fulfilment not in life but in immortality, not in formulae but in religion."

In regard to "life's illusions" in the bad sense of the term one might refer to G. F. Watts's picture, *Life's Illusions*, painted in 1849, now in the Tate Gallery (London), and many other allegorical pictures

[385] *Lancet*, London, 1917, vol. i. p. 979.

and designs representing man's mad ambition for, and fatal striving after, excessive wealth, worldly power and so-called fame and glory—for instance, R. Henneberg's *Pursuit of Fortune*, a painting which I have already mentioned in Part I. E.

On the comparison of human life to a bubble, see also Part III., under *memento mori* medals of about 1634. The design of one of the illustrations in R. Dagley's *Death's Doings* (second edition, 1827) represents Death breaking the Bubbles of Life. Compare also the painting (1821) by William Hilton, R.A., "Nature Blowing Bubbles for her Children," now in the National Gallery of British Art (Tate Gallery), London.

The death of hope, which may be said to make of life a "living death," has been allegorically represented on a bronze plaquette ("L'Espérance morte," 1892) by the modern French artist, L. E. Mouchon. The death of hope or the absence of ideals more or less removes natural aims and objects, and makes the boat of life a rudderless one. In life's voyage the mere propelling force without power or will to steer is hardly more satisfactory than is a good steering apparatus without sufficient propelling force.

One of the woodcuts in *Le compost et kalendrier des bergiers* ("The Shepherds' Calendar"), printed by Guiot Marchant, at Paris, in 1493 (British Museum copy, page g, vi.), represents a figure of Death (of the *Hautskelett* type) mounted on a horse, holding a dart in his right hand and a coffin under his left arm, riding before the open jaws of a monster (hell). The woodcut is accompanied by the following explanatory text: "En lapocalipse est escript que saint jehan vit ung cheval de couleur palle sur lequel seoit qui avoit nom la mort . et enfer suivoit ce cheval qui nous segnefie le pecheur a couleur palle pour sa maladie de peche . et porte la mort . car peche est la mort de lame . et enfer le suit . car en quelque lieu que le pecheur alle enfer est pres sil moroit sans penitance pour lengloutir et devorer." *Vide*

Revelation vi. 8, Revised Version:—"And I saw, and behold, a pale horse: and he that sat upon him, his name was Death; and Hades followed with him."

Certain medals, medalets, &c., might be quoted here, by way of antithesis, as having an optimistic significance.

Pessimistic ideas suggested by knowledge of the inevitability of death constitute a kind of mental excrescence to which of all animals only human beings are liable. This mental excrescence may grow to such dimensions as to become a formidable disease, and destroy true contentment and all natural passive enjoyment of life. The gist of Robert Burton's famous *Anatomy of Melancholy* (first published in 1621) is that it is of no more use worrying about what cannot be prevented in the future than it is to fret over spilt milk, and unduly mourn for what is lost or cannot be rectified in the past. If one acts against this principle one not only grows miserable, but tends to become a general nuisance, making others wretched as well as oneself. After all, "death is the price paid for a body," or, in other words, it is the least that can be given in exchange for earthly life. In the end Nature's laws must be obeyed, and one may as well submit as cheerfully as possible, like Valentin, the joiner, in Ferdinand Raimund's "Hobel-Lied" (from *Der Verschwender*, 1833):—

"Zeigt sich der Tod einst mit Verlaub,
Und zupft mich: Bruder kumm!
So stell' ich mich im Anfang taub,
Und schau mich gar nicht um.

Doch sagt er: Lieber Valentin,
Mach keine Umständ', geh'!
Dann leg' ich meinen Hobel hin,
Und sag' der Welt: Ade!"[386]

[386] Nevertheless the author, Raimund, himself (1790–1836) committed suicide.

A man who makes the best of necessity, and of what he has, is likely to agree with L. H. C. Hölty (1748–1776):—

"O wunderschön ist Gottes Erde,
Und werth darauf vergnügt zu sein!
Drum will ich, bis ich Asche werde,
Mich dieser schönen Erde freun!"
(*Aufmunterung zur Freude*, 1776.)

How much the reverse of pessimistic is the mental attitude of those persons who, endowed with a serene temperament, and placed in happy surroundings, might, like the sun-dial in the flower-garden, truthfully say:—

"Serene I stand among the flowers,
And only count life's sunny hours"—

an English version of the Latin sun-dial inscription, "Horas non nisi serenas numero!"[387] Indeed, there are some such happy natures that, wherever they are, they seem to be able to create their own atmosphere, their own "garden of love," in the highest sense of the term, around them. Of such a man one may say, with A. Justinus Kerner—

"Und Liebe, die folgt ihm,
Sie geht ihm zur Hand:
So wird ihm zur Heimat
Das ferneste Land."

[387] Preferably, "Horas non numero nisi serenas," as it is inscribed at Harrow, on a modern memorial sun-dial (terrace by the school chapel, &c.), the style (gnomon) of which is in the form of a cross. For similar English lines see Mrs. Gatty's *Book of Sun-Dials*, enlarged edition by Eden and Lloyd, London, 1900, p. 210, No. 45, and p. 288, No. 465. See also G. Clinch, *Handbook of English Antiquities*, London, 1905, p. 276. A few sun-dial inscriptions of this kind are perhaps as early as the seventeenth century, but most are quite modern. One Latin motto of the kind is said to have been formerly on a sun-dial at Paul's Cross, London; and an apparently old sun-dial over the south door of the church at Haydon Bridge (Northumberland) has an imperfect inscription that seems to be, "Non nisi coelesti radio" (G. Clinch, *op. cit.*, p. 271, and fig. 218). On this class of sun-dial inscription see also Part I. E.

Will not love accompany such natures even to the most distant land of all, and make of it too a friendly home, though it lies beyond the grave? Has not the soul of such persons, in some kind of previous existence, had sufficient experience of pain and sorrow to have already learned the sad but necessary lessons required of it?

I am convinced that, as far as human beings are concerned, the universe is so made that good things and relative happiness often come out of pain (cf. *Preface* and Part II. xv.). One can hardly conceive any state of happiness and pleasure without pain, and one may suppose that persons who live beautiful and happy lives with very little grief and mental pain have inherited almost instinctive avoidance of the causes of mental pain from generations of ancestors who have learned by bitter experience how best to oppose such pain. Instead of this phylogenetic explanation some may prefer a simple metaphysical one, namely, that the souls of wonderfully happy persons have in some previous existence had abundant experience of mental pain, and so have gradually acquired instinctive methods of avoiding it.

XVIII. Grief for the Death of Others.

Numberless memorial medals, finger-rings, &c. (some of which are described elsewhere in this book), have devices and inscriptions which more or less illustrate this subject. Here may be mentioned various finger-rings, brooches, lockets, &c., bearing "mourning" devices, and memorial medals with such inscriptions as: "We shall not look upon his like again" (after Shakespeare's *Hamlet*). Thus, a memorial medal (a specimen of which was formerly in my collection) of a certain Bartholomew Johnson, who died at Scarborough on February 7, 1814, when he was supposed to be in his 104th year, bears on the reverse the inscription, "He was a man, take him for all in all. We shall not look upon his like again." A memorial medal by the Belgian medallist, Charles Wiener, of Jonas Webb, 1862, a celebrated breeder of sheep in Cambridgeshire (whose statue now stands in the Corn Exchange at Cambridge), has around the bust on the obverse the inscription, "We shall not look upon his like again." Both the longer and the shorter of these inscriptions (after *Hamlet*) occur on various commemorative medals of Shakespeare himself.[388] Compare also Goethe:—

> "Auf dienem Grabstein wird man lesen,
> Das ist fürwahr ein Mensch gewesen."[389]

A medal of Ferdinand (afterwards the German Emperor Ferdinand I), brother of the Emperor Charles V,

[388] *Medallic Illustrations of British History*, London, 1885, vol. i. pp. 208-212.

[389] Cf. also the quotations given in Büchmann's *Geflügelte Worte*, 22nd edition, 1905, p. 204.

struck in 1547, on the death of his wife Anna of Hungary, has on the reverse the letter A over a death's-head and a bone, with the inscription, *Wier klagens Gott* ("We bewail it to God"). This medal makes one think of a bell tolling at funerals (the "passing bell"), with the words "Mortuos plango" or "Defunctos ploro," inscribed on it. On the minster bell at Schaffhausen in Switzerland is the inscription, "Defunctos plango, vivos voco, fulmina frango."

The similar bell-inscription always quoted in connexion with Schiller's famous *Lied von der Glocke* is, "Vivos voco, mortuos plango, fulgura frango." For a considerable variety of similar, but mostly rather longer, bell-inscriptions see J. D. Blavignac, *La Cloche*, Geneva, 1877. It is, perhaps, curious that a large church bell, inscribed with the words, *Mortuos plango*, has never (as far as I know) been chosen for a device on a mortuary medal. Such a device might well make one think of Lord Tennyson's lines:—

> "Yet in these ears till hearing dies,
> One set slow bell will seem to toll
> The passing of the sweetest soul
> That ever looked with human eyes";

and of James Shirley's *The Passing Bell*, commencing:—

> "Hark how chimes the passing bell,
> There's no music to a knell;
> All the other sounds we hear,
> Flatter and but cheat our ear."

With the last-mentioned medal may be compared a modern plaquette, inscribed "Totenklage," and signed by Hans Schäfer, of Vienna. It is described and figured in the *Monatsblatt der numismatischen Gesellschaft in Wien* (1912, vol. ix. p. 59 and Pl. ii.), and represents a nude man standing in an attitude and with an expression of extreme grief; behind, on the left, Death, as a skeleton, playing on a harp, is seated on a stone block, about which flames are arising; the grieved man is evidently listening to the doleful music.

The "parting scenes" on Greek and Etruscan

sepulchral monuments (including reliefs on stelae, terra-cotta sarcophagi, wall-paintings and some painted vases) hardly come within the range of the present work, but will be alluded to in Part IV. Mourning for the dead and the bringing of funeral offerings are frequent subjects on Greek painted vases, especially on the white (probably Attic) sepulchral lecythi of the fifth century B.C. In regard to the manner of "mourning" for the dead in ancient times by funeral banquets, H. P. Dodd (*Epigrammatists*, London, 1870, p. 68) quotes the following epigram by Joannes Stobaeus in the Greek Anthology (translated by C.):—

> "Lov'd shade! For thee we garlands wear,
> For thee with perfumes bathe our hair;
> For thee we pledge the festive wine,
> For joy, immortal joy, is thine.
> Where thou art gone no tears are shed,
> 'Twere sin to mourn the blest, the dead.[390]

The value attached by the Greeks to such "pious" duties as the bringing of funeral offerings is well illustrated by a poem of Solon, thus translated by Merivale:—

> "Oh let not death, unwept, unhonour'd, be
> The melancholy fate allotted me!
> But those who loved me living, when I die,
> Still fondly keep some cherish'd memory."

Mourning for the dead is, of course, abundantly illustrated in the larger works of art of many countries and many periods.

Some eighteenth-century mourning finger-rings,

[390] It is perhaps from the funeral banquet—the feast in honour of the dead (μάκαρες, the blest or happy ones)—or from food offered to the dead, that the words macaroni and macaroon are derived. But this etymology is disputed by some authorities, as having been based on quite insufficient evidence.

brooches, &c., have inscriptions intended to comfort the survivors, such as: "Not lost, but gone before," and "Heaven has in store what thou hast lost." Some coins of Philip, the last Duke of Brunswick of the old Grubenhagen line, bear the consolatory inscription, "Got gibt, Got nimbt"—presumably in reference to the deaths, in 1595, of his wife and only brother. But I have not seen it suggested on any mourning or memorial medals, jewellery, &c., that too long mourning for the dead is a useless waste of life, and therefore wrong (Cf. Ecclesiasticus xxxviii. 21, "Thou shalt not do him good, but hurt thyself"; one of William Blake's illustrations to Edward Young's *Night Thoughts* might have also served as an illustration to this passage in Ecclesiasticus. What might be called the "hopeless type" of grief and mourning for the dead is represented by various works of art, for instance, by a modern painting, entitled "A Hopeless Dawn," by Frank Bramley, R.A. (1888), now in the National Gallery of British Art (Tate Gallery, London), and, in epigrams, by Sir Henry Wotton's well-known epitaph on Sir Albertus Morton's wife:—

> "He first deceased; she for a little tried
> To live without him; liked it not, and died."

In a letter of condolence on the death of Montaigne, the essayist, written by the Flemish scholar, Justus Lipsius, to Marie de Gournay (a kind of "adopted daughter" to Montaigne), Lipsius added: "Rideat ille nos, si sciat dolere," meaning that Montaigne would laugh at them if he knew they were grieving for him. Similar expressions and ideas are quoted from Christian and non-Christian sources in other parts of this book.

Many references to ancient authors in regard to philosophic consolation for the death of friends, &c., are

given in Part I. A. of this book, and many more philosophic consolatory arguments of all times are adduced in Robert Burton's famous *Anatomy of Melancholy* (part 2, sect. 3, M. 5). Nevertheless, in the *Sinngedichte*, by the seventeenth century German poet, Friedrich von Logau,[391] we read:—

"Ich fürchte nicht den Tod, der mich zu nehmen kümmt;
Ich fürchte mehr den Tod, der mir die Meinen nimmt."

And so, indeed, there will always be some to whom the following stanza from "The Grave," by Henry Vaughan, "the Silurist" (1622–1695), is applicable:—

"But vainly there they seek their soul's relief,
And of th' obdurate Grave its prey implore;
Till Death himself shall medicine their grief,
Closing their eyes by those they wept before."

In regard to the so-called "untimely" or "premature" death of friends and relatives, Mr. William Wale has kindly drawn my attention to the following passage, translated from Cicero: "Some men make a womanish complaint that it is a great misfortune to die before one's time. I would ask what time? Is it that of Nature? But she, indeed, has lent us life, as we do a sum of money; only no certain day is fixed for payment. What reason then to complain if she demands it at pleasure, since it was on this condition that one receives it." In the "Meditations" of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius, various consolatory reflexions on the subject of early or "untimely" death are included.

As to one of the worst forms of grief and pain, the following passage (Robert Browning, *A Death in the*

[391] Edited by G. Eitner, Leipzig—F. A. Brockhaus—1870, No. 90.

Desert), for reference to which I am likewise indebted to Mr. W. Wale, may be cited:—

> "For I say this is death and the sole death,—
> When a man's loss comes to him from his gain,
> Darkness from light, from knowledge ignorance,
> And lack of love from love made manifest."

FIG. 39.—"Sorrow," by W. Dadd, 1854.

The accompanying design (one of a series), intended to represent "Sorrow," has a somewhat unusual interest of its own, as it was the work of William Dadd (1854), when an inmate of Bethlem Hospital (Mental Diseases), London (see Fig. 39). I am indebted to Dr. W. H. B. Stoddart for permission to reproduce it.

In other parts of the book (Part IV.) I have described various finger-rings, jewels, &c., intended to be worn as signs to all the world of mourning for the loss of relatives, friends, patrons or rulers—as mementos for the wearer to call back memories of departed loved ones, and to remind him that he must sooner or later die himself, and that he should so order his life as to be ready to die worthily, like those whom he has loved and honoured who have preceded him across the boundary. It is not necessary that such a token should be associated only with the idea of mourning; it may carry with it the idea of honour and pride in dutifulness and patriotism. Such tokens and badges need not therefore have a gloomy or sombre appearance. In the Great European War some English ladies who had lost sons, husbands or brothers, in battle objected to the wearing of ordinary mourning, but suggested the use of a purple band on the left arm as a token of the patriotic death of their relatives. Similarly, in Germany, an association was formed, proposing to substitute for ordinary mourning a little scarfpin for women with the inscription: "Stolz gab ich ein teueres Haupt fürs Vaterland" ("Proudly gave I a beloved one for the Fatherland").[392]

[392] See *Times*, London, January 30th, 1915, p. 7.

XIX., XX. The Attributes and Pomp of Death. Funerals. Excessive Fear of Death (Thanatophobia).

The fancied terrors of death have been naturally more frequently illustrated by engravings, drawings, and paintings than by medals, engraved gems, &c. (see also under Heading v.). The idea of representing the decaying body as being occupied by long worms, snakes, toads, &c. (*i.e.* as being "eaten by worms," according to a phrase still in use in some countries), was doubtless chiefly derived from Ecclesiasticus (x. 11), "For when a man is dead, he shall inherit creeping things, beasts, and worms." An engraving of about 1480, by the "Meister I. A. M. von Zwolle" (the "Meister mit der Weberschütze"), represents Moses with the tables of the ten commandments in an upper compartment, and a skeleton-like corpse, being "eaten by worms," in a lower compartment. This design is evidently meant to illustrate another particular passage in Ecclesiasticus (xxviii. 6), "Remember corruption and death, and abide in the commandments." Snakes were preferred to worms in order that the artist might magnify the horror of his subject.

In regard to the spontaneous generation of worms and snakes from decaying corpses, an interesting passage is that quoted by Jules Guiart from Pliny the Younger (*Hist. Nat.*, lib. x. cap. 66): "Anguem ex medullâ hominis spinale gigni, accepimus a multis. Pleraque occultâ et cæcâ origine proveniunt, etiam in quadrupedum genere." Guiart thinks that the Mediaeval representation of decaying corpses being "eaten by worms" was preferred by the artists of the time as being more horror-inspiring (and therefore having a more powerfully *memento mori* admonitory effect) than the representation of dry skeletons. This is extremely probable, and, moreover, the artist's

deficient anatomical (osteological) knowledge was somewhat hidden by the ragged skin which covered the skeleton and partially concealed such mistakes as those of the Meister von Zwolle, who, in the above-mentioned design, placed the shoulder-blades of the skeleton-like figure in front of the thorax instead of on the back.

Even when Death was represented by a skeleton or a shrivelled figure of skin and bones (the German *Hautskelett*) in life-like attitude, the snakes and toads were often not omitted. Thus, in a German fifteenth-century woodcut (by an unknown artist) of "Death in the Jaws of Hell,"[393] Death, who is represented by a

[393] Reproduced in the *Catalogue of Early German and Flemish Woodcuts in the British Museum*, by Campbell Dodgson, 1903, vol. i. pl. 2. In Revelation vi. 8, Death is said to be followed by Hell (or Hades), and in the so-called "Shepherds' Calendar" (*Le Compost et kalendrier des bergiers*), printed by Guiot Marchant, at Paris, in 1493, there is a French woodcut (page g, vi) representing Death riding in front of the open jaws of Hell, according to this passage of the Apocalypse. This passage was, I think, the indirect origin of the idea of representing Death as being not merely in front of, but as actually standing in, or coming out of, the open jaws of Hell. On this subject, however, I venture to quote from a letter by Mr. George G. Loane in the *Times Literary Supplement* (London, November 29th, 1917, p. 583). He says that Professor J. P. Postgate queries whether the phrase, "the jaws of Death," be not based on an inaccurate rendering of Virgil's *fauces Orci* (the throat of hell): "Primis in faucibus Orci." (Cf. also Apuleius, *Metamorph.*: "E mediis Orci faucibus ad hunc evasi modum.") Mr. Loane continues: "Perhaps both are based on the ancient and popular conception of death as a devourer; it would not be the first time that a poet's metaphor coincided with a popular belief. The belief appears in the early conception of Cerberus, the corpse-eater, as not only the guardian but the depository of the dead; and it is significant that Perrault, needing a name for the man-eating monster of nursery tradition, fastened on an Italian form of this very word Orcus, and so we got our 'ogre.' Orcus is a person as well as a place, and Virgil's *fauces* cunningly suits either sense. The English phrase ['the jaws of Hell'] seems to occur first in Sackville's 'Induction to the Mirror for Magistrates.' He describes a hideous hole which 'with ugly mouth and griesly jaws doth gape,' and proceeds: 'And first within the porch and jaws of hell.' Obviously he had Virgil in mind, but the picture presented is surely suggested by Mediaeval representations of hell as the gaping mouth of a lion or dragon. A well-known cut in the 'Speculum Humanae Salvationis,' entitled *Casus Luciferi*, shows the dejection of

shrivelled figure of skin and bones (in the mouth of a monster who is vomiting up flames), is accompanied by a snake, and has a toad in place of the conventional fig-leaf (see Fig. 40). So also, in the fifteenth-century engraving of "Death warning a Youth," by the "Meister des Amsterdamer Kabinets" (already referred to), the life-like shrivelled figure representing Death is accompanied by a toad and snake.

In Part I. C. I have referred at some length to the horror-inspiring aspect of *memento mori* religious art, and to the ghastly spectacle of decay and putrefaction revealed in pictures by Valdes Leal, &c. A small panel-painting in the possession of Dr. Pietro Capparoni of Rome (which he has kindly allowed me to illustrate) seems to rival all others in this respect (see Fig. 41). It represents a man's head in a state of putrefaction and being "eaten by worms" and coleoptera. The head rests on a *closed* book;[394] by the side is a winged hour-glass; and above is suspended a small iron lamp, such

Lucifer and his horrid crew into the mouth of a tusked monster. Still earlier 'the jaws of the whale were the accepted symbol of the mouth of hell. They stand for that in the tenth-century pictures which adorn the manuscript of Caedmon' (Professor H. Morley). Jonah's whale has long been an emblem of death."

Mr. H. C. Prideaux (*Times Literary Supplement*, London, December 13th, 1917, p. 620) suggests as a more striking phrase than Virgil's *fauces Orci* the words used by Lucretius (*De Rerum Naturâ*, i. 852), "Leti sub dentibus ipsis"; and he adds that Munro's note is as follows: "*Faucibus* is a more common metaphor: Lambinus quotes Arnobius II, 32, *non esse animas longe ab hiatibus mortis et faucibus constitutas*: but Lucretius agrees better with our use of 'jaws of death.'"

It may be noted that the "jaws of hell," represented as the open jaws of a huge whale-like monster, constituted an important part of the stage furniture in some Mediaeval (and later) mystery or miracle plays.

[394] The allegorical closed book of the dead in contradistinction from the allegorical open book of the living.

FIG. 40.—"Death in the Jaws of Hell." From a fifteenth-century German woodcut in the British Museum. The accompanying German verses express the levelling of all social distinctions by Death. With this design may be compared a fifteenth-century French woodcut (included in the so-called "Shepherds' Calendar"—*Le compost et kalendrier des bergiers*, printed by Guiot Marchant, at Paris, in 1493, page g, vi.—see British Museum specimen), representing Death (the *Hautskelett* type) on horseback, holding a dart and a coffin, riding before the open jaws of a monster (hell).

as might be used to illuminate a dismal vault. In the upper right corner is the inscription from Ecclesiasticus

FIG. 41.—A *Memento mori* panel-picture, representing decay and putrefaction.

xli. 1, "(Mors) amara habenti pacem in substantiis suis." The picture does not seem to me a very early

one. In this connexion one may well remember that it is the imaginative anticipation of death rather than death itself that may be "the grisly terror" (Milton). Death itself may be a "prince of peace." Cf. the often-quoted lines of Edward Young (*Night Thoughts*, 1742)

"The knell, the shroud, the mattock, and the grave:
The deep damp vault, the darkness, and the worm;
These are the bugbears of a winter's eve,
The terrors of the living, not the dead."

"The fantastic horrors with which the mind of the average sensual man has surrounded the grave" are[395] expressed in a concentrated manner by Claudio's outburst in Shakespeare's *Measure for Measure* (act iii., scene 1):—

"Ay, but to die, and go we know not where;
To lie in cold obstruction, and to rot;
This sensible warm motion to become
A kneaded clod; and the delighted spirit
To bathe in fiery floods, or to reside
In thrilling regions of thick-ribbed ice;
To be imprison'd in the viewless winds
And blown with restless violence roundabout
The pendent world; or to be worse than worst
Of those, that lawless and uncertain thoughts
Imagine howling!—'tis too horrible!
The weariest and most loathèd worldly life,
That age, ache, penury, and imprisonment
Can lay on nature, is a paradise
To what we fear of death."

A stately kind of fear of death is expressed by the Scottish poet, William Dunbar (about 1465–1530), in his "spacious" elegy, "The Lament for the Makaris [Poets],"

[395] As the reviewer of this book in the *British Medical Journal* for April 24th, 1915 (p. 725), pointed out. He likewise referred to the description of the last agony in Cardinal Newman's *Dream of Gerontius*.

and it seems that in 1508 Dunbar had cause to fear that his own health was failing. Following are some of the stanzas :—

"I that in health was and gladness,
Am troubled now with great sickness,
Enfeebled with infirmity.
Timor mortis conturbat me.

Our pleasance here is all vain glory,
This false world is but transitory,
The flesh is bruckle, the fiend is slee [sly, cunning].
Timor mortis conturbat me.

The state of man doth change and vary,
Now sound, now sick, now blythe, now sary [sorry],
Now dancing merry, now 'like to dee.'
Timor mortis conturbat me.

Unto the Death go all estates,
Princes, Prelates, and Potestates
Both rich and poor of all degree.
Timor mortis conturbat me."

These magnificent verses by Dunbar may be compared in their power and pathos with the famous Mediaeval Latin dirge by Thomas of Celano, *Dies irae, dies illa*, and with James Shirley's well-known English dirge (1659) commencing, *The glories of our blood and state.* Dunbar's "Testament of Maister Andro Kennedy" (a good specimen of one kind of "macaronic" verse), of which the following lines are a sample, may be contrasted with his above-quoted "Lament" :—

"I wish na priestis for me sing,
Dies illa, dies irae,
Nar yet na bellis for me ring,
Sicut semper solet fieri."

John Henry, Cardinal Newman, in his *Dream of Gerontius,* makes the dying man give a wonderful "intellectual" description of the fancied last agony :—

"That sense of ruin which is worse than pain,
That masterful negation and collapse
Of all that makes me man . . .
* * * * * *
As though
Down; down for ever I was falling through
The solid framework of created things."

The horror of the idea of death felt by the ordinary sensual man is also expressed in John Webster's fine play, *The White Devil* (first printed in 1612), when the Duke of Brachiano, dying of poison, exclaims :—

> "On pain of death, let no man name death to me:
> It is a word infinitely terrible."

This reminds one of the euphemistic avoidance of the word by the ancient Romans, and others. In regard to horror of the idea of death, see also the passages quoted further on (Part II. xix., xx.), from Shakespeare's plays, &c.

The attributes and pomp of death may frighten more than death itself. Cf. Bacon's Essays, "Of Death," and his reference to a supposed passage on the terror of the pomp of death in the writings of "an ancient philosopher": "Pompa mortis magis terret quam mors ipsa." Yet the "pomp of death," in the form of a funeral or funeral procession (*pompe funèbre*), has been appreciated by great rulers (the Emperor Charles V, &c.); it is a spectacle still dearly loved by a certain class of the community, and in the hearts of many servant-girls and others is only rivalled by the pomp of weddings.[396]

Educated modern Europeans would mostly not be particularly astonished to hear that some man (or woman) of their acquaintance, whose death had been announced, had left a request that his body should be cremated and his ashes then scattered to the winds. Indeed, the immense importance attached to burial and funeral rites by the Ancient Greeks and Romans can hardly be

[396] It is not so very long ago that, in England as well as in other European countries, public executions of criminals were attended by an eager throng of sight-seers, such as crowd to see cricket or football matches, horse-races and prize-fights, or (in Spain) bull-fights.

realized nowadays. Thus, it was considered a man's supremely "pious" duty to see to the burial of relatives, friends, and companions in arms. It was not considered proper conduct to leave any dead body, even of a stranger, or part of a body, without burial, or at least an attempt to cover it with earth. Amongst the Romans anyone finding an unburied body was morally bound to cast earth at least three times on it. Cf. Horace, *Od.*, i. 28. 36: "Injecto ter pulvere curras." It was thought that in the absence of funeral rites the dead man's soul wandered restlessly upon the earth. Cf. Tertullian, *De Animâ*, 56; and Virgil, *Aen.*, vi. 325: "Haec omnis, quam cernis, inops inhumataque turba est." Virgil makes the figure of Palinurus, one of the unhappy crowd, beg Aeneas to search for his unburied body and charitably cast earth over it.

In spite of the importance universally attached amongst the ancients to the performance of the "necessary" burial and funeral rites the presence or absence of unnecessary splendour of funeral pomp was sometimes viewed in quite another light. Thus, Theognis of Megara, in the sixth century B.C., wrote (English version by John Hookham Frere):—

> "A couch of thorns, or an embroidered bed,
> Are matters of indifference to the dead."

And though the ancients, as we see, were in general far from believing that "He lacks not much that lacks a grave," yet Virgil, in his famous description of the sack of Troy, makes the aged Anchises (for the sake of his son Aeneas and the future of his race), by a decision of supreme self-abnegation, brave the danger of remaining unburied (*Aeneid*, book ii. line 646): "Facilis jactura

sepulchri est." (As to the enlightened indifference of some ancients on the subject of burial, see also further on.)

The following story, illustrating the popular feeling on the subject amongst the ancients, is an English version, by William Hay, of an epigram by Carphyllides in the Greek Anthology:—

> "While from the strand his line a fisher threw,
> Shoreward a shipwrecked human head he drew.
> His moistened eyes soft drops of pity shed,
> While gazing on the bald and trunkless head.
> No spade he had; but while his active hands
> Scraped a small grave among the yielding sands,
> A store of gold, there hid, he found. Yes! yes!
> Heaven will the just man's pious actions bless."

The same feeling on the subject is further illustrated by Sophocles in his *Antigone*, where Antigone disregards all consequences in her determination to bury the dead body of her brother Polynices, which had been left unburied by the command of Creon, King of Thebes. An exactly similar idea is that in the *Ajax* of Sophocles, and in the *Supplices* of Euripides, and in many passages in Homer's *Iliad*, especially where Priam, the aged King of Troy, comes as a suppliant to Achilles to beg the body of his son, Hector, for burial. (Achilles had insultingly fastened the corpse of Hector to his chariot and had thus dragged it, trailing on the ground, in sight of the Trojans, into the Greek camp.) After the naval battle of Arginusae (B.C. 406) the Athenians condemned ten of their victorious leaders to death for having allowed seamen of sinking ships to drown unrescued, thus depriving them of a grave.

Allied to the horror of the idea of the body after death being left without burial was a fear of dying in a foreign country, which has been satirized by the saying of Anaxagoras that "all places are equi-distant from Hades." An epitaph by Tymnes (*Anthol. Graeca*, vii. 477) says that though the deceased was buried at Eleutherna instead of beside the Nile, it made no difference—"the road from everywhere was the same to Hades." An anonymous epigram in the Greek Anthology satirically

alludes to the easy way to Hades,[397] the straight highway we must all follow:—

"Straight the descent to Hades, whence so e'er,
From Athens or from Meroë, you fare:
Nor grieve to die when far from home; you'll find
To Hades everywhere a favouring wind."

Cf. Beaumont and Fletcher (*The Custom of the Country*, act. ii., scene 2): "Death has so many doors to let out life."

The idea of Pompey's corpse lying (for a time) unburied on the Egyptian shore formed the subject of a fine Latin epigram by the Italian poet, Francesco Molza (died 1544).[398] Of this John Fiske quoted the following English paraphrase:—

"We grieve not, Pompey, that to thee
No earthly tomb was given;
All lands subdued, nought else was free
To shelter thee but Heaven!"

Molza was probably inspired by Lucan's words (*Pharsalia*, vii. line 819): "Coelo tegitur qui non habet urnam," which have been paraphrased in English by Sir Thomas Browne (*Religio Medici*) as follows:—

"He that unburied lies wants not his hearse,
For unto him a tomb's the Universe."

Socrates, according to Plato, told Criton that it did not matter to him what was done with his body when he was dead; and this enlightened opinion may have indirectly suggested the hexameter line of Maecenas, which is

[397] English version given by Lord Neaves, *Greek Anthology*, 1874.

[398] For the Latin epigrammatists and poets of the European Renaissance, in Italy, France, Belgium, and the Netherlands, see the various series of *Delitiae*, collected by R. Gherus, published at the commencement of the seventeenth century. For Latin epigrams and poems by German writers see Matthias Borbonius, *Delititiae Poetarum Germanorum*, Frankfurt, 1612; and other collections.

quoted by Seneca (*Epist. Mor.*, xcii. 35, that is to say. Lib. xiv. 4, 35):—

"Nec tumulum curo; sepelit natura relictos."

In reality, the whole world (*orbis terrarum*, in its various senses) forms the tomb of every one, both great and small, but Lord Morley beautifully refers to this subject only in regard to the great ones: "Though he [Byron] may have no place in our own Minster, he assuredly belongs to the band of far-shining men, of whom Pericles declared the whole world to be the tomb."[399] According to an epigram, by Addoeus, in the Greek Anthology, the whole world was said to constitute the funeral monument of Alexander the Great. In the Greek Anthology also are somewhat similar epigrams on Themistocles. One (by Geminus) commences: "Give me no grave but Greece"; and another (by Philippus the Anthologist) begins:—

"Trace on my tomb the mountains and the sea,
And let the all-seeing Sun a witness be."[400]

To somewhat the same group of exaggerated, but effective, complimentary epigrams belongs the epitaph by Cardinal Bembo on Raphael:—

"Hic ille est Raphael, metuit quo sospite vinci
Rerum magna parens, et moriente, mori."

Sir Sidney Lee[401] notes that the "identical conceit" was used in Shakespeare's epitaph in the church at Stratford-on-Avon:—

"Shakespeare, with whom quick nature died";

[399] John Morley, Viscount Morley, *Critical Miscellanies*, London. 1886, vol. i. p. 251.

[400] Lord Neaves, *The Greek Anthology*, Edinburgh, 1874, pp. 28, 29.

[401] Sir Sidney Lee, *The Annual Shakespeare Lecture*, 1915.

and the great English dramatist was thus placed "in that category of creative artists, to which Bembo had assigned Raphael." To the same class of verses for tombs or cenotaphs belong John Prince's lines on Sir Francis Drake (died 1596), the great English circumnavigator:—

"The waves became his winding-sheet,
The waters were his tomb:
But for his fame the ocean sea
Was not sufficient room."

Of very similar style is also Beza's Latin epigram on Holbein's half-length portrait of the famous Erasmus.[402] The following English translation of it is quoted by H. P. Dodd [403]:—

"One half this canvass shows of that great sage,
Whom worlds proclaim the wonder of the age;
Why not the whole? Cease, reader, thy surprise,
Him the whole earth's not able to comprise."

(Cf. the epigrams on physicians in an ultra-laudatory style, referred to in Part II. under Heading x.)

Ancient funeral and sepulchral rites and customs are well illustrated by certain Egyptian painted papyri, sarcophagi, sepulchral tablets, stelae, and tombs, by Greek and Etruscan painted vases, by certain wall-paintings from Etruscan tombs, and by reliefs and painted scenes on ancient sarcophagi, stelae and other sepulchral monuments of various periods (see the elaborate article under the heading "Funus," in Daremberg, Saglio, and Pottier's *Dictionnaire des Antiquités*, Paris, 1896, vol. ii. pp. 1367–1409).

In regard to tombs, funeral rites, &c., see also Percy Gardner's *Sculptured Tombs of Hellas* (London, 1896), and the notes and illustrations given by Sir J. E. Sandys, *A Companion to Latin Studies*.

[402] Printed in Abraham Wright's *Delitiae Delitiarum*, Oxford, 1637, p. 15.

[403] H. P. Dodd, *The Epigrammatists*, London, 1870, p. 135.

1913, pp. 179–184, and by Mrs. Arthur Strong, *The Apotheosis and After Life*, London, 1915. Many Roman tombs, and various antiquities connected with funeral rites, are illustrated in Bernard de Montfaucon's *L'Antiquité expliquée*, Paris, vol. v. part i., and Supplem. vol. v.

Funerals, funeral processions, and sepulchral monuments are, moreover, illustrated by minor works of art, such as prints and medals, of many periods. The miniature sarcophagi, the sepulchral urns, the Egyptian Canopic vessels, the small stelae, the memorial tablets, the Etruscan and ancient Italian funeral masks, and the Roman altar-like funeral urns, in the various English and foreign museums, bear of course on the subject.

The Etruscan and ancient Italian hut-urns, Canopic urns, and funeral masks (of terra-cotta or bronze) are especially curious. See the British Museum *Guide to the Exhibition illustrating Greek and Roman Life*, London, 1908, pp. 228, 230, and figures 237–239.

To some extent Roman mortuary or *consecratio* coins, struck to commemorate the deification, apotheosis or immortality of deceased emperors and empresses, come under this heading. Amongst such *consecratio* types are: a large funeral pile or mausoleum; and a funeral carpentum drawn by mules or elephants. Under the same heading, and to the same extent, come the German mortuary Thaler and other coins ("Sterbemünzen," "Sterbethaler," Begräbnissthaler, &c.), commemorating the death and burial of German sovereigns and princes. Then there are the numismatic and other small representations of tombs and famous mausoleums. Even the medalets made in various countries and at various times for distribution at funerals might find a place here.

One of the most curious suggestions in regard to sepulchral monuments is Jeremy Bentham's proposal to make what he calls "auto-icons." An unpublished fragment (1831–1832) by Bentham, in the British Museum, explains how every man, if embalmed, might be his own statue. There is a kind of "auto-icon" of Bentham himself

preserved in the anatomical museum of University College, London, consisting of his skeleton (without the head) dressed up, by the help of padding, in clothes that he wore during life. The face is represented by a wax mask, and the sitting attitude of the figure is very life-like; but for making such a figure it was quite unnecessary to have employed the actual skeleton at all.

Embalming has, indeed, been occasionally resorted to with more or less success to make an "auto-icon." Thus, in the museum of the Royal College of Surgeons, London, is the embalmed body of the first wife of Martin van Butchell (1735–1812), which that eccentric quack is said to have kept in his parlour till he married his second wife. The embalming in question was the work of William Hunter and W. C. Cruikshank, in 1775. A French visitor to London, Faujas Saint-Fond, who, about 1790, examined the collection of John Sheldon (1752–1808), the anatomist, has recorded a romantic story concerning the body of a beautiful young woman, which was embalmed (about 1775) by Sheldon. This body is now likewise in the museum (presented to it by Mrs. Sheldon) of the Royal College of Surgeons, London, and the story in question is quoted by D'Arcy Power.[404] According to it the woman herself, when dying of consumption, was said to have asked Sheldon to embalm her body and keep it near him. In a French town I have seen an excellent nineteenth century example of the "auto-icon." In that case it was the wonderfully life-like, embalmed body of the father, retained in a place of honour in his old home by the son who inherited the house from him.

If the making of "auto-icons" of this kind became fashionable they would soon begin to overflow into the museums and old curiosity shops; and those of famous personages of the modern world would share the museum honours with the mummified bodies of the Pharaohs and nobility of ancient Egypt, &c. The subject reminds me of a passage in Ouida's (Louise De la Ramée's) novel, *Chandos* (1866): "Immortality is dull work—a hideous statue that gets black as soot in no time . . . . a tombstone for the canes of the curious to poke at . . . . and a partial preservation shared in common with mummies, auks' eggs, snakes in bottles, and deformities in spirits of wine:—that's posthumous fame."

In connexion with the "Pomp of Death," a reference is not out of place to the tinsel-like or plated character of the jewellery, and of the inferior quality of the "furniture" and offerings of various kinds used for funereal and sepulchral purposes in Greek and Roman times. Of course, many sepulchral objects, including the leaden

[404] In the *Physician and Surgeon*, London, July 26th, 1900, page 1050.

antique finger-rings, and the large relatively modern ecclesiastical plated rings, may be regarded as "tokens" only. It seems probable that the silvered terra-cotta ware described by A. Klügmann,[405] of which several examples, from tombs in Central Italy, are now in the British Museum, were made exclusively to be used as "furniture" for tombs.[406] An oenochoë and an amphora in the British Museum are mere outer shells made to look like vessels, but with large apertures at the base, so that they could never have held any liquid. Aristophanes, in a passage[407] in his *Ecclesiazusae* (line 996), refers to an artist "who paints lecythi for the dead," in an evidently disdainful and satirical manner. In the tomb in which the Etruscan sarcophagus of a lady, "Seianti Thanunia, wife of Tlesna" (second century B.C.), was found, were some silver vases, a silver mirror, &c., which are now, together with the sarcophagus, in the British Museum. They are extremely thin, as if they were made for "tomb furniture," and not for actual use. Many similar examples could be cited pointing to the special manufacture of "tomb furniture" by the ancients. It should be remembered that offerings at graves and sepulchral "furniture" were probably not thought of as for direct use, but rather as symbols or tokens of food and objects of comfort and delight which it was hoped that the dead would obtain in their after-life by a kind of "sympathetic magic" (cf. Part II. ii.).

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[405] A. Klügmann, *Annali dell' Instituto di' Corrispondenza Archeologica*, 1871, vol. 43, p. 5.

[406] See F. P. Weber, "Exhibition of an Antique Phiale of Terra-cotta, supposed to have been originally silvered to imitate Metal," *Proc. Soc. Ant. Lond.* 1895, second series, vol. xv. p. 305.

[407] To which my attention was kindly drawn by Mr. E. J. Forsdyke.

Mrs. Arthur Strong[408] writes: "In the beginning, at any rate, the tomb is not furnished, as is popularly supposed, with objects known to the dead while yet alive or beloved by them—a late and sentimental notion. The real function of these objects, whether the doll of the child or the armour of the warrior, is rather to obtain for the dead, by a sort of sympathetic magic, the things which may induce them to stay in another world."

Possibly some of the numerous plated and other spurious specimens, now regarded as contemporary forgeries of antique coins, may have at the time been regularly utilized, even if not expressly manufactured, for funereal and sepulchral purposes, or for votive offerings at shrines, to be cast into sacred wells, &c. It has been remarked by a numismatist, Mr. J. Allan tells me, that in finds of Roman denarii which have been dropped as votive offerings into wells, &c., the proportion of the plated pieces is surprisingly large. The Chinese use facsimiles of Mexican dollars—made of pasteboard or papier-maché, covered with lacquer—for funeral purposes.[409] It appears that, according to modern Confucianism, such "token-money," and imitation Mexican dollars, specially made for the purpose, may be burnt as an offering to the souls of ancestors, the idea being that such token-money can be thus transferred to and give pleasure to the ghosts of those who have died. Such imitation coins form part of the funeral furniture of the house where a coffin of the deceased is placed in the City of the Dead at Canton. In earlier times in China *actual* coins were buried with the dead; for instance, the very early Chinese knife-like coins are found amongst the

[408] Mrs. Arthur Strong, *op. cit.*, pp. 126, 127.

[409] Cf. Rev. E. Rogers, *Proceedings of the Royal Numismatic Society*, of London, page 11, bound up with the *Numismatic Chronicle*, London, 1911, fourth series, vol. xi.

contents of tombs (information obtained through the kindness of Mr. G. F. Hill).

In regard, however, to real treasures of great value deposited in tombs, see the account of jewels, &c., found in 1544, in the tomb of Maria, the child-wife of the Emperor Honorius and daughter of his all-powerful adviser, Stilicho; and the golden signet-ring and other objects found in 1654 in the tomb of the Frankish King Childeric I, who died in 481 A.D.[410] The original object of depositing such treasures in tombs before the establishment of Christianity had apparently been the idea of propitiating the *Manes* of the deceased.

Similarly, it cannot be said that the objects found in the famous Oseberg tumulus were in any way "sepulchral shams." They are now exhibited in the "Oseberg Hall" of the Historical Museum of the University of Christiania. The tumulus in question, near Tönsberg, on the west side of the Christiania Fiord, was excavated about 1903. It was a "ship-tomb" of the Northmen of the ninth century, the burial place of a queen of Vestfold. In the beautiful "Oseberg" ship, with her, was buried a bondswoman, together with horses, oxen and dogs offered to the deceased queen, a wagon, sledges, wooden beds, a chair, two chests containing various articles, a loom and an apparatus for "broad weaving," fabrics (many with interesting patterns and figures), and domestic and kitchen outfit, the whole constituting a complete equipment for future life in the next world. The carving on some of the wooden articles and on parts of the ship is very fine, and characteristic of the Viking Age.

[410] Cf. C. W. King, on "Tomb Treasures," in *The Gnostics and their Remains*, second edition, London, 1887, pp. 191–194. For the inscriptions from the tomb of Childeric asking that his bones may not be disturbed see Part II. xvii.

The burying of objects of value with the dead has doubtless encouraged the desecration and plundering of tombs in ancient days, as in modern times. Saint Gregory the Theologian (of Nazianzus), in the fourth century of the Christian Era, wrote many epigrams on the subject, including one which is translated as follows by W. R. Paton:[111] "Let the monuments of the dead be dead too, and let him who erects a magnificent tomb to the dust meet with this fate. For that man would never have pillaged my tomb if he had not expected to get gold from the dead." The excavation or opening of ancient tombs for antiquarian and historical purposes is, of course, a matter quite different from the robbing of fresh graves by thieves attracted merely by the hope of getting treasure.

The subject of relative fear or fearlessness of death has already been referred to in Part I., and further back in Part II., under the present and various preceding headings (especially Heading v.). There are many moderns who, like Falstaff (Shakespeare's *Henry IV*, part ii., act ii., scene 4) and the Duke of Brachiano (John Webster's play, *The White Devil*, 1612), dislike any talk or thought which reminds them of the subject of death. Isabella, in Shakespeare's *Measure for Measure* (act iii., scene 1), says: "The sense of death is most in apprehension." Casca, in Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*, says, "Why, he that cuts off twenty years of life, cuts off so many years of fearing death."

Such making light of the idea of political or semi-political assassinations may be compared with the following anonymous epigram[112] on the murder of George Villiers, first Duke of Buckingham, by John Felton (1628): —

> "Some say the Duke was gracious, virtuous, good,
> And basely Felton did to spill his blood;
> If that be true, what did he then amiss
> In sending him the sooner to his bliss?
> Pale death is pleasing to a good man's eye,
> And none but bad men are afraid to die.
> Left he this kingdom to a passage better?
> Why, then, Felton hath made the Duke his debtor."

[111] W. R. Paton, *The Greek Anthology*, Loeb Classical Library, 1917, vol. ii. p. 481.

[112] Quoted by H. P. Dodd, *The Epigrammatists*, London, 1870, p. 236.

Again, in Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* (act ii., scene 2), Caesar says :—

"Cowards die many times before their deaths ;
The valiant never taste of death but once.
Of all the wonders that I yet have heard,
It seems to me most strange that men should fear,
Seeing that death, a necessary end,
Will come, when it will come."

To many earnest and serious and brave men, however, it is not in any way consoling to be reminded : "A man can die only once, and, if he is a wise man, it should be a matter of indifference to him whether death comes a little earlier or a little later." There is a Russian proverb, "One cannot die twice." Feeble (in Shakespeare's *King Henry IV*, part ii., act iii., scene 2), when he found he could not avoid being called out to the war, tried to console himself by saying : "By my troth, I care not ; a man can die but once ; we owe God a death . . ." Cf. the quotations given in Part II. iv., on dying only once. Nowadays, however, even more than of old, a man often feels that his span of active life, however long, must yet be all too short for the work he would like to do and the objects he would hope to achieve. Such a man might dwell with some bitterness on the eternal truth of Hippocrates' aphorism, *Vita brevis, ars longa*, and he might even regret that Nature had not been kind enough to permit him to die more than once so that he could make use of more than one life to accomplish his life's object. The object need not be the advancement of science, knowledge, civilisation, or altruistic schemes of universal charity, enlightened government, the abolition of warfare, and a golden age ; it may be simply one of personal love, duty or patriotism. Addison (*Cato*, act iv., scene 4) makes his character say : "What a pity is it that we can die but once to save our country ! " Thus also, in a letter published during the Great European War, a lady wrote that she "would gladly die a thousand deaths," could she thereby bring back peace and happiness to the world. And in various works of fiction we are all familiar with romantic expressions of the following type : "Had I a hundred lives, a hundred times I would die to save you," or, "I would gladly give them all to save you." Indeed, the idea of dying only once, implying, as it does, having only one life, is, as is pointed out elsewhere in this book, rather the cause of a pessimistic than a consolatory aspect of life. So, on the seal, long ago, of Chosroës I ("the Great") of Persia (see Part IV. ii.) part of the inscription was : "One lives once only, what can I desire ? Behind me is Death, what can delight me ? "

Walter Savage Landor wrote :—

"Death stands above me, whispering low
I know not what into my ear :
Of his strange language all I know
Is, there is not a word of fear."

A Greek epigram by Lucilius is thus translated by W. Cowper[413]:—

"Far happier are the dead, methinks, than they
Who look for death, and fear it every day."

Lord Neaves (*The Greek Anthology*, Edinburgh, 1874, p. 114) gives another English version:—

"I mourn not those who lose their vital breath;
But those who, living, live in fear of death."

Sir Thomas More[414] wrote a Latin version of the same epigram:—

"Non ego quos rapuit mors defleo: defleo vivos
Quos urunt longo fata futura metu."

In regard to death bringing an end to all fear, doubt, &c., cf. the following lines of the eighteenth century:—

"Past is the fear of future doubt,
The sun is from the dial gone,
The sands are sunk, the glass is out,
The folly of the farce is done."

Those who have an exaggerated (morbid), almost continual dread of the inevitable end, may be said to pass their time:—

"... in one continued strife,
'Twixt fear of death and love of life."

Thinking much of death should not be confused with fearing death. Though excessive (morbid) dread of death ("thanatophobia") must partially spoil life and may perhaps make life wretched, frequent thinking of death need certainly not have the same effect. Montaigne, and many others who meditated much on death, were certainly not prevented by dread of death from enjoying and making a more or less good use of life.

It may be noted, however, as has been stated by philosophers and psychologists, that most normal persons do not think much on their own death, but rather, they look on death as something concerning their neighbours, friends and others, not themselves. When a man in apparent bodily health is obsessed by a fear of death, he is perhaps psychologically in a morbid condition of vague anxiety, allied to "agoraphobia," "claustrophobia," &c., the anxiety "crystallising out" in the form of the greatest "phobia" of all, namely, the fear of death. Such a condition may doubtless have a bodily basis, of a nutritional

[413] Quoted in Dodd's *Epigrammatists*, 1870, p. 50.

[414] Sir Thomas More, *Epigrammata ... Thomae Mori*, printed by J. Frobenius at Basel, 1520, p. 34.

kind or connected with disturbance of the "internal secretions" (endocrine organs).

In regard to this subject the Rev. C. J. Mead-Allen has kindly drawn my attention to Edward Young's *Night Thoughts* (1742, Night i., line 424): "All men think all men mortal but themselves." In this connexion he likewise quotes Maxim 154 of Francesco Guicciardini's (1483–1540) *Piu Consigli* (Paris, 1576): "The older a man doth grow the more is death irksome to him; and more and more . . . doth he live as if he were certain never to die." Cf. also the interesting paper on the medical-psychological aspects of the fear of death, &c., read by Sir Robert Armstrong-Jones before the Medical Society of London (March 12, 1917), and the discussion which followed.[415] The above quotation from Young's *Night Thoughts* sometimes applies to sick persons as well as to those who (to themselves) appear to be in ordinary health. On this subject James Fordyce (1720–1796) has a curious epigram[416]:—

> "'My neighbour Thornton cannot live a day,'
> Cried honest Jones then in a deep decay.
> 'Jones cannot live a day,' cried Thornton, broke
> With cruel gout, though still he loved a joke.
> To think himself might die each one was loth:
> Before the day expired, Death seized them both."

The Aesopian saying on the subject may also be referred to: *Βέλτιον θανεῖν ἅπαξ ἢ διὰ βίου τρέμειν* (It is better to die once for all than to live in constant terror). A similar thought was expressed by Julius Caesar, according to Plutarch's *Life of Julius Caesar* (lvii.): *Βέλτιόν ἐστιν ἅπαξ ἀποθανεῖν ἢ ἀεὶ προσδοκᾶν* (It is better to die once for all than to live in continual expectation of death). This is paraphrased in the passage quoted above from Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* (act ii., scene 2).

Martial's epigram on the suicide of "Fannius" (*Epig.*, ii. 80)—

> "Hostem cum fugeret se Fannius ipse peremit.
> Hic, rogo, non furor est, ne moriare, mori?"—

[415] "The Psychology of Fear," *Transactions of the Medical Society of London*, 1917, vol. 40, pp. 120–154.

[416] Quoted in Dodd's *Epigrammatists*, 1870, p. 419.

is thus translated by William Hay (1695–1755):—

"Himself he slew when he the foe would fly:
What madness this, for fear of death to die!"

Martial's epigram evidently inspired the following anonymous lines on the death (by suicide one must suppose) of a hypochondriac:—

"Death by a conduct strange and new,
Proved here th' effect, and motive too:
Ned met the blow he meant to fly,
And died because—he feared to die."[417]

Seneca (*Epist.*, 69) spoke of the folly of dying from the fear of death ("Stultitia est timore mortis mori"), and Robert Burton, in his *Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621), quoted as a "true saying," "Timor mortis morte pejor."

This is really one of the *Sententiae* of Publius Syrus: "The fear of death is more to be dreaded than death itself" (Maxim 511 of Darius Lyman's translation).

This particular point is well illustrated by one of Thomas Rowlandson's coloured caricatures (1792), entitled "The Hypochondriac." The miserable patient, seated in a chair, is a prey to fears. He sees a hearse and a skeleton (Death) threatening to spear him, whilst a

[417] One may suppose that "Fannius" and "Ned"—whether real or imaginary characters—before they killed themselves, reasoned: "Rather an end with terror than terror without end." Words to that effect from a German poem by Ernst Moritz Arndt (1769–1860)—"Lieber ein Ende mit Schrecken als ein Schrecken ohne Ende"—were used as a text by Admiral Carl Holweg (the "naval Bernhardi") in his book, published in Germany in February 1917, with the title "Our Right to the Submarine War"—a book which was intended to explain the reasons for the blockade of England by means of ruthless submarine warfare, and which was, in fact, the naval analogue of General Friedrich A. J. von Bernhardi's military book on "Germany and the Next War" (published a few years before the outbreak of the Great European War).

ghastly figure personifying Suicide offers him a pistol or a rope to kill himself with.

This reminds one of the lines by Francis Quarles (1592-1644), quoted by H. P. Dodd [418]:—

"But to make a trade of trying
Drugs and doses, always pruning,
Is to die for fear of dying;
He's untuned that's always tuning."

Dodd,[419] in the same connexion, quotes the following lines from the poem "Of Old Age," by Sir John Denham (1615-1669):—

"Such madness, as for fear of death to die,
Is, to be poor for fear of poverty."

Francis Bacon (in his second essay on death, already referred to) allows that the pomp and circumstance attending deaths make the idea of death terrible: "groanes and convulsions, and a discoloured face, and friends weeping and blackes (*i.e.* hired mourners?) and obsequies, and the like."

Montaigne wrote: "I verily believe it is the frightful ceremonies and apparatus with which we surround it that terrify us more than the thing itself; the entire change in our manner of life; the wailing of mothers, wives and children; the visits of startled and afflicted friends; a number of servants standing round us pale and weeping; daylight shut out of our chamber, and tapers lighted; our bedside besieged by physicians and preachers; in short, every possible ghastliness and horror gathered round us;—why, we seem dead and buried already . . . Happy is the death that leaves us no leisure for such ceremonies and preparations." Again, he declared: "I can regard death with indifference, when I look at it in the general as the end of life. I can vaunt over it in the gross, but it beats me in detail. The tears of a servant, the disposition of my wardrobe, the touch of a well-known hand, a commonplace word of consolation, melts me and breaks me down."[420] Montaigne in his writings dealt much with the subject of death, and his allusions to, and discussions on, the subject are not by any means limited to his essays on age, and the various aspects of death: "Of Age"; "That to Philosophise is to Learn to die"; "Of Judging of the Death of Another"; &c. See the standard English translation of his "Essays," by Charles Cotton (originally published in 1685), revised by Hazlitt and Wight.

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[418] H. P. Dodd, *The Epigrammatists*, 1870, p. 84.
[419] H. P. Dodd, *loc. cit.*
[420] W. Lucas Collins, *Montaigne*, 1879, pp. 126, 128.

Bacon, however, also reminds one that the fear of death is not strong enough to prevent it being mastered by various human passions, including revenge, love, and honour. "Revenge triumphs over death; love slights it; honour aspireth to it; griefe flieth to it; feare preoccupateth it."

Men have, of course, often risked, or even lost, their lives in defending what rightfully belongs to them or what they have stolen from others. Manly resistance to robbers is generally admired, though it may sometimes be folly. Certainly, in the "good old times" of Mediaeval Europe, many had to be ready to forcibly defend their property, when the rule often was the "right of war," *qui potest capere capiat* (cf. Rabelais, *Pantagruel*, chap. 26), or as Wordsworth put it ("Rob Roy's Grave"):—

"The simple plan,
That they should take who have the power,
And they should keep who can."

Actual avarice may sometimes be greater than the fear of death. Cf. the satirical epigram by Nicarchus, in the Greek Anthology, translated as follows[421]:—

"So Pheidon weeps, poor miser,—
Not because death is near;
But because he bought a coffin,
And paid for it too dear."

H. P. Dodd[422] quotes two somewhat similar epigrams.

In regard to Love "slighting Death," cf. Sir Philip Sidney (1554–1586):—

"Dost thou ever think to enter
Th' Elysian fields, that dar'st not venture
In Charon's barge? A lover's mind
Must use to sail with every wind."

Dryden expressed only the same idea in his oft-quoted line: "None but the brave deserves the fair."

Similarly, Dr. John Donne (1573–1631) belittles the terror-inspiring power of death:—

"Death! be not proud, though some have called thee
Mighty and dreadful, for thou art not so:
For those whom thou think'st thou dost overthrow
Die not, poor Death! . . . . . .
Thou'rt slave to fate, chance, kings, and desperate men,
. . . . . Why swell'st thou then?"

[421] *Notes and Queries*, London, 5th series, 1874, vol. i. p. 226.
[422] H. P. Dodd, *Epigrammatists*, second edition, London, 1875, p. 587.

In antithesis to La Rochefoucauld's remark (quoted in the Preface) that man can no more look steadily at death than at the sun, we have the following from Schiller's *Wallensteins Lager* (Elfter Auftritt):—

> "Der dem Tod ins Angesicht schauen kann,
> Der Soldat allein, ist der freie Mann."

Wordsworth's "Happy Warrior" is one—

> "Whom neither shape of danger can dismay,
> Nor thought of tender happiness betray."[423]

Martial's famous description of "the Happy life" (Martial, x. 47) ends with the line:—

> "Summum nec metuas diem, nec optes."

Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey (executed in 1547), ended his poem on "the Happy Life," according to Martial, with the following lines:—

> "Contented with thine own estate,
> Ne wish for death, ne fear his might."

Another English version (quoted by Lord Neaves) ends:—

> "To look on life with placid eye,
> And neither fear nor wish to die."

The version by Sir Richard Fanshawe (1608–1666) ends:—

> "Wish only what thou art, to be;
> Death neither wish, nor fear to see."

Cf. John Milton (1608–1674), *Paradise Lost*, book xi. line 553:—

> "Nor love thy life, nor hate; but what thou liv'st
> Live well: how long or short permit to heaven."

Here I would again refer to Albrecht Dürer's famous engraving of 1513, generally called "The Knight, Death,

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[423] Cf. G. F. Watts's well-known painting (now in Munich) of the "Happy Warrior."

and the Devil," representing the "true knight," who rides onwards to the end, by the way of duty, not deterred by the threats of Death nor disturbed by the suggestions of the swinish Devil, though conscious of them, like the author of the Apocalypse: "And I looked, and behold, a pale horse, and his name that sat on him was Death, and Hell followed" (*Revelation* vi. 8).

In regard to complete or relative fearlessness of death I would again quote Virgil's famous lines (*Georg.*, ii. 490):—

> "Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas;
> Atque metus omnes, et inexorabile fatum
> Subjecit pedibus, strepitumque Acherontis avari!"

With this may be compared the words with which Virgil, accompanying Dante to Hades (Dante's *Inferno*, canto vii.), addresses Plutus: "Be silent, accursed wolf! the fury inward on thyself prey, and consume thee!" Then there is the brave attitude and pious wish not to escape from life without paying to the full all life's debts to Nature, as expressed in Robert Browning's *Prospice*:—

"Fear death?—to feel the fog in my throat,
The mist in my face . . . . .
I would hate that death bandaged my eyes, and forebore,
And bade me creep past.
No! let me taste the whole of it, fare like my peers,
The heroes of old;
Bear the brunt, in a minute pay glad life's arrears
Of pain, darkness, and cold."

In regard to a Hamlet-like[424] meditation on the

[424] Cf. Hamlet's oft-quoted soliloquy in Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, Act iii., Scene 1, commencing:—

> "To be, or not to be: that is the question:
> Whether 'tis nobler in the mind to suffer
> The slings and arrows of outrageous fortune,
> Or to take arms against a sea of troubles,
> And by opposing end them? To die: to sleep: . . ."

motives for life and for death—the reasons in favour of, and against, continuing to live—the fear of death weighed against the fear or weariness or pain of life—the following passages [425] might, amongst others, be quoted:—

"I wish to die, yet dare not death endure,
Detest the medicine, yet desire the cure!
Oh! that I'd courage but to meet my fate,
That short dark passage to a future state."

John Dryden, 1631–1700.

"All mankind is one of
These two cowards; either to wish to die
When he should live; or live when he should die."

Sir Robert Howard (brother-in-law of Dryden), 1626–1698, *The Blind Lady.*

"Whatever crazy sorrow saith,
No life that breathes with human breath
Has ever truly longed for death."

Alfred, Lord Tennyson, *Two Voices.*

"Death in itself is nothing; but we fear
To be we know not what, we know not where."

John Dryden, *Aurengzebe* (1675), Act ii., Scene 1.

These lines of Dryden remind one of the commencement of the already quoted passage from Shakespeare's *Measure for Measure* (Act iii., Scene 1):—

"Ay, but do die, and go we know not where."

In regard to the fear of death, much depends on a man's philosophical and religious ideas on life and death, but very much depends also on his age, his aims and aspirations, his surroundings, his means and opportunities for (and power of) enjoyment, his sensibility towards pain and grief, and, lastly not least, his present mental and bodily state of health. Ralph Waldo Emerson's exclamation—"Give me health and a day, and I will make

[425] For which I am indebted to Mr. William Wale.

the pomp of kings and emperors look ridiculous"—may be compared with Martial's well-known hendecasyllabic line, "Non est vivere sed valere vita." Montaigne pointed out that during a period of pain or sickness the idea of death might lose its customary terrors, and J. de La Bruyère observed that "a long sickness seems to have been placed between life and death, in order that death itself may become a relief both to those who die and those who are left." [426]

The above quoted line from Martial (*Epig.*, vi. 70. 15) was adopted as a motto by the Royal Medical and Chirurgical Society of London (afterwards merged into the Royal Society of Medicine); but, like many aphorisms, it is neither true in the literal sense, nor altogether true in the sense which was originally intended, namely, "Real life is the being in health, not merely the being alive." How far, in this latter sense, it is a true saying depends, of course, on what is meant by "health" and "real life." Some persons are satisfied with life, and make it not only enjoyable to themselves, but even useful to others, though they can hardly be said to possess "health." To such persons, indeed, it seems as if, owing to their physical deficiency, more of the stream of vital energy has been directed into intellectual channels, thus increasing their powers of observation, their love of Nature, their sympathy with others, and their highest mental enjoyments of life. Thus Sir William Osler [427] writes: "How true it is that ill-health, the bridle of Theages, Plato calls it, may concentrate a man's resources, and bring out qualities of work, the fruits of the spirit, that may be missed in the hurly-burly of the work-a-day world."

Under Heading iv., on "Death as the end of Pain and Misery," I alluded to the English finger-ring inscription—"Breath paine, Death gaine"—and to the great fresco painting (fourteenth century) of the "Triumph of Death" in the Campo Santo of Pisa, where the poor and

[426] W. Lucas Collins, *Montaigne*, 1879, p. 125.

[427] Sir William Osler, *Lancet*, London, November 27th, 1915, p. 1224.

wretched are represented praying to die, but invoking death in vain:—

> "Death shuns the naked throat and proffered breast;
> He flies when called to be a welcome guest."
>
> Sir Charles Sedley (1639–1701).

The same idea is expressed on the fifteenth-century fresco of the "Triumph of Death" in the Palazzo Sclafani at Palermo. There Death is represented triumphing over pope, kings, and the great of the world. With his darts he has just struck down a lady and a youth in the midst of social festivities, but the poor and wretched implore him in vain to release them from their misery. With these and other ideas and designs already referred to (Heading iv.), the following Latin inscriptions on sun-dials might be compared: "Afflictis lentae, celeres gaudentibus horae"; and "Felicibus brevis, miseris vita longa" (cf. also Ecclesiasticus xli. 1, 2).

It is, however, by no means true that aged infirm persons and weary labourers, although they may be tired of life, always welcome the approach of death. Amongst ancient writings, Aesop's fable of "Death and the Woodman" may be remembered in this connexion, and so may the passage in Homer's *Odyssey* (book xi.), where the shade of Achilles in the nether world tells Ulysses that it were better to be a poor labourer's hireling amongst the living than a king amongst the dead. Similarly, some verses by Maecenas, quoted by Seneca, seem to show that in his relative old age the bountiful patron of Virgil, Horace and Propertius, preferred life to death, racked though he was with all conceivable (gouty ?) aches and pains.

William Cowper translates the words of the shade of Achilles in the above-quoted passage from the Odyssey, as follows:—

"I had rather live,
The servile hind for hire, and eat the bread
Of some man scantily himself sustained,
Than sovereign empire hold o'er all the Shades."

In one of Lucian's "Dialogues of the Dead" Achilles, conversing with Antilochus in the gloomy nether regions, repeats this passage from the Homeric poem. In *Measure for Measure* (Act iii., Scene 1) Shakespeare puts a somewhat similar sentiment into the mouth of Claudio:—

"The weariest and most loathèd worldly life
That age, ache, penury, and imprisonment
Can lay on nature, is a paradise
To what we fear of death."

Compare also La Fontaine's fable, *La Mort et le Mourant;*[428] in his *La Mort et le Bucheron*[429] he writes:—

"Plutôt souffrir que mourir
C'est la devise des hommes."

Cf. Shakespeare, *King Lear*, Act v., Scene 3:—

"That we the pain of death would hourly die,
Rather than die at once!"

In regard to the subject of old age and death, the Rev. C. J. Mead-Allen has kindly drawn my attention to the 154th maxim of Francesco Guicciardini's (1483-1540) *Piu Consigli* (published in Paris in 1576, after

[428] Lady Ritchie (Anne Isabella Thackeray), in her *Madame de Sévigné* (1881, p. 59), quotes Jules Andrieu, to the effect that La Fontaine's fable, *Le Curé et la Mort*, is a version in verse of one of Madame de Sévigné's letters, and that Madame de Sévigné's celebrated account of the death of the French statesman Louvois (1641–1691) is a version in prose of La Fontaine's fable, *La Mort et le Mourant*. It was Madame de Sévigné's letter of February 26th, 1672, to her daughter, that told of the Curé (at the funeral of the grandfather of Marshal de Boufflers) being killed by the fall of the coffin from the funeral-car: "Boufflers," she wrote, "has killed a man after he was dead himself."

[429] Boileau also wrote a fable of "Death and the Woodman."

Guicciardini's death[430]): "The older a man doth grow the more is death irksome to him; and more and more doth he live as if he were certain never to die." J. S. Le Fanu, in a beautiful passage of one of his best-known novels, likens the unwillingness of the old persons to die and their clinging to a sometimes even painful life to the unwillingness of tired-out children to say Good night and go to bed; and on the same subject one may call to mind the lightly written introductory chapter of Claude Tillier's ever-popular novel, *Mon Oncle Benjamin*. Thomas Moore's lines (*Odes of Anacreon*) were, I suppose, not meant to refer only to the aged—

> "Still as death approaches nearer,
> The joys of life are sweeter, dearer."

In a certain sense one may admit (Rev. Thomas Adams) that "death stands behind the young man's back, before the old man's face"; and doubtless many persons, when well-advanced in years, have expressed their regret at having to relinquish a life, the true beauties and joys of which they feel that they are only commencing to rightly appreciate. The aged Greek philosopher, Theophrastus, is said to have died complaining that human life ended just when the insight into its problems was beginning. The Athenian legislator, Solon, is said on his death-bed, when he saw two men in the room discussing some question, to have asked them to speak closer to him so that he might hear what they were saying, his desire for knowledge and interest in life remaining with him even when he was dying.[431]

[430] The first publication was, however, at Antwerp, in 1525, that is to say, fifteen years before the author's death.

[431] See "A Discourse of the Preservation of the Sight, &c.," by Andreas Laurentius, translated by Richard Surphlet, London, 1599, p. 192.

A great deal has been written by ancient and modern authors in various languages and in various parts of the world to remedy unreasonable fear, and to offer consolation for the idea of one's own approaching death and for the death of one's friends (see Part I., and Headings i., ii., iv., xv., and xviii. of Part II.). Fortunately (as already mentioned), the near approach of natural death is generally by no means so terrible to the dying individual himself[432] as it is still popularly supposed to be, and as it often is to his loving friends at the death bed.

Cf. Lord Byron (*Prisoner of Chillon*, stanza 8):—

"O God! it is a fearful thing
To see the human soul take wing
In any shape, in any mood."

All physicians, nurses, and others whose duties have necessitated their frequent presence at death scenes, more or less strongly corroborate this statement; and to support it I need only refer, amongst others, to the writings and sayings of Sir Henry Halford,[433] Sir Benjamin Brodie,[434]

[432] Here I may repeat that Anaxagoras (B.C. 500–428) said that every place is equi-distant from Hades. The following anonymous epigram (English version given by Lord Neaves) from the Greek Anthology expresses satirically the *easiness* of the straight highway which we must all follow:—

"Straight the descent to Hades, whencesoe'er,
From Athens or from Meroë, you fare:
Nor grieve to die when far from home; you'll find
To Hades everywhere a favouring wind."

Cf. Beaumont and Fletcher (*The Custom of the Country*, act ii., scene 2): "Death hath so many doors to let out life."

[433] Halford, *Essays and Orations*, first edition, London, 1831; third edition, 1842. In the first edition (p. 79) Halford wrote: "Of the great number to whom it has been my painful professional duty to have administered in the last hours of their lives, I have sometimes felt surprised that so few have appeared reluctant to go to 'the undiscovered country from whose bourne no traveller returns.'"

[434] Works of Sir B. C. Brodie, collected by Charles Hawkins, London, 1865, vol. i. p. 184: "Really, according to my observation, the mere act of dying is seldom, in any sense of the word, a very painful process."

Sir William Gull,[435] Sir W. S. Savory,[436] Dr. William Munk,[437] Sir William Osler,[438] Sir J. F. Goodhart,[439] Professor Hermann Nothnagel,[440] and Professor C. A. Ewald,[441] as well as to Colonel T. H. Lewin's work, *Life and Death*.[442]

[435] Gull, quoted in *The Road to a Healthy Old Age: Essays Lay and Medical*, by T. B. Scott, London, 1914, p. 22. Dr. Scott himself writes: "The so-called agony of death is, in my experience, a chimera."

[436] Savory, *On Life and Death*, London, 1863, p. 178.

[437] Munk (*Euthanasia*, London, 1887) confirms what has been said by Halford, Brodie, and Savory.

[438] Osler, *Science and Immortality*, London, 1904, p. 36.

[439] Goodhart, quoted by Dr. R. W. McKenna, *The Adventure of Death*, London, 1916, p. 72. Dr. MacKenna also gives information in regard to the absence of fear of death and terror and pain in most dying persons. This indifference towards the idea of death is felt not only by persons who are actually dying, but often by those who are merely severely ill. Cf. Dr. Seymour Taylor's account of his own feelings during a bad attack of influenza, *Clinical Journal*, London, 1917, vol. 46, p. 126.

[440] Nothnagel, *Das Sterben*, second edition, Vienna, 1908, p. 52. Professor Nothnagel's own last illness, in 1905, was apparently attended by much distress, but in "angina pectoris," from which he suffered, the ending is sometimes so sudden, that in reference to it, Sir W. Osler (in one of his writings) has quoted Newman's lines on the sudden death of his mother :—

> "One moment here, the next she trod
> The viewless mansions of her God."

Nothnagel kept a diary of his last hours, and another medical sufferer from "angina pectoris," Dr. G. H. R. Dabbs (died 1913), did so also. In the popular mind the idea of sudden death is still terrible, something to pray God to be delivered from (*vide* the Church of England Litany). The popular wish in regard to "dear ones" may still very naturally be expressed in Wordsworth's lines :—

> "But an old age serene and bright,
> And lovely as a Lapland night,
> Shall lead thee to thy Grave."

[441] Ewald, *Ueber Altern und Sterben*, 1913, p. 30.

[442] Lewin, *Life and Death, being an Authentic Account of the Deaths of One Hundred Celebrated Men and Women*, London, 1910.

A great deal is given about the deaths of famous persons in Oscar Bloch's *Om Døden* (Copenhagen, 1903). See also James Rae, *The Deaths of the Kings of England* (London, 1913); and Cabanès, *Les Morts Mystérieuses de l'Histoire* (Paris, first edition, 1901; second edition, two series, undated).

In regard to the near approach of death being by no means so terrible to the actual dying as it has been popularly supposed to be, cf. the corroborating remarks of the Rev. C. J. Mead-Allen (Chaplain of Claybury Asylum) in the discussion on Sir Robert Armstrong-Jones's paper on "The Psychology of Fear" (which I have already referred to), at the Medical Society of London, March 12th, 1917. This paper and the discussion on it may well be consulted in regard to the medical psychological aspects of the fear of death (*Transactions of the Medical Society of London*, 1917, vol. xl. pp. 120–154). In regard to the psychology of normal and abnormal (exaggerated) fear of death ("thanatophobia") see also G. Stanley Hall, "Thanatophobia and Immortality," *American Journal of Psychology*, 1915, vol. xxvi. p. 550.

The physician and anatomist, William Hunter (1718–1783), said on his death-bed to his friend, Charles Combe (the writer on numismatics, &c., 1743–1817): "If I had strength enough to hold a pen, I would write how easy and pleasant a thing it is to die."[443] William Hunter's brother, however, the famous surgeon, John Hunter, died of "angina pectoris," like so many other members of the medical and surgical profession have done.

How different is all such testimony from many ideas about "last hours" (*Mourir n'est rien, c'est notre dernière heure!*) and from those suggested by the illustrations of the religious "guide-book," *Ars Moriendi* (which has been already referred to in Part I. B.), and other orthodox teaching of the Mediaeval Christian Church! The idea of "dying well" (according to Christian or other teachings) has doubtless been occasionally illustrated in very different ways, when persons in sound health have (wrongly) supposed that they by mistake have just swallowed some deadly poison for which no antidote or treatment is efficacious.

As all medals relating to funerals and sepulchral ceremonies to some extent belong here, those on cremation mentioned in connexion with Heading x., should likewise find a place under the present Heading. Here belong also medals commemorating reinterments, such as the medal by N. G. A. Brenet on the transportation, in 1840, of the remains of the Emperor Napoleon I from Saint Helena to France.[444] I have not, however, thought it advisable to overburden Part III. with a description of all such medals or of most of the

[443] Cf. S. F. Simmons, *An Account of the Life and Writings of the late William Hunter*, 1783.

[444] Cf. F. P. Weber, *Medals and Medallions of the Nineteenth Century relating to England by Foreign Artists*, London, 1894, p. 13.

countless medals of various periods and various countries relating to funerals. There are, of course, innumerable writings dealing with funerals and funeral customs amongst various peoples in various parts of the world—archaeological questions, primitive meanings, &c. In regard to Great Britain much information of this kind is contained in Brand's *Popular Antiquities of Great Britain*, revised by Sir Henry Ellis, edition of 1849, vol. ii. pp. 202–314.

XXI. Grotesque Art. Skulls, Animated Skeletons, &c., in Grotesque Art.

Many objects of Chinese and Japanese art should (cf. the Japanese ivories and "netsukes" mentioned in Part IV., subdivision ii.) be included under this heading, the representations of skeletons, &c., serving the purpose of grotesqueness without apparently being intended to possess any *memento mori* or other special significance. Examples of this group are furnished also by the art of many other countries, especially of relatively modern times (eighteenth century and later) (cf. Part I. D., and Part IV., subdivision ii.).

Skulls and skeletons tend to lose their horror in grotesque art, and a skull carved smoothly on the top of a post is as convenient to rest a hand on as the bald head in bronze of a celebrated pathologist of the latter part of the nineteenth century, which I have seen serving the same purpose as the top of a stair-post at the entrance to the house of one of his artistic friends. The death's-heads and skeletons, with or without snakes, carved in ivory, bone, or other materials (probably mostly made in Japan), to form handles (especially for walking-sticks), may be specially referred to in this connexion.

As I have already mentioned (under Heading v.), it is probable that in old morality plays of the "Dance of Death" type, the actors, in tight-fitting black dress with a white skeleton painted on it (like the "jockeys of death" in modern circus performances), often gave a rather boisterous serio-comic element to the performance. Similarly, in modern London, I have come across a poster-

advertisement of a company of music-hall comedians, in which there was a picture of the performers dancing as they used to, of their present dancing, and of how they would dance in the future. In the last picture they were represented as skeletons. Whether an imitation-skeleton dance was really provided on the stage I did not ascertain.

The element of grotesque amusement in many of the skeleton-designs in modern art corresponds to a similar tendency in literature, as evidenced by the ghost stories of the *Ingoldsby Legends* (R. H. Barham) and *Tam O'Shanter* (Robert Burns, 1791). Cf. also the final stanza of Ferd. Raimund's amusing *Hobel-Lied* (quoted under Heading xvii.), which might quite well accompany a modern grotesque "Dance of Death" scene, almost stripped of terror by its homely (*genre*) good humour. However, just as in modern literature, some of the tales of Edgar Allan Poe are truly ghastly, so in modern art some of the designs of Antoine Wiertz and Félicien Rops inspire real horror.

In regard to Chinese and Japanese "horrors" (whether grotesque or not), a callous or unfeeling attitude towards human pain and suffering might be (though often wrongly ?) suspected. Some of the Japanese designs in question may, indeed, be of European origin, suggested by old "dance of death" subjects or *memento mori* emblems. One Japanese ivory which I have seen represents a human skeleton fighting with toads, as if the artist had in mind the Mediaeval European horror of the idea of one's body after death being attacked by "creeping things," and as if with grotesque humour he had represented a *posthumous* resentment of this "heritage" of "creeping things, beasts, and worms." Other designs in question seem to have no connexion with Europe. Thus, in the Wellcome

Medical Historical Museum, in London, is a relatively modern little wooden carving from Japan, representing a man endeavouring to defend himself against a repulsive and ferocious-looking "daemon" (of death?), who has horns on his head and claws on his feet and hands. In regard to Japanese "netsukes," carved in ivory, bone, boxwood, &c., representing human skulls or skeletons, or grotesque fierce-looking masks, it is possible that originally they may have been regarded as "protective amulets," helping to ward off evil spirits and ghosts from their owners, or, rather, from those who wore them in their clothing or carried them about—in the same way that amulets and "charms" against the "evil eye" have been (by the ignorant and superstitious in Europe) supposed to act.

PART III.

COINS, MEDALS, AND MEDAL-LIKE TOKENS RELATING TO DEATH AND TO THE VARIOUS ASPECTS OF AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS DEATH.

Most of these pieces fall under one of the following classes:—

(A) Personal or other medals, bearing *memento mori* devices, as, for instance, those of Erasmus of Rotterdam.

(B) Ordinary commemorative medals, mostly of well-known individuals, issued on their death (sometimes on their assassination or execution). Some of these, like certain sepulchral monuments[445] of Church dignitaries and other persons of the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries, and like certain mourning finger-rings (described in Part IV.), have been designed to serve as a *memento mori* to the living as well as a memorial of the dead.

(C) Memorial medalets made, like some memorial and mourning finger-rings, to be distributed "in memoriam" at funerals. Some of these, like some of those of the preceding class, have been designed so to serve the double purpose of a memorial of the dead and a *memento mori* to the living.

(D) Various pieces bearing *memento mori* devices, used as tickets, passes, or badges, in connexion with funeral celebrations, medical guilds (Delft and Middelburg), medical gardens (Amsterdam), &c. According to Bergsoe,[446]

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[445] The sepulchral monument of Archbishop Chichele (died 1443) and similar monuments, especially of the *gisant* class, have been considered in Part I. C.

[446] Bergsøe, *Danske Medailler og Jetons*, Copenhagen, 1893, p. 141.

certain death's-head medalets were at one time used by medical students of the Copenhagen University as badges on their caps. In Holbein's picture, known as "The Ambassadors" (1535), in the National Gallery, London, one of the two young men, Jean de Dinteville, Lord of Polisy, is represented wearing a little death's-head of silver or white enamel mounted on gold as a jewel in his black bonnet. This was perhaps an outward sign of the wearer's mental attitude, indicated likewise by the ("hidden") skull at his feet. Needless to say, the death's-heads worn as cap-badges by some regiments in the German and English armies have a very different significance.

(E) Medals bearing *memento mori* devices designed to have a "moral" significance, and to be used as gifts or rewards on special occasions, like the so-called "Moralische Pfenninge" of the town of Basel. These may be compared to *memento mori* finger-rings and jewels used for devotional purposes, &c.

In regard to the persons represented on the medals, the selection I have made cannot be regarded as a "collection of medals of famous men and women," for almost unknown individuals are commemorated side by side with those whose names are still household words amongst the educated classes of the whole world. The same may be said of almost every collection of portraits,[447] and in the case of some medallions, just as in the case of

[447] In regard, for instance, to collections of medals of "famous" physicians and naturalists, Billroth (1829–1894), the great surgeon, once remarked to Dr. J. Brettauer of Trieste (who died in 1905), that the medals in such collections are chiefly, not of distinguished and well-known, but of forgotten, obscure, or absolutely unknown physicians and naturalists. Dr. Brettauer told me this, or something to the same effect, when he was showing me his magnificent collection of medals relating to medicine and allied subjects, which he bequeathed to the University of Vienna.

many beautifully painted or sculptured portraits, the very name of the person represented has been irretrievably lost.

In the present work I have not attempted to describe *every* medal, coin, medallic token, or badge bearing a device or inscription relating to death, but those that I have selected include characteristic examples of various periods. The order followed is mainly chronological, and (as already stated at the commencement of Part II.) the Roman numerals in brackets refer to the aspects of, or attitudes towards, death (according to my classification in Part II.) which I think the devices or inscriptions on the medals illustrate.

(X.) Greek coins illustrating a medical and hygienic attitude towards preventible death in the fifth century B.C.

The following silver coins of Selinus in Sicily date from about 466–415 B.C., and commemorate the freeing of Selinus from a pestilence of some kind (malaria?) by the drainage of the neighbouring marshlands.

FIG. 42.—Tetradrachm of Selinus.

Obv.—Apollo and Artemis standing side by side in a slowly moving quadriga, the former discharging arrows from his bow.

Rev.—The river-god Selinus, naked, with short horns, holding patera and lustral branch, sacrificing at an altar of Asklepios (Aesculapius), in front of which is a cock. Behind him on a pedestal is the figure of a bull, and in the field above is a selinon leaf. Inscription: ΣΕΛΙΝΟΝΤΙΟΝ. (Fig. 42.)

Silver tetradrachm. *Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum—Sicily*, London, 1878, p. 140.

B. V. Head (*Historia Numorum*, Oxford, 1887, p. 148) says of this piece: "Apollo is here regarded as the healing god (ἀλεξίκακος) who, with his radiant arrows, slays the pestilence as he slew the Python. Artemis stands behind him in her capacity of εἰλείθυια or σωοδίνα, for the plague had fallen heavily on the women too: ὥστε καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας δυστοκεῖν (Diogenes Laertius, lib. viii. 2, *Life of Empedocles*, 70). On the reverse the river-god himself makes formal libation to the god of health, in gratitude for the cleansing of his waters, whilst the image of the bull symbolizes the sacrifice which was offered on the occasion."

FIG. 43.—Didrachm of Selinus.

Obv.—Heracles contending with a wild bull, which he seizes by the horn, and is about to slay with his club. Inscription: ΣΕΛΙΝΟΝΤΙΟΝ.

Rev.—The river-god Hypsas sacrificing before an altar, around which a serpent twines. He holds a branch and a patera. Behind him a marsh-bird (stork) is seen departing. In the field, a selinon leaf. Inscription: ΗΥΨΑΣ. (Fig. 43.)

Silver didrachm. *Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum—Sicily*, London, 1878, p. 141.

Head (*loc. cit.*) says of this piece: "Here, instead of Apollo, it is the sun-god Heracles, who is shown struggling with the destructive powers of moisture symbolized by the bull, while on the reverse the river Hypsas takes the place of the river Selinus. The marsh-bird is seen retreating, for she can no longer find a congenial home on the banks of the Hypsas now that Empedocles has drained the lands." It seems that the philosopher Empedocles, who at that time was at the height of his fame, put a stop to the plague by turning two neighbouring streams into one, καὶ καταμίξαντα γλυκᾶναι τὰ ῥεύματα (Diogenes Laertius, *loc. cit.*). The Seluntines

conferred divine honours upon Empedocles, and their above-described coins still exist as a wonderful monumental record of the events in question.

In regard to the question of malaria, it seems to have been at about this period (in the fifth century B.C.) that Greece proper first began to suffer severely from malaria, a disease which appears ultimately to have taken an important place among the causes of Greek national decadence. *Vide* W. H. S. Jones, *Malaria and Greek History*, Manchester, 1909. Several epigrams quoted by J. D. Rolleston (*Proc. Roy. Soc. Med., Sect. Hist. of Med.*, London, 1914, vii. pp. 36, 37), from the *Greek Anthology*, allude to malaria.

(II.) Greek coins of Eleusis in Attica, commemorating the Eleusinian Mysteries.

The Eleusinian Mysteries were supposed to have offered

FIG. 44.—Bronze coin of Eleusis.

a comforting view in regard to death and a future existence. They are commemorated on certain bronze coins of Eleusis, supposed to date from the fourth century B.C., which represent Triptolemos in a winged car drawn by serpents (dragons) on the obverse; and a pig on a pine-torch, or encircled with a wreath of corn, on the reverse, with the inscription ΕΛΕΥΣΙ (Fig. 44).

Another bronze coin of Eleusis, also referring to the Eleusinian Mysteries, has the head of Demeter or Persephone on the obverse; and a "plemochoë" on a pedestal on the reverse, with the inscription ΕΛΕΥΣ. *Catalogue of Greek Coins in the British Museum—Attica*, London, 1888, pp. 112–114.

In regard to antique gems engraved with devices referring to the Eleusinian Mysteries, especially after the introduction of these mysteries into Italy and Rome, see A. Furtwängler, *Die Antiken Gemmen*, 1900, vol. 3, pp. 208, 253, 339; see also C. W. King, *Handbook of Engraved Gems*, second edition, 1885, Pl. xlvi. No. 3.

(V.) The murder of Julius Caesar, on the Ides (15th day) of March, 44 B.C.

There is a Roman denarius commemorating the murder of Caesar, struck (according to the evidence of the historian Dion Cassius) by actual order of one of his murderers, M. Junius Brutus.

FIG. 45.—Roman denarius, commemorating the murder of Julius Caesar.

Obv.—Bare head of Brutus to right. Inscription: BRVT. IMP. L · PLAET · CEST. (Brutus imperator; Lucius Plaetorius Cestianus).

Rev.—Cap or pileus (as the emblem of liberty) between two daggers. Below, inscription: EID · MAR · (Eidibus Martis). (Fig. 45.)

E. Babelon, *Monnaies de la République Romaine*, Paris, 1886, vol. ii. p. 119, No. 52. Of this rare silver denarius antique plated copies likewise occur. The piece was doubtless struck in the East some time between B.C. 44 (when Caesar was assassinated) and the battle of Philippi (B.C. 42). Of the moneyer L. Plaetorius Cestianus no mention is made in history. According to Dion Cassius (*Historia Romana*, lib. xlvii. sect. 25), the two daggers on the reverse signify the joint shares of Brutus and Cassius in the murder. See also Eckhel, *Doctrina Numorum Veterum*, vol. vi. (1796), p. 24.

Several coins struck under Brutus and Cassius after the murder of Caesar, have the head of Liberty on the obverse, with the inscription, LIBERTAS or LEIBERTAS.

During the interregnum which followed the death of Nero (68 A.D.), denarii were struck with the head of Liberty on the obverse and with the old type of the pileus between two daggers on the reverse, the obverse and reverse inscriptions reading: LIBERTAS P. R. RESTITVTA (Libertas populi Romani restituta). (Fig. 46.) *Vide* H. Cohen's *Médailles Impériales*, first edition, 1859, vol. i. p. 249, Nos. 267 and 268.

The type of the "cap of liberty" between two daggers occurs again on the reverse of a medal (described later on) commemorating the murder of Alessandro de' Medici,

FIG. 46.—Roman denarius struck during the interregnum following the overthrow of Nero.

the first Duke of Florence, in 1537, by his kinsman, Lorenzo de' Medici, called "Lorenzino."

(VIII.) Coins of Samudragupta, Indian king, 337 to 380 A.D.

On one side of the gold coins of the "battle-axe type," King Samudragupta is represented standing, holding the axe of Kritanta (the "End-maker," or Death), signifying that the king in question is as great a conqueror as Death himself is. The surrounding inscription means: "Wielding the axe of Kritanta, he conquers even invincible kings." There are other coins commemorating Samudragupta's successes in the arts of war and peace, his wonderful conquering campaigns, and his musical attainments. His reign was long and prosperous.

(XI.) Martyrdom of John Huss, the Bohemian Reformer, 1415.

The Reformer's death at the stake is represented on various sixteenth-century memorial medals by the medallists, Michael Hohenauer and Ludwig Neufarer. One of these medals bears the portrait of Count Stephan Schlick on the obverse. Hohenauer's monogram was mistaken by Adolf Erman, before Fiala's work on the subject, for that of Hieronymus Magdeburger.

On these medals cf. L. Forrer's *Biographical Dictionary of Medallists;* Eduard Fiala's note on Michael Hohenauer in the *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, Vienna, 1890, vol. 22, p. 258; and R. Weil,

"Die Medaille auf Johannes Hus," *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, Berlin, 1887, vol. 14, p. 125.

Here it may be mentioned, by the way, that a few Byzantine and other relatively early Christian medalets, &c., exist, commemorating Christian martyrs. Amongst the martyrs most frequently portrayed are St. Lawrence, St. Agnes, and St. Menas of Alexandria (the last especially on little pilgrims' terra-cotta flasks from Egypt). On an early Christian leaden medalet (of the fifth century?) with loop for suspension, figured by F. X. Kraus (*Geschichte der Christlichen Kunst*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1896, vol. i. p. 126), the soul of the martyred St. Lawrence is represented as a draped (female?) figure, in the attitude of an *orans*, rising out of the martyr's roasting body. This medal is likewise figured in Fernand Cabrol's *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne*, Paris, vol. i. (1907) column 431. In the latter work several other ancient representations of martyrdoms are figured (vol. i. part i. columns 423–438). In regard to representations of the human soul in early Christian art (usually as a diminutive nude human figure escaping from the mouth of a dying individual), see the illustrations in L. Twining's *Symbols and Emblems of Early and Mediaeval Christian Art* (London, new edition, 1885).

(I. and XVII.) *Memento mori* medals by Giovanni Boldu, of Venice, 1458–1466.

Obv.—Bust of Boldu, with Greek inscription.

Rev.—A young man, nude, sitting on a rock, to right, hiding his face with his hands; on the right a winged child is seated, resting his right arm on a skull and holding a torch in his left (? genius holding the torch or flame of the young man's life). Legend: OPVS. IOANIS. BOLDV. PICTORIS. VENETI. XOGRAFI. MCCCCLVIII. (Fig. 47.)

Diameter, 3·35 inches; cast in bronze. A. Armand, *Les Médailleurs Italiens*, second edition, 1883, vol. i. p. 36, No. 1. A. Heiss, *Les Médailleurs de la Renaissance*, Paris, 1887, vol. i. (Venetian Medals), Pl. ii. No. 2.

According to Cornelius von Fabriczy (*Italian Medals*, translated by Mrs. G. W. Hamilton, London, 1904, p. 47), the winged child on the reverse of this medal is copied from

the cupid on the reverse of a medal of the Marquis Lodovico Gonzaga of Mantua (Armand, *op. cit.*, vol. i. p. 27) made by the medallist, Pietro da Fano, about 1452–1457. I have little doubt that Boldu's reverse type, above described, as well as that of the medal by Boldu, to which I refer in Part IV. (Fig. 140), was intended to represent a rather pessimistic aspect of human life, reminding one of Goethe's lines commencing, "Wer nie sein Brod mit Thränen ass."

Fig. 47 (reduced).—Reverse of a medal by Giovanni Boldu, of Venice, 1458.

The child is thrust into life and forced to join in its race, with its trials and troubles, its punishments and rewards; and death, a cure for grief and misery, awaits him at the end.

A third medal, made by Boldu in 1466, represents the bust of the Roman Emperor Caracalla on the obverse, with the legend: ANTONINVS. PIVS. AVGVSTVS. The reverse is similar to that of the first-described medal, but it has the legend, IO. SON. FINE ("I am the end") and the date MCCCCLXVI. (Fig. 48.)

Diameter, 3·6 inches; cast in bronze. Armand, *op. cit.*, vol. i. p. 37, No. 4. Heiss, *op. cit.*, vol. i. Pl. ii. No. 3.

The reverse type of this medal has apparently suggested the design for one of the marble medallions which I have noticed on the façade of the famous Certosa di Pavia (Carthusian Monastery, near Pavia), but instead of the

legend, IO. SON. FINE, the marble medallion has the legend: INNOCENTIA. E. MEMORIA. MORTIS. The reverse type was also used, Dr. Capparoni tells me, for a bronze plaque commemorating the death at Rome, in 1689, of Queen Christina of Sweden (diameter, 3·4 inches, formerly in the Guerrini collection).

FIG. 48 (reduced).—Reverse of a medal by Giovanni Boldu, of Venice, 1466.

(V.) Lorenzo and Giuliano de' Medici and the Pazzi conspiracy (1478).

The Pazzi conspiracy (1478) was formed by members of the Pazzi family, assisted by Francesco Salviati, titular Archbishop of Pisa. The conspirators decided to assassinate the two brothers whilst they were attending Mass in the Duomo of Florence. Giuliano was killed, but Lorenzo escaped and took vengeance on the assassins. The following medal was formerly attributed to Antonio del Pollajuolo, owing to a statement of Vasari, but has recently been assigned by W. Bode to Bertoldo di Giovanni, the Florentine sculptor (died 1492).

Obv.—An octagonal scaffolding representing the pillars of the Duomo. Above, the head of Lorenzo de' Medici to right. Below, priests ministering at an altar. Outside the enclosure, conspirators with swords drawn, and others, Lorenzo escaping. Inscription: LAVRENTIVS MEDICES and SALVS PVBLICA.

Rev.—A similar scene, with the head of Giuliano (to left) above it; Giuliano being slain, below. Inscription: IVLIANVS MEDICES and LVCTVS PVBLICVS.

Diameter, 2·5 inches; cast in bronze. C. F. Keary, *Italian Medals exhibited in the British Museum*, 1881, p. 16, No. 34. C. von Fabriczy, *Italian Medals*, English edition by Mrs. Hamilton, London, 1904, pp. 111, 112.

A medal of Giuliano de' Medici, commemorating the same event, has the portrait of Giuliano on the obverse, with the inscription: IVLIANVS. MEDICES. On the reverse is a figure of Nemesis, with the inscription, NEMESIS. Diameter, 3·55 inches. A. Armand, *Les Médailleurs Italiens*, Paris, 1887, vol. iii. p. 27.

(II.) Medal of Domenico Riccio, a Dominican monk (*circa* 1498).

Obv.—Bust, to left, in monastic dress, the head covered by a hood. Inscription: DOMINICVS RICCIVS.

Rev.—Phoenix (emblem of the resurrection of the body and immortality of the soul) under the sun. Inscription: MORTE. VITA. HYEME. AESTATE. PROPE. LONGE. (Refers to the endless summer for the blessed after their wintry life on earth.)

Diameter, 2·8 inches. Armand, *Les Médailleurs Italiens*, second edition, Paris, 1883, vol. ii. p. 77; also vol. iii. (1887), p. 185.

According to G. Milanesi (quoted by Armand), this Domenico Riccio was Fra Domenico da Pescia, Savonarola's disciple and companion, who was executed with him in 1498.

(I. and XIII.) *Memento mori* medal of Fra Cesario Contughi (second half of fifteenth century).

Obv.—Bust, to left, in Servite dress, the head covered by a hood. Inscription: FR(ATER) · C(A)ESARIVS · FER(RARI-ENSIS) · ORDIN(I)S. · SER(VORVM) · B(EATAE) · M(ARIAE) · V(IRGINIS) · DIVIN(VS) · ET · EXCEL-LEN(S) · DOC(TOR) · AC · DIVI(NI) · VER(BI). FAMOSIS(SIMVS) · PR(A)EDICATOR.

Rev.—Fra Cesario, wearing the dress of the religious order of Servites, seated, facing, in an attitude of meditation; a death's-head on the ground at his side. Inscription:

INSPICE · (TV) MORTALE · GENVS · MORS · OMNIA. DELE (that is, DELET) · —OPVS · SPERANDEI ·

Diameter, 3·35 inches; cast in bronze. By Sperandio of Mantua. A. Heiss, *Les Médailleurs de la Renaissance: Sperandio de Mantoue*, Paris, 1886, p. 36, Pl. v. No. 3.

Fra Cesario Contughi, sometimes called Cesarione, of the order of Servites, was a famous preacher, and Dean of the University of Ferrara. He died in 1508. My attention was kindly directed to this medal by Mr. G. F. Hill.

(I.) *Memento mori* medal of Galeotto Marzi (second half of fifteenth century).

Obv.—Bust to left. Inscription: GALEOTTVS. MARTIVS. POETA. CLARS. MATHEMATICVS. ET. ORATOR.

Rev.—Two shelves of books, those in one upright, in the other lying flat. Inscription: NASCENTES. MORIMVR. FINIS. Q. AB. ORIGINE. PENDET. [Manilius, *Astronomicon*, iv. 16.] SVPERATA. TELLVS. SIDERA DONAT.

Diameter, 4·3 inches; Italian fifteenth-century cast medal. Armand, *Les Médailleurs Italiens*, second edition, Paris, 1883, vol. ii. p. 35, No. 25.

Galeotto Marzi was a poet and learned man. He was tutor to the son of Matthias Corvinus, King of Hungary.

There is a similar medal of smaller size (diameter, 3·1 inches) with the same design and legend on the reverse, but with a somewhat younger portrait on the obverse (Armand, *op. cit.*, vol. ii. p. 35, No. 26).

(II.) Medal of Dante, of the last quarter of the fifteenth century.

A medal described by A. Armand (*Les Médailleurs Italiens*, second edition, Paris, 1883, vol. ii. p. 11, No. 1) should likewise find a place here. The obverse bears the bust of the poet in profile to left, crowned with a laurel wreath; inscription: DANTHES · FLORENTINVS. In regard to the reverse, I shall quote T. Whitcombe Greene's account in the *Numismatic Chronicle* (London, fourth series, 1913, vol. xiii. p. 414, and Pl. xx. No. 1): "The reverse of this medal seems never to have been fully explained. . . . On one side stands

Dante, holding in his left hand the open book of the *Divina Commedia*, and extending his right arm as if in the act of addressing or reviewing the scene. Before him appears a towered rock which stands for the 'Mountain of Paradise.' There is a winding road running round it, and an archway towards the top. On the summit are two figures. . . . These will be found to represent Adam and Eve, standing on either side of the Tree of Knowledge, round which the serpent is entwined. At the foot of this and an adjoining rock may be distinguished two caverns, entrances to the infernal regions, with demons and nude human forms about them. Above are the seven circles of Heaven. Describing the performances of the Mysteries, in which Italy, and especially Florence, excelled, Jacob Burckhardt[448] says: 'In the public squares, in the churches, and in the cloisters, extensive scaffolds were constructed, the upper story of which served as a Paradise, to open and shut at will, and the ground-floor often as a Hell, while between the two lay the stage properly so called, representing the scene of all the earthly events of the drama.' These shows reached their full development in the fifteenth century." Greene points out that the introduction of printing into Florence in 1471 added to the popularity of Dante's works, and that it is to the last quarter of the fifteenth century that the date of the medal may probably be assigned. The most important source of Dante's portrait, he says, is supplied by the contemporary fresco (about the year 1300) by Giotto in the Bargello Chapel at Florence. "At a later date (1465) his picture in the Duomo at Florence was painted by Domenico di Michelino (freely copied from this painting is the early Florentine engraving described by A. M. Hind.[449] In this picture Dante stands facing the spectator, holding the open book as on the medal, between 'Inferno' and portions of the city of Florence, having behind him the 'Mountain of Paradise,' and the heavenly circles." Greene thinks that the bust of Dante, at Naples, may have some

[448] Jacob Burckhardt, *Renaissance in Italy*, English translation, London, 1878, vol. ii. p. 184.

[449] A. M. Hind, *Catalogue of Early Italian Engravings in the British Museum*, London, 1910, text, p. 28, No. 23.

connexion with the portrait on the medal, at any rate in regard to its date.

(I.) *Memento mori* medal, with portrait of Virgil, apparently of fifteenth-century work.

Obv.—Profile bust of Virgil to left, in Mediaeval dress, wearing barrette, between the letters P (for *Poeta*) and O (for *Orator*); below, VIRGILIVS; the whole within an ornamental circle. Outside this circle is the inscription, in Gothic letters:—

"Mantua me genuit, Calabri rapuere, tenet nunc
Parthenope. Cecini pascua, rura, duces."

Following the inscription is the fanciful date 1132 (=1134).

Rev.—The head and neck (skull, spinal column, collar-bones) of a skeleton facing, in an ornamental circle. The skull is being "eaten by worms," and has a thigh-bone between its jaws; remnants of neck-muscles are indicated. Inscription in Gothic letters: "Quod sumus, hoc eritis, fuimus quandoque quod estis."

Diameter, 2·6 inches. A specimen, from the Bernal Collection, in silver-gilt, cast and chased, is in the Victoria and Albert Museum, to the officials of which I am indebted for the plaster-cast from which the accompanying illustration (Fig. 49) was made. Another specimen has been described in *L'Arte*, Rome, 1907, vol. x. pp. 449-450; and 1908, vol. xi. p. 56.

The whole type of the medal must refer to Virgil's reputed tomb at Naples, over which (according to Donatus) was engraved the inscription, "Mantua me genuit," &c. In Mediaeval times and later, this tomb constituted one of the great sights for visitors at Naples, and a reputed tomb is still shown near the eastern entrance of the "Grotta de Posilipo." The date (1134) on the medal probably refers to the alleged original discovery by an Englishman (as narrated by Gervase of Tilbury, in his *Otia Imperialia*) of the poet's bones inside a mountain, in the reign of Roger of Sicily (see Domenico Comparetti, *Vergil in the Middle Ages*, English translation by E. F. M. Benecke, London, 1895, p. 273). I am indebted to Mr. G. F. Hill for information. On Virgil's tomb, see also R. T. Günther, *Pausilypon*, &c., Oxford, 1913.

FIG. 49.—*Memento mori* medal, with portrait of Virgil: obverse.

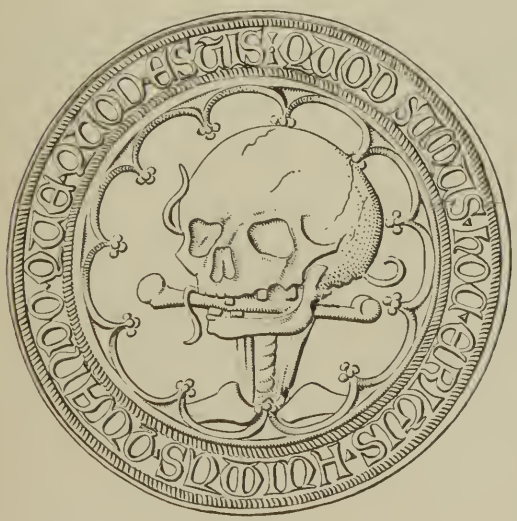

FIG. 50.—*Memento mori* medal, with portrait of Virgil: reverse.

An earlier date than the fifteenth century cannot, I maintain, be admitted for this medal, which appears to be the work of a good goldsmith but a poor artist. It was perhaps made to be "planted" at Naples, and sold as a valuable, if not magical, relic to rich and credulous, though possibly lettered, travellers of the period. The devices of obverse and reverse are analogous to the two figures on the *gisant* class of sepulchral monuments of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (see Part I. C.), where an upper figure represents the deceased with all the attributes of worldly wealth, power, and social rank, whilst on a lower slab or compartment an emaciated or decaying body or skeleton is represented—often being eaten with worms—to warn the rich and great, and comfort the poor and unfortunate, of this world, by reminding them of the vanity of wealth and earthly titles in the presence of Death, the leveller of all bodily and social distinctions. The *gisant* type of sepulchral monument did not come into existence before the fifteenth century, and this fact alone furnishes almost conclusive evidence that the medal under consideration is not of earlier date.

(I.) Several jetons of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, described by J. F. Dugniolle amongst historical jetons of the Netherlands (*Le Jeton Historique des dix-sept Provinces des Pays-Bas*, Bruxelles, 1876–1877), bear the inscription, "In omnibus respice finem" (but the *Respice finem* on these jetons does not apparently refer to death—cf. Part II. i.).

(I., IV.) Two Dutch jetons, dated 1518, described by J. F. Dugniolle (*Le Jeton historique des dix-sept Provinces des Pays-Bas*, Bruxelles, 1876, vol. 2, p. 11, Nos. 1089, 1090), bear on one side the inscriptions respectively: COGITA · MORI · COGITA, and O · MORS · QVAM · AMARA · EST · MEMORIA · TVA (cf. Ecclesiasticus xli. 1). On the first one the accompanying device is three death's-heads on a shield over a cross patté; on the second, the device is a figure of Death carrying a coffin. Dr. H. R. Storer also tells me of a jeton of L. Deriard Richarme, of Brussels, with a skeleton on the reverse, but I do not know the date.

(XI.) Two Italian medals of about 1500, by the medallist termed by Armand, "le Médailleur à la Fortune," have on the reverse the inscription: PRIVS. MORI. QVA(M). TVRPARI ("Rather to die than be defiled"). On the obverse of one of these medals is the portrait of Lodovico Lucio, of Siena (A. Armand, *Les Médailleurs Italiens*, second edition, Paris, 1883, vol. i. p. 98, No. 2). On the obverse of the other is the portrait of Allessandro Vecchietti (1472–1532) of Florence (Armand, *op. cit.*, vol. i. p. 99, No. 4).

(I.) Italian portrait medal (said to be of about 1500?).

Obv.—Head of a young man to left. Inscription: PANDVLPHVS · IANOINTIS · SVE · XXVIII.

Rev.—Human skull between what seem to be two closed doors with crosses marked on them. Inscription: O(MN)IVM · RERVM · VICISSITIVDO.

Diameter, 2·7 inches; bronze. A specimen in the Victoria and Albert Museum was obtained from the Piot sale at Paris, in 1864.

The passage in Terence (*Eunuchus*, ii. 2, 45) from which the legend on the reverse is taken is: "Omnium rerum, heus, vicissitudo est." The identity of the man, whose portrait in the 28th year of his age is represented, is apparently unknown, and the name on the obverse may be blundered. I am indebted for information about this medal to Mr. A. Richmond and Mr. W. W. Watts, of the Victoria and Albert Museum.

(XI.) Here may be mentioned some Italian bronze plaques of the early part of the sixteenth century: the bust of Lucretia with a dagger in her hand by Moderno, and a larger representation of Lucretia by Andrea Briosco, surnamed Riccio. Moderno likewise represented on a circular plaque (diameter, 1·3 inches) the Roman tradition of the self-sacrifice of Marcus Curtius, who, on horseback and fully armed, was said to have leaped into a chasm which had appeared in the forum. The Roman Lucretia also appears on some German sixteenth-century moral medals and on some jettons or casting-counters (dated 1601) by Hans Krauwinckel, of Nürnberg (J. Neumann, *Kupfer-Münzen*, Prag, 1868, vol. v. p. 422, Nos. 32300–1).

A bronze door-handle with a figure of the Roman Lucretia, of German sixteenth-century work, somewhat after the school of Dürer, is in the Ambras collection, and is figured by Julius von Schlosser, *Werke der Kleinplastik in der Skulpturensammlung des allerh. Kaiserhauses*, Wien, 1910, vol. i. Plate xv. No. 2. On this door-handle she is represented nude, in severe style, holding a dagger to her breast and with her right foot on a human skull, as if in her case suicide signified not death but the conquest of death.

In Part II. Heading xi., and in Part IV., I have alluded to Italian niello finger-rings of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, representing conventional portraits of Lucretia. In the romance and art of the Middle Ages Lucretia's place as the legendary paragon of all female purity and honour may be compared with that of Helen of Troy as the legendary ideal of all female beauty. Hence Cervantes, in his immortal novel, makes Don Quixote proclaim, in caricature of Mediaeval romance, that the lady of his heart, Aldonza Lorenzo, a simple farm-girl, is "fairer than Helen and purer than Lucretia." In regard to pictures[450] and works of art (especially Italian of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries) representing the suicide of Lucretia as an example of female virtue, a curious Latin epigram, attributed to Beza, is printed in Abraham Wright's *Delitiae Delitiarum* (Oxford, 1637, p. 14). It has been translated as follows by Dr. George Turnbull (*vide* H. P. Dodd, *The Epigrammatists*, 1870, p. 134) :—

> "If Tarquin's wrong, Lucretia, pleased your soul,
> Death was but justice for a crime so foul;
> But if by strength alone his will he had,
> To die for his misdoings proves you mad:
> Then be no more the matron's boast and pride,
> You lived a wanton, or a fool you died."

John Elsum, in his collection of epigrams on paintings (published in 1700), has one upon a picture of Lucretia stabbing herself, by the Venetian painter, Giorgione:

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[450] A long book might be written on pictures and works of art by famous artists (including Dürer amongst the non-Italian ones) representing the suicide of the Roman Lucretia.

it ends with a compliment to the painter (*vide* Dodd, *loc. cit.*):—

> "The heroine would die, but you prevent,
> O Georgion! her murderous intent.
> You have so painted her, that we conceive,
> She in thy fable will for ever live."

The following medal is conveniently arranged here, though a little out of its order in chronological sequence.

(XI.) Medal of Giulia Astallia, a "Lucretia" of the fifteenth century.

Obv.—Portrait of a girl in peasant's dress. Inscription: DIVA · IVLIA · ASTALLIA.

Rev.—Phoenix on burning funeral pyre looking towards the sun. Inscription: VNICVM · FOR(titudinis) · ET · PVD(icitiae) · EXEMPLVM.

Diameter, 2·5 inches; cast in bronze. A. Armand, *Les Médailleurs Italiens*, second edition, Paris, 1883, vol. i. p. 83, No. 3.

This medal (the idea of the obverse inscription of which is evidently derived from the "consecratio" coins, commemorating the deification of Roman empresses) is probably by a medallist of Mantua of the end of the fifteenth century. It was attributed by J. Friedlaender to Bartolo Talpa. The Giulia Astallia portrayed on the medal as a "unique example of courage and chastity," has been supposed to be the Giulia of one of Bandello's tales, who, though of peasant parentage, rivalled the Roman Lucretia in chastity (*The Novels of Matteo Bandello, Bishop of Agen*, done into English by John Payne, London, 1890, vol. i. p. 118, Novel 7). The medallic portrait may, however, be an imaginary one, made many years after the girl's death. The phoenix ("the Arabian bird") on the reverse signifies "an unique example," or paragon, for, according to the Oriental myth, there was only one phoenix in existence at a time. Compare Shakespeare's *Cymbeline*: "She is alone the Arabian bird."

Compare also the following passage in *The Heroicall Devises of M. C. Paradin, &c.* (English translation by P. S., London, 1591, p. 349): "Bone, a most famous and noble woman of Savoy, and moother to John Galeaz, Duke of Milan, after her husbandes deceasse,

caused a coine to bee made (which the people there doe call a testone) upon the one side whereof was a phenixe pourtraied with these wordes: *Sola facta solum Deum sequor.* Signifying therby, that as the Phenix is alone herselfe in the world, so she beeing made a widow by the death of her husband, voweth her selfe to live for ever with God alone."

This silver testone of Bona of Savoy, as Regent of Milan (1476–1480), bears her profile portrait to right on the obverse, and on the reverse the phoenix over a lighted funeral pyre, with the inscription as above stated. The piece, like other Milanese coins of the period, is supposed to be the work of Caradosso, one of the greatest medallic artists of the Italian Renaissance. In regard to her veiled portrait on the obverse, he may have been influenced a little by the veiled portrait of Queen Philistis (wife of Hieron II of Syracuse, 275–216 B.C.) on silver coins of Syracuse, or by Egyptian silver coins with the veiled portrait of Queen Berenice II (third century B.C.).

(I.) Medals of Erasmus in 1519 and 1531, with his *memento mori* device.

Obv.—Bust of Erasmus in profile to left. In the field: ER. ROT. ("Erasmus of Rotterdam"). Legend: IMAGO . AD . VIVA . EFFIGIE . EXPRESSA . ΤΗΝ · ΚΡΕΙΤΤΩ · ΤΑ ΣΥΓΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΑ · ΔΕΙΞΕΙ ("His image modelled to the living features. His writings will represent it better"). Below the bust is the date 1519.

Rev.—A man's head to left on a cubical boundary stone inscribed, TERMINVS. In the field: CONCEDO NVLLI ("I yield to none"). Legend: ΟΡΑ · ΤΕΛΟΣ · ΜΑΚΡΟΥ · ΒΙΟΥ · MORS VLTIMA LINEA RERVM ("Keep in view the end of a long life. Death is the final goal of all"). (Fig. 51.)

Diameter, 4·15 inches; in bronze or lead; cast. Julien Simonis, *L'Art du Médailleur en Belgique*, Bruxelles, 1900, Pl. ii. No. 3.

In regard to the reverse legend of this medal it should be recalled that, according to the story narrated by Plutarch in his Life of Solon, ὅρα τέλος μακροῦ βίου was the substance of the advice given by Solon to Croesus, King of Lydia, as the latter afterwards, when defeated and a prisoner, explained to his conqueror, Cyrus. According to Xenophon's *Cyropaedeia*, Cyrus himself endeavoured to follow Solon's advice, and, in spite of another of Solon's sayings ("Call no man blessed before his death"), was able, when his own end came, to claim to be called fortunate. Ὅρα τέλος is the ordinary Greek equivalent of the Latin "Respice finem"; and like Γνῶθι σεαυτόν, it is included amongst the wise sayings of the seven wise men of Greece.

There are two very similar but smaller medals, both cast.

One (an obverse only) bears the same date 1519 (diameter, 1·75 inches; Simonis, *op. cit.*, Pl. ii. No. 4) as the large medal, and has the inscription, ERASMVS · ROTERO ·

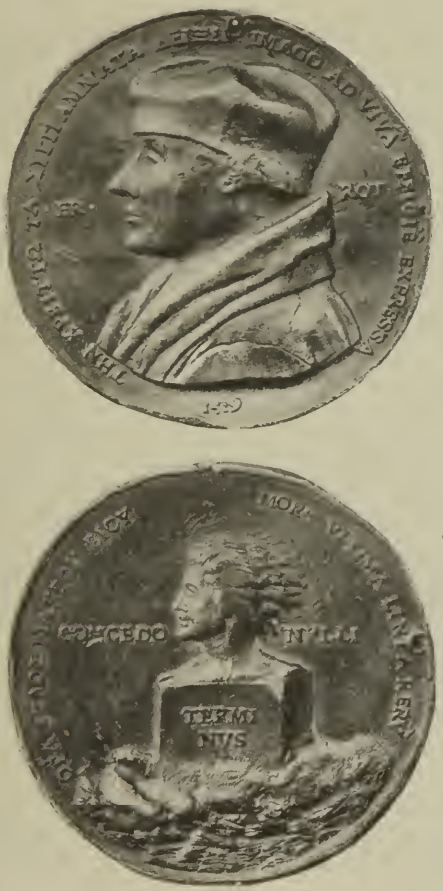

Fig. 51 (reduced).—Medal of Erasmus (1519). From a specimen formerly in the author's collection.

around the portrait of Erasmus. The other, the smallest of the three, is dated 1531 (diameter, 1·35 inches; Simonis, *op. cit.*, Pl. ii. No. 5), and very much resembles the largest

medal in type and legends, but the features of Erasmus are slightly more sharply cut.

The large medal has been attributed to Dürer, and it is

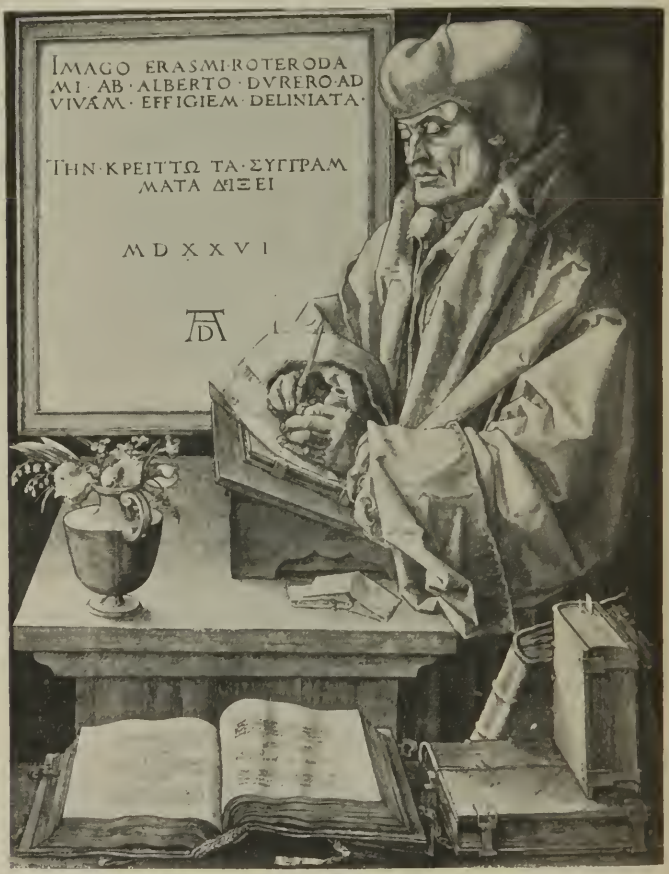

FIG. 52.—Engraving of Erasmus by Dürer. Reduced from an example in the British Museum.

interesting that Dürer's signed engraving of Erasmus (see Fig. 52), dated 1526, bears a very similar inscription to that on the obverse of the medal. On Dürer's engraving, however,

the head of Erasmus is not quite in profile, and his features are much more sharply expressed than on the medal. Moreover, the portrait on the medal is now supposed to be after a lost original by Quentin Metsys. Erasmus himself wrote that Quentin Metsys made a portrait of him, cast in metal. According to Julien Simonis (*op. cit.*, pp. 80–88), one of the above-described medals was the work of the medallist Jean Second, who probably modelled it from a medallion by Quentin Metsys now lost. I do not see why the obverse of the large medal should not be the work of Quentin Metsys himself.

The largest and the smallest of these medals of Erasmus are likewise figured in the *Museum Mazzuchellianum*, Venice, 1761, vol. i. Pl. 45 and Pl. 46. In that work it is explained that the "Terminus" (terminal head) on the reverse is an allusion, not to the great value of the writings of Erasmus, as some have supposed, but to death, the common goal of all, *i.e.* as the medal itself tells us, "mors ultima linea rerum" (Horace, *Epist.*, book i. 16, line 79).

A man's head on a cubical stone inscribed, TERMINVS, with the legend, CONCEDO NVLLI or CEDO NVLLI, was the favourite device of Erasmus. In the Museum of Basel is an original sketch, which I have seen, showing a rendering of this device, by Holbein,[451] and there is likewise a fine woodcut by Holbein, designed for a title-page to the works of Erasmus, representing Erasmus standing under a highly decorative Renaissance arch, with his right hand resting on the head of a terminal figure (or "Hermes"), on which is the inscription, TERMINVS. On a seal, which Erasmus had specially engraved for himself, the man's head on the boundary stone was represented facing, not (as on the medals) in profile, and the legend was CEDO NVLLI, not (as on the medals) CONCEDO NVLLI. With this seal, which I shall illustrate later on, he sealed his last will, dated at Basel, in the house of Jerome Frobenius, 12th February, 1536; and an enlarged copy of the "TERMINVS" on this

[451] No. 122 of the sketches in the Basel Museum. Cf. the design for a painting on glass, figured by E. Hiss, *Dessins d'Ornements de Hans Holbein*, Paris, 1886, Plate iv.

seal was placed by his heirs over the tablet where he was buried in the Cathedral of Basel.[452]

The seal in question is figured by J. J. Jortin, together with an antique intaglio representing a terminal bust (or "Hermes"), without any inscription, from which Erasmus apparently derived his idea of adopting a terminal figure as his *memento mori* device. See J. Jortin, *Life of Erasmus*, London, 1808, vol. iii. (specimens of the handwriting of Erasmus, No. 1). In Part IV. I shall again refer to this seal of Erasmus.

The "Terminus" device of Erasmus might be regarded as a "masked," "disguised," or "softened" *memento mori*, analogous to the elongated death's-head which is represented on Holbein's famous picture (to which I have already alluded) painted in 1533, known as "The Ambassadors," in the London National Gallery.

(I.) *Memento mori* medal of Pietro Balanzano, of Venice (fifteenth century or early sixteenth century).

Obv.—Head in high relief to left. Inscription: PETRO BALANZANO.

Rev.—A human skull. Inscription: NVLA EST REDENCIO (that is equivalent to "There is no escape from death"—or else it is for "Inferno nulla est redemptio," meaning, "There is no escape for those in hell").

Diameter, 2·3 inches; cast. A bronze Italian medal of the fifteenth or early sixteenth century, in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Armand, *Les Médailleurs Italiens*, second edition, Paris, 1883, vol. ii. p. 128; and vol. iii. (1887), p. 205. The specimen figured in the auction sale catalogue of the Lanna Collection (Berlin, 1911, p. 11, No. 115, and Plate 10) has the number 204266 in relief below the head on the obverse.

(I., II., XI.) Death of Dr. Wenzel Beyer (or Payer or Bayer) of Karlsbad, in Bohemia, 1526 (see Fig. 53).

Obv.—Portrait of Beyer in profile to left, at the age of 38 years, with inscription: WENCES BEYER, &c.

Rev.—In a bare landscape with one tree, a steaming chasm, into which a horseman (Marcus Curtius?) is about to plunge. In the foreground, a book, upon which a skull; loose bones

[452] Cf. R. B. Drummond, *Erasmus, his Life and Character*, London, 1873.

lying about. In some specimens the date, 1526, occurs on the field. Inscription: IAM PORTVM INVENI, SPES ET FORTVNA, VALETE.

Diameter, 2·2 inches; cast in silver. C. A. Rudolphi, *Numismata Virorum de Rebus Medicis, &c.*, Duisburg's edition of 1862, p. 93.

Marcus Curtius, the Roman legendary hero, when he heard that the chasm in the forum could only be filled by throwing Rome's greatest treasure into it, mounted his horse

Fig. 53.—Medal on the death of Dr. Wenzel Beyer, of Karlsbad, in 1526. (After Bergmann.)

and leaped into the abyss, declaring that Rome possessed no greater treasure than a brave and gallant citizen.

In regard to the reverse inscription on this medal it may be noted that the usual quotation (which was inscribed by the first Lord Brougham on his villa at Cannes) is—

"Inveni portum; Spes et Fortuna, valete!
Sat me lusistis, ludite nunc alios."

("I have found the haven; Hope and Fortune, farewell!
You have made sport enough of me, now make sport of others.")

Cf. also the various versions mentioned in Part I. A. One commencing, "Jam portum inveni," was given by Sir Thomas More.

(I., II., XI.) Death of Dr. Wenzel Beyer, 1526 (see Fig. 54).

Obv.—Nearly full-face portrait, with name, &c.

Rev.—On stony ground, a bier, with a decaying corpse on it. Above this is an inscription in four lines: CVM PARITER OMNIBVS MORIENDVM NON TARDE SED CLARE

MORI OPTANDVM ("Since all alike must die, it is desirable to die not tardily, but illustriously"). In the field is the date 1526.

Diameter, 2·0 inches; cast in silver. C. A. Rudolphi, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

Dr. Wenzel Beyer was the author of the first medical treatise on the thermal waters of Karlsbad, in Bohemia. *Tractatus de Thermis Caroli IV*, &c., Leipzig, 1521. In that book he wrote: "I have said that this water must be drunk. As, however, till now it has seldom been used for drinking, but more for bathing, what I have said will appear to many as something new." It seems, therefore, that he was practically the first physician to recommend the internal use

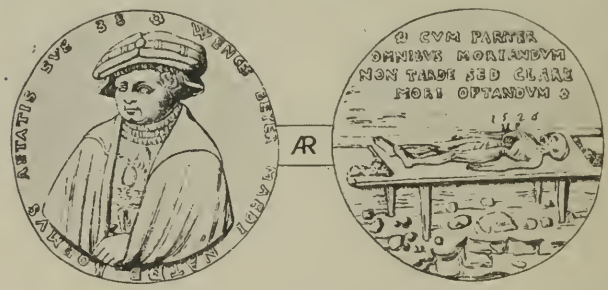

FIG. 54.—Medal on the death of Dr. Wenzel Beyer, of Karlsbad, in 1526. (After Bergmann.)

of the Karlsbad waters. Beyer was born in 1488 at Elbogen, near Karlsbad, and hence on the title-page of his book his name appears as Venceslaus Payer "*de Cubito*," that is to say, of Elbogen. He died on 11th December, 1526. Specimens of these medals are in the Imperial Collection at Vienna. They are described also by Karl Domanig, in *Die Deutsche Medaille* (Vienna, 1907, pp. 37, 38), but their designs are discussed in considerably greater detail by Joseph Bergmann, in his *Medaillen auf berühmte und ausgezeichnete Männer des Oesterreichischen Kaiserstaates* (Vienna, 1844, pp. 85–88, and Plate viii. Nos. 31, 32), and by Dr. J. de Carro, in a Karlsbad almanack, published at Prague in 1841, to which Dr. Paul Mayer has kindly drawn my attention. Nothing seems to be known with certainty as to the cause of Beyer's death, and

Bergmann, in regard to the medallic evidence, aptly quotes Ovid (*Fast.*, iv. 709)—

"Factum abiit, monumenta manent."

The reverse design of the larger medal, apparently referring to the old Roman legend of Curtius, seems hardly appropriate for an ordinary death. It is possible (see Bergmann's suggestions, *loc. cit.*) that his death was the result of (or at the time supposed to be the result of) an injury or disease acquired when examining the source of the great hot spring ("Sprudel") at Karlsbad. At the present day, close to the "Sprudel," along the sides of the river Tepl, clouds of steam arise from the ground itself. The rocky ground on which the bier stands (in the smaller medal) probably represents the bed of the Tepl. Beyer's patron, Count Stephan Schlick, to whom he dedicated his treatise on the thermal springs, was hereditary Lord of Elbogen, and doubtless owned Karlsbad itself. Therefore Beyer's book (alluded to on the reverse type of the larger medal), by increasing the use of the thermal waters, was probably of some financial service to the Schlick family, who apparently had these commemorative medals made. Like most other German medals of the time, they were, of course, not struck, but cast and chased, and were doubtless the work of some goldsmith patronized by the Schlick family, who must have had much to do with goldsmiths and die-engravers. The family had been granted the right of coining money by the Emperor Sigismund, in the early part of the fifteenth century, and about 1519 Count Stephan Schlick and his brothers, who owned the valuable silver-mines of Joachimsthal (Bohemia), began to strike the large silver coins called "Joachimsthaler," or, in short, simply "Thaler." From these "Schlick" Thaler other large silver coins of Europe and America have been named thalers, or dollars. Count Stephan Schlick himself was one of those who perished with their sovereign, King Louis II of Hungary (and Bohemia), in the disastrous battle against the Turks (under Soliman II) at Mohacs, on 29th August, 1526.

There are medals of Count Stephan Schlick by the medallists and engravers Ludwig Neufarer and Michael Hohenauer, and in 1557 the latter engraver was working for the Joachimsthal Mint, which belonged to the Schlick family.

(II.) Medal of Tommaso Moro of Venice, Prefect of Verona 1527.

Obv.—Bust to right. Inscription: THOMAS MAVRVS VENETVS VERONAE PRAEFECTVS.

Rev.—Phoenix in flames, an emblem of the resurrection of the body and the immortality of the soul. Inscription: MORIENS. REVIVISCO. -MDXXVII.- IO. MARIA. POMEDELVS. VERON. F.

Diameter, 2·0 inches. Bronze medal by Pomedello of Verona. Armand, *Les Médailleurs Italiens*, second edition, Paris, 1883, vol. i. p. 128, No. 11.

(II.) A phoenix, with the word REVIXIT, occurs likewise on the reverse of a medal of Cardinal Cristofero Madruzzo, Prince-Bishop of Trento (died in 1578), by Lorenzo Parmigiano (Armand, *op. cit.*, vol. i. p. 278, No. 1).

(I.) Medal of Hans Kerrn (German, sixteenth century).

Mr. W. T. Ready has kindly told me of a small silver cast medal which he has met with of a certain Hans Kerrn. On the obverse is Kerrn's portrait. On the reverse is Death (in the form of a skeleton) holding an hour-glass and driving before him a child attached by a chain. The inscription on the reverse is: MI . . . IN GLEICH IVNG ODER ALD, SO HAD VNS DER DOT IN SEINER GWALD. I cannot find a description of this piece in any book on German medals. It is apparently German work of the sixteenth century (about 1530).

(II.) A Thaler-like medal (1532) of Francis, Duke of Brunswick (Middle Lüneburg line—Giffhorn) has on the reverse the inscription from St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans xiv. 8: DOMINI SVMVS SIVE VIVIMVS SIVE MORIMVR. (Madai, *Vollst. Thaler-Cabinet*, No. 3595.)

(V.) The murder of Alessandro de' Medici, the first Duke of Florence, 1537.

Alessandro de' Medici was assassinated, in the name of

liberty, by his kinsman Lorenzo de' Medici, called "Lorenzino," on the night of 5th to 6th January, 1537. The following medal (which is not very rare, and for some information about which I am indebted to Mr. W. Wroth) is described by A. Armand, *Médailleurs Italiens*, second edition, Paris, vol. ii. p. 151, No. 3.

Obv.—Bare head of Lorenzino, to right. Inscription: LAVREN-TIVS MEDICES.

Rev.—Cap of liberty (the Roman "pileus") between two daggers. Below: VIII · ID · IAN (6th January).

Diameter, 1·5 inches; bronze. (See Fig. 55.)

FIG. 55.—Medal of "Lorenzino" de' Medici.

The reverse device is adopted from the reverse of the Roman denarius of Brutus (which I have already referred to) commemorating the murder of Julius Caesar on the Ides of March, 44 B.C., but the date under the cap of liberty on the Italian medal is, of course, different. After the murder Lorenzino fled to Venice, where Filippo Strozzi (called "the younger") greeted him as the "Tuscan Brutus." Alessandro had supposed Lorenzino to be his friend, and the murder was an act of horrible treachery. The medal, which is of the size of a Roman large bronze coin or bronze medallion, was doubtless made at the time or slightly later. Lorenzino was himself tracked down and assassinated in 1548.

(I., II.) One of the finely cast and chased silver religious medals by Hans Reinhard the elder, of Leipzig (1536), bearing a representation of the Fall of Man (Adam and Eve and the Serpent at the Tree of Knowledge) on the obverse, and

the Crucifixion of Christ on the reverse, belongs to some extent to the *memento mori* class. The obverse inscription is: ET · SICVT · IN · ADAM · OMNES · MORIVNTVR · &c. This magnificent medal was made by order of the Elector John Frederic, "the Magnanimous," of Saxony. (See W. E. Tentzel, *Saxonia Numismatica, Linea Ernestina*, 1714, Pl. viii. Fig. 1.)

(I.) German plaque, of about 1530–1540.

There is a circular plaque (1·8 inches in diameter) of white metal, possibly the reverse for a medal, representing a

FIG. 56.—Plaque by Lorenz Rosenbaum. From an original in the British Museum.

lady, in the costume of the time, seated in the interior of a room, offering the breast to a baby ; on the table is a death's-head and on the window-sill an hour-glass. It is of good workmanship, and signed L.R., apparently by Lorenz Rosenbaum, a goldsmith and a medallist of Schaffhausen. There are specimens in both the British Museum (see Fig. 56) and the Victoria and Albert Museum. The design is taken from a well-known engraving (already alluded to in Part I. D. : see Fig. 23) by Barthel Beham (1502–1540), which, though it may be intended to represent the Madonna and Child, seems likewise to suggest thoughts of the beginning and the inevitable end of life. Anyhow, two other engravings by B. Beham, representing human skulls (in one of these

engravings there are three, in the other four skulls) and a baby with an hour-glass were certainly meant to suggest such thoughts and illustrate the line of Manilius: "Nascentes morimur, finisque ab origine pendet"; or, as Sir Michael Foster has expressed it, "The first cry of the newly born child is its first step towards the grave."

(II. or III.) Here we may for convenience mention a uniface portrait medal by Lorenz Rosenbaum, dated 1531, the portrait (bare head to right) being apparently that of the artist himself. The inscription is VT · MORTVVS · VIVEREM——VIVO · HIC · MORITVRVS. Signed L.R. 1531. The medal, which is cast in lead (diameter,

Fig. 57.—Reverse of medal of Johann Friess, 1540.

1·75 inches), is described and figured by E. Merzbacher, "Beiträge zur Kritik der Deutschen Kunstmedaillen," *Mittheilungen der Bayerischen Numismatischen Gesellschaft*, München, 1900, vol. 19, p. 8, and Pl. i. Fig. 4. I am indebted for this reference to Mr. L. Forrer. Lorenz Rosenbaum, probably a son of the goldsmith Conrad Rosenbaum, was born at Schaffhausen, but from 1539 to 1546 worked as a goldsmith in Augsburg. The meaning of the legend is either: "Vivo hic moriturus," "I live here about to die," *i.e.* "This is my portrait before death"; "Ut mortuus viverem," "(I made this portrait) that I might live after death"—or else: "I live here (on earth) about to die (*i.e.* prepared for death) so that I may live after death"; but in the latter case one

would have expected "vivam" instead of "viverem." Cf. the mottoes: "Vive ut vivas," and "Vive ut postea vivas."

(I.) *Memento mori* medal of Johann Friess, 1540.

Obv.—Clothed bust of a man, with a long beard, to left. Inscription: IMAGO · IOANNIS · FRISII · ÆTA · SV · 36 · 1540.

Rev.—A figure of Death, on the right, holds up an hour-glass to a wealthy-looking man (nobleman), standing on the left. Diameter, 1·5 inches; silver. (See Fig. 57.)

(I.) The reverse of a medal, dated 1542, by the German medallist, Friedrich Hagenauer, consists of the motto, BEDENCK DAS END, together with the date in question. It is figured by Georg Habich, *Jahrbuch der königl. Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, Berlin, 1907, vol. xxviii. p. 259.

(XVIII.) A medal of Ferdinand (afterwards the German Emperor Ferdinand I), brother of the Emperor Charles V, struck in 1547, on the death of his wife, Anna of Hungary, has on the reverse the letter A over a death's-head and a bone, with the inscription, WIER KLAGENS GOTT ("We bewail it to God"). Figured by Karl Domanig, *Die Deutsche Medaille*, Wien, 1907, Plate 79, No. 699

FIG. 58.—Memorial medal of Queen Dorothea of Denmark, 1560.

(II. and XIV.) Memorial medal of Queen Dorothea of Denmark (mother of Frederick II), (1560).

Obv.—Profile head of Queen Dorothea to right. Inscription: DOROTE REGINA DANIE MDLX.

Rev.—Hour-glass over skull and crossed bones. Inscription: BEDENCK DAS ENDT VND DIE STVNDE. (Fig. 58.)

Diameter, 1·1 inches; silver gilt. *Danske Mynter og Medailler i den Kongelige Samling*, Copenhagen, 1791, p. 212, No. 4, Pl. xii. No. 5. The meaning of the reverse inscription, which is similar to some inscriptions engraved on old-fashioned sun-dials, is doubtless that of Thomas à Kempis in *De Imitatione Christi*, Book I. chap. xxv. 11: "Memento semper finis, et quia perditum non redit tempus."

(I.) Medal of Onophrius (Onofrio) Korn (1562).

Obv.—His bust, to left, with inscription.

Rev.—Male figure, holding hour-glass, leaning on an altar or tomb (on which is a death's-head) inscribed: RESPICE FINEM. The whole reverse device is in an architectural "setting."

This medal, by a German artist signing himself S. W., is figured by A. Erman, *Deutsche Medailleure*, Berlin, 1884, Pl. vii. No. 3.

(XI.) Medal of Goffredo Franco (about 1565).

Obv.—Bust to left. Inscription: IOFREDVS FRANCVS. Artist's signature, P. P. R.

Rev.—A nude man standing on a pedestal in the middle of the sea, holding a rod in his left hand, his right foot resting on a skull. Inscription: POTIVS. MORI. QVAM. ANIMO. IMMVTARI ("Rather death than change one's mind").

Diameter, 2·2 inches. A medal by Pietro Paolo Galeotti, called "Romano." Armand, *Les Médailleurs Italiens*, second edition, Paris, 1883, vol. i. p. 229, No. 7.

(XI.) The same reverse type and legend occur on a medal of Alberto Litta, dated 1565, attributed to the same artist (Galeotti), though not bearing any signature (Armand, *Les Médailleurs Italiens*, Paris, vol. iii. (1887), p. 112).

(V., XI.) Execution of Count Egmont and Count Hoorn, 1568.

A medal by Martin Holtzhey, struck in 1748 in connexion with the Jubilee Festivities commemorating the Peace of Westphalia (Peace of Münster) in 1648, refers to Count Lamoral Egmont and Philip Count von Hoorn (who were beheaded at Brussels in 1568, after condemnation by the Duke of Alva's "Council of Blood"), as "martyrs" for Dutch liberty.

(I. and VIII.) Medal of Sebastian Zäh, of Augsburg, 1572.

Obv.—His clothed bust to right, with bare head and pointed beard. Inscription: SEBASTIAN . ZÄH . ANNO . AET . XXXXV . 1572. (Artist's signature) AN. AB.

Rev.—A man in rich costume, with a beggar accosting him. Inscription: RESPICE FINEM.

Diameter, 1·6 inches; cast. By Antonio Abondio, the younger (1538–1591). Armand, *Les Médailleurs Italiens*, second edition, Paris, 1883, vol. i. p. 274, No. 34; Karl Domanig, *Die Deutsche Medaille*, Wien, 1907, No. 832.

(XI.) "Massacre of St. Bartholomew's Night" (1572).

The medal of Pope Gregory XIII, commemorating this event, bears the signature of the medallist, Federigo Bonzagna, called "Parmigiano."

Obv.—Bust of the Pope, to left, in cape and skull-cap. Legend: GREGORIVS · XIII · PONT · MAX · AN · I· Below the bust, artist's signature, F. P.

Rev.—Destroying angel to right, holding sword and cross; men and women dead, wounded, and flying before her. Legend: VGONOTTORVM · STRAGES · 1572.

Diameter, 1·25 inches; struck; silver, bronze gilt. A. Armand, *Les Médailleurs Italiens*, second edition, Paris, 1883, vol. i. p. 226, No. 37. Many restruck examples and later copies exist; the modern English copies, of a somewhat larger size, being those most unlike the originals.

The Massacre of the Huguenots is commemorated in the same spirit by Vasari's fresco in the Sala Regia of the Vatican at Rome, though the inscription under the painting has been obliterated.

(XI.) Some French medals of Charles IX (of which many restruck specimens exist) refer to the same event.[453]

[453] King Charles IX, of France, died in 1574. He had pulmonary tuberculosis, which was apparently complicated by purpura at the end—see the article by Brouardel and Gilles de la Tourette in *Les grands scènes historiques du XVI siècle*, Paris, 1886. See also Cabanès, *Les morts mystérieuses de l'histoire*; and A. Corlieu, *La mort des Rois de France*. The sole authority for the alleged "red sweating" of the king is T. A. D'Aubigné's *L'histoire universelle* (1616–1620). The king

According to Mazerolle, they are probably the work of the Paris medal-engraver, Alexandre Olivier.

Obv.—Laurelled bust of King Charles IX, to left. Inscription: CAROLVS · IX · D · G · FRANCORVM REX INVIC · 1572.

Rev.—The king, holding sword and sceptre, seated on a throne; at his feet are lying dead bodies, severed heads and weapons. Inscription: VIRTVS . IN . REBELLES.

Diameter, 1·5 inches. There are modern restruck specimens in the British Museum Collection. *Trésor de Numismatique, Médailles Françaises*, Première Partie, Paris, 1836, Pl. xix. 4.

Obv.—The king seated, as on the reverse of the last piece, with the same inscription.

Rev.—The French arms surmounted by a crown, between two pillars. Inscription: PIETAS EXCITAVIT IVSTITIAM. In exergue: 24 · AVGVSTI . 1572.

Diameter, 1·5 inches. There is a fine original silver-gilt struck specimen in the British Museum collection.

Obv.—Laurelled bust of the king, and inscription, as on the first of these medals.

Rev.—The French arms, &c., as on the reverse of the last medal.

Diameter, 1·5 inches; illustrated in the *Trésor de Numismatique, loc. cit.*, Pl. xix. 3.

Obv.—Laurelled bust of the king, to right. Inscription: CAROLVS · IX · D · G · FRANCOR · REX.

Rev.—Hercules, holding club and torch, attacking the Lernean Hydra. Inscription: NE FERRVM TEMNAT SIMVL IGNIB(VS) OBSTO. In exergue, 1572.

Diameter, 2·0 inches; illustrated in the *Trésor de Numismatique, loc. cit.*, Pl. xix. 5. There is a modern restruck specimen in bronze in the British Museum collection.

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certainly had visual hallucinations connected apparently with the recollection of the dreadful Massacre of the Huguenots, which he is said to have witnessed from a window. I once saw a patient suffering from pulmonary tuberculosis and purpura, who saw things red on account of haemorrhage at the centre of the left retina (macular region), bulging into the vitreous. I have wondered whether a similar "erythropsia" was in any way connected with the hallucinations of Charles IX, but that is, of course, very unlikely to have been the case.

(I.) Medal of Gabrielle Fiamma, of Venice, Bishop of Chioggia in 1584.

Obv.—His bust to right; in front, a human skull. Inscription: MEMINISSE IVVABIT.

Rev.—Inscription in twenty-five lines.

Diameter, 3·2 inches; a bronze cast medal of the second half of the sixteenth century, by Andrea Cambi, called "Il Bombarda," of Cremona. Armand, *Les Médailleurs Italiens*, second edition, Paris, 1883, vol. ii. p. 227; and vol. iii. (1887), p. 96.

The skull on the obverse may be intended as a *memento mori* device, but the obverse inscription refers apparently to Fiamma's passing safely through trials and difficulties of life: "Forsan et haec olim meminisse juvabit"—"Perhaps some day it will be pleasant to remember even these happenings" (Virgil, *Aen.*, lib. i. 203). The hexameter line, *Dulce est praeteriti quondam meminisse laboris*, occurs on a silver coin of Gratz in Styria. (Madai, *Vollst. Thaler-Cabinet*, No. 4897.)

(I., II.) Dr. H. R. Storer kindly tells me of a little German medal of 1585, having an hour-glass and skull on the obverse; the reverse inscription is: DER MENSCH IN PARADIS, &c. (Bronze, one inch in diameter.)

(I., II.) The so-called "Brillen-Thaler" ("eye-glass Thaler") were issued 1586–1587 at Goslar by Julius, Duke of Brunswick (of the middle Wolfenbüttel line). They show on one side a so-called "wild man" (like the heraldic "wild men") carrying a light in his hand, and, slung over his arm, are a death's-head, an hour-glass, and a pair of eye-glasses. The letters accompanying this type, namely, W.H.D.A.L.V.B.D.S.S.N.H.V.K.W., are supposed to signify: *Was hilft dem Armen* (or *dem Alten*) *Licht und Brill, der sich selbst nicht hören* (or *helfen*) *und kennen will?*

A similar motto occurs on a Dutch seventeenth-century picture by Jan Steen, in the Ryks Museum at Amsterdam. Above the head of

an old roisterer is the representation of an owl with candles and eye-glasses, and the inscription—

"Wat baeter Kaers of Bril,
Als den Uil niet sien wil?"

("Of what use are candles or eye-glasses when the owl will not see?")

Anyone who has watched the tedious process of testing the eyes of unintelligent persons (for glasses) in a hospital out-patient room might be tempted to paraphrase the motto of the Brillen-Thaler, and exclaim—

"Was hilft dem Armen Licht und Brill,
Der selbst seine Sinne nicht brauchen will?"

A mortuary Thaler ("Sterbethaler") commemorating the duke's death in 1589, has the "wild man" with hour-glass and eye-glasses slung over his arm, leaning on a tablet (on which is a skull) inscribed, VIXIT · AN · LX, &c. The inscription surrounding the type is, LVCTV PVBLICO. On the Brillen-Thaler appear likewise the letters I.M.C.M. or M.I.C.M., possibly signifying, *In medio cursu metuo*, or *Medio in cursu metuo*.

It may here be noted that eye-glasses are pictured likewise on gold so-called "eye-glass ducats" struck in 1647 by Christian IV, King of Denmark, with an inscription, VIDE MIRA DOMI(NI), and on a Swedish jetton or counter, with an inscription signifying, "He who has good luck needs no eye-glasses."

(II.) A medal (1590) of the French jurist Hugues Doneau, or latinized, Hugo Donellus (1527–1591), who is said to have known the "Corpus Juris" by heart, gives his portrait in his 64th year on the obverse, and on the reverse the inscription (after St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans xiv. 8): SIVE VIVIMUS SIVE MORIMUR DOMINI SUMUS. DOMINO VIVENDUM ET MORIENDUM.

Diameter, 2·0 by 1·5 inches, oval. Described by Anthony Durand, *Médailles et Jetons des Numismates*, Genève, 1865, p. 246.

(VI.) A Dutch medal of 1590, commemorating the taking of Breda in that year by the Dutch (under Prince Maurice of Nassau) from the Spaniards, has on the reverse a scene showing how the town was taken, with the inscription:

PARATI VINCERE AVT MORI . 4 . MARTII. In the exergue: INVICTI ANIMI PR(aemium). (Madai, *Vollst. Thaler-Cabinet*, No. 4682.)

(II.) Two mortuary Thaler (1591) on the death of the Elector Christian I of Saxony, bear the motto: HAVD TIMET MORTEM QVI VITAM SPERAT. The medallist's signature on both of them is HB, for Hans Biener. (Madai, *Vollst. Thaler-Cabinet*, Nos. 515, 2955.)

(II.) A German silver medal (1593) of Tobias Panzer, Recorder (Ratschreiber) of Nürnberg, has on the obverse his portrait at the age of 65 years. On the reverse is a phoenix rising from the flames, with the inscription: OMNIVM RERVM VICISSITVDO (cf. Terence, *Eunuchus*, ii. 2, 45) and the date. The obverse is signed M.C., which, according to Adolf Erman (*Deutsche Medailleure*, Berlin, 1884, p. 60, Plate vi. Fig. 6), probably stands for Melchior Carl, a silversmith of Nürnberg.

(XVIII.) Some coins struck by Philip, the last Duke of Brunswick of the old Grubenhagen line, bear the inscription: GOT . GIBT . GOT . NIMBT—presumably in reference to the deaths, in 1595, of his wife and only brother. (Madai, *Vollst. Thaler-Cabinet*, Nos. 1080 and 3559–3561.)

(X.) The series of so-called "Pestthaler" or "Wittenberger Pestthaler" of the sixteenth century have the design of the brazen serpent of Moses on the obverse, and a representation of Christ's Crucifixion on the reverse. They were doubtless sometimes used as amulets or talismans against the plague and other fatal epidemic diseases. There are various types and various sizes (half-thaler and quarter-thaler sizes). Many of them, as the mint-marks[454] seem to show,

[454] Some of these mint-marks are the same as those used on the large silver coins struck from 1519 onwards by the Counts Schlick at Joachimsthal. These "Joachimsthaler" were the original pieces from which the words "thaler," "daler," and "dollar" are derived. See also Max Donebauer, *Sammlung Böhmischer Münzen und Medaillen*.

were probably really struck at the silver-mining town of Joachimsthal in Bohemia. For a description including all medals and coins of similar (sometimes more elaborate) design, of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (many bearing dates, such as 1525, 1527, 1528, 1531, 1538, 1551, 1557, 1619), see L. Pfeiffer and C. Ruland, *Pestilentia in Nummis*, Tübingen, 1882, pp. 75–87. These authors likewise give a good deal of information about other coin-like or medal-like amulets, or supposed preservative "charms" ("Pest-Pfennige," &c.) against plague, cholera, and other deadly epidemic diseases.

(I.) Some thin "bracteate" German coins of the sixteenth century, issued by the bishopric of Halberstadt, have been mistakenly termed "Sargpfennige" ("Coffin-pennies"), because they were supposed to bear the device of a death's-head and crossed bones on a shield. In reality this device on the shield was originally meant to represent the bust of St. Stephen, the patron saint of the bishopric of Halberstadt, but on some specimens the workmanship is so bad that the bust of the saint resembles a death's-head with crossed bones below it. (*Vide* H. Halke, *Handwörterbuch der Münzkunde*, Berlin, 1909, p. 310.)

(XI.) Medal of Faustina Sforza, wife of the Marquis of Caravaggio Muzio (second half of the sixteenth century).

Obv.—Bust to right. Inscription: FAVSTINA · SFORTIA · MARCH · CARAVAGII.

Rev.—An ermine-like animal pursued by a huntsman and a dog. Inscription: MORI POTIVS QVAM FOEDARI ("Better to die than be defiled"; "Rather death than dishonour"). Artist's signature in incuse letters: PETRVS . PAVLVS . ROM.

Diameter, 3·0 inches. Medal by Pietro Paolo Galeotti, called "Romano." Armand, *Les Médailleurs Italiens*, second edition, Paris, 1883, vol. i. p. 234, No. 35.

The reverse design on this medal refers to the power of some of the "mustelidae" (*e.g.* the skunk) to save their lives

by ejecting a fluid of intolerable odour, which compels their pursuers to abandon the chase. The meaning of the reverse is therefore, "It is preferable to die than to dishonour one's self by committing a disgraceful action"; "Honesta mors turpi vitâ potior" (Tacitus, *Vita Agricolae*, xxxiii.). Cf. the mottoes mentioned in Part II. xi.

(I., II.) A *memento mori* reverse for a mortuary medal, or "Sterbedenkmünze" by the Silesian medallist, Tobias Wolff (second half of the sixteenth century), is figured in A. Erman's *Deutsche Medailleure*, Berlin, 1884, p. 69. A naked child,

FIG. 59.—Reverse design by Tobias Wolff, German, sixteenth century.

holding a flower, seated by a human skull and bones; in the background, a tree with a withered leafless branch and a vigorous branch rich in leaves. Inscription: SIT NOMEN DOMINI BENEDICTVM. (See Fig. 59.) This design, which bear's the artist's signature, TW, occurs as a reverse with a later obverse dated 1619, bearing the portrait of Göttfried Woyssel, a Silesian physician (C. A. Rudolphi, *Numismata Virorum de Rebus Medicis, &c.*, Duisburg's edition of 1862, p. 111, No. 296). The design obviously illustrates the frequently quoted line of Manilius: "Nascentes morimur, finisque ab origine pendet." It also illustrates the eternal succession of new life springing from the old. The inscription is, of course, equivalent to one of resignation: "Let the will of God be done."

(I.) German sixteenth-century "moral" medal by Ludwig Neufarer.

Obv.—Boy resting with his right arm on a death's-head; in the background a town. In the exergue inscription in three lines: TEMPVS · EDAX · RERV(m) · TV · QVE · INVIDIO(sa) · VETV(stas).

Rev.—Representation of Solon before enthroned Croesus. Inscription: ERS (*sic*) · ERIT · SVBITO · QVI · MODO · CROESVS · ERAT · O · SOLOM · SOLOM.

Diameter, 1·6 inches; struck in silver. (Max Donebauer, *Sammlung Böhmischer Münzen und Medaillen*, Prag, 1888–1890, vol. 2, No. 4300.)

On a similar smaller medal (diameter, 1·0 inch) the obverse inscription is, TEMPVS · EDAX · RERV(m), and the reverse inscription is, OSSITAS (*sic*) · ERIT · SVBITO · QVI · MODO · CROESVS · ERAT. (Max Donebauer, *loc. cit.*, No. 4301.)

The inscriptions on these medals were evidently derived from the hexameter and pentameter lines—

"Tempus edax rerum, tuque, invidiosa vetustas."

"Pulvis [? or Mortis] erit subito quomodo Croesus erat."

Compare Ovid, *Metam.*, xv. 234—

"Tempus edax rerum, tuque, invidiosa vetustas,
Omnia destruitis, vitiataque dentibus aevi
Paulatim lenta consumitis omnia morte."

The word *ossitas*, substituted by the medallist for *pulvis* or *mortis*, meant, I suppose, a skeleton, or *Knochenmann*.

According to the story narrated by Plutarch in his Life of Solon, the substance of the advice given by Solon to Croesus, King of Lydia, was: "Keep in mind the end of a long life—account no man happy before his death." When later on Croesus was taken prisoner by Cyrus, and was about to be burned on the funeral pyre, he was heard three times to call out the name of Solon. Cyrus asked for an explanation, and when Croesus told him the words of Solon, he countermanded the order for execution, and made Croesus his friend.

(II.) A German silver religious medal of the sixteenth century (Fig. 60) shows on the obverse the Prophet Jonah being vomited up alive by the whale, and on the reverse Christ's resurrection and the final triumph over death. In

the foreground Christ stands with one foot on the head of a monster of some kind (by comparison with the obverse the monster seems to be a kind of miniature whale); behind Christ is a prostrate human skeleton, emblematic of the defeat of Death; in the background is the tomb, with two sleeping watchers. The Latin inscription signifies: "Thanks be to God, which giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ" (1 Corinthians xv. 57). The medal is described in Max Donebauer's *Sammlung Bömischer Münzen und Medaillen*, Prag, 1888–1890, vol. 2, No. 4412. Compare the medal of Jonah and the Resurrection, by the Meister G. W., dated 1537 (Donebauer, *loc. cit.*, No. 4304).

FIG. 60.—German sixteenth-century religious medal, representing Christ's triumph over death.

The Mediaeval representations of the "Triumph of Death," as expressed in the various "Dance of Death" series, are sometimes followed by a design of the same kind as that on the reverse of Fig. 60, representing Christ's Final Triumph over death, that is to say, the "death of Death"—"The Last enemy that shall be destroyed is death" (1 Corinthians xv. 26). Cf. the treatment of this subject in the *Todten Dantz*, by Rudolph and Conrad Meyer of Zürich (Zürich, 1650). Compare also the following.

(II.) A German religious medal has on the obverse the Latin hexameter line: NON MORIAR VIVAM SPES E(st) MIHI MAGNA SEPVL(crum); and on the reverse

it has the pentameter line: E TVMBA IN COELOS TE DVCE CHRISTE FERAR. The obverse and reverse designs signify the resurrection and triumph over Death. On the reverse is the resurrection of Christ; two watchers are asleep by the tomb; below is a death's-head. There is no date. (Madai, *Vollst. Thaler-Cabinet*, No. 5216.)

(I., II.) A German sixteenth-century "moral" medal (silver) has on the obverse a representation of Adam and Eve at the Tree of Knowledge. On the reverse is a seated woman with hour-glass, death's-head, and a light, and the inscription, SICH · MENS · BDENCK · DAS · ENDE, which means, "Man, think of the end." (Auction catalogue by Otto Helbing Nachfolger, Munich, December, 1913, No. 4284.) In regard to the reverse compare the following medal, described by Max Donebauer (*Sammlung Böhmischer Münzen und Medaillen*, Prag, 1888–1890, vol. 2, No. 4361):—

Obv.—The holy women standing under the cross. Inscription: ET · EGO · SI · EXALTVS · FVERO, &c.

Rev.—Under a tree, a female figure, seated, resting her right arm on an hour-glass. On the left stands a lamb with its head on the woman's lap. In the background a town with towers and open gate. Inscription: SICH · MENS · BDENCK · DAS · ENDE.

Diameter, 1·25 inches; silver.

(I.) In the Kaiser Friedrich Museum at Berlin is a sixteenth-century Italian oval plaquette representing a draped bust of a skeleton to right, with the legend: MEMOR · ESTO · QVONIAM · MORS · NON · TARDAT (*Beschreibung der Bildwerke der Christlichen Epochen*, second edition, vol. ii. (Italian bronzes), Berlin, 1904, Plate 73, No. 1383).

(I.) Untimely death (sixteenth century).

Obv.—Bearded bust of a man in the prime of life to left. Inscription: MAXINVS A FVRNO.

Rev.—On the left is Death (as a skeleton holding scythe), upright, to right, facing a group of three persons (on the right), one of whom is in an attitude of expostulation. Inscription: INTEMPESTIVA VENIS ("You come untimely—too soon"). The inscription is evidently the expostulation addressed to Death.

Diameter, 2·1 inches; cast in bronze.

I am indebted to Mr. Harold Mattingley for kindly drawing my attention to this apparently unpublished medal, of which the only example I know of is in the British Museum, and seems to be an after-casting from original work of the sixteenth century. The style of the obverse portrait reminds one of the medals by Leone Leoni, but I find no mention of any exactly similar medal in Eugène Plon's work, *Leone Leoni et Pompeo Leoni*, Paris, 1887. It seems to me quite certain that the medal is "faked" in the following sense: The medal is a sand-casting (French?), for the obverse of which the obverse of a genuine sixteenth-century medal has

FIG. 61.—Untimely Death. Medal in the British Museum.

been used, namely, of the medal of Cardinal Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle by Leone Leoni, figured in Eugène Plon's work just mentioned, Plate xxxii. Fig. 3; but the inscription has been altered. For the reverse a circular plaque (of white metal?) has, I think, been used, somewhat comparable in workmanship to the next one described (see Fig. 62), and the hole where the original plaque was pierced can still be distinctly made out on the upper part, after the letter S of VENIS (see Fig. 61). The same reverse occurs apparently on a medal of Annibale d'Este, attributed to Pastorino of Siena (A. Armand, *Les Médailleurs Italiens*, 2nd edition, Paris, 1883, vol. i. p. 125, No. 42), and on a medal of Alfonso d'Este Tassoni (Armand, *op. cit.*, 1887, vol. iii. p. 245), like-

wise supposed to be by Pastorino. It would be interesting to ascertain whether the obverses of these two medals are likewise "faked." The legend, MAXINVS A FVRNO (du Four or Dufour), seems to have been inscribed on the obverse-mould of the present medal, specially to excite the interest of French collectors.

(II., VII., XVI.) Plaque representing Death yielding to Valour (or Virtue).

In the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford there is a sixteenth-century plaque of white metal (circular; diameter, 2·8 inches) with figures of Death and Valour (or Virtue) in very low relief. Death (on the left) is represented by a skeleton, crowned and holding a scythe, standing in an attitude of fear or submission before a fully armed Minerva-like female figure approaching (on the right). Above the skeleton is the word MORS; above the armed figure, VIRTVS. Death may here represent destruction and ruin in an enterprise, or merely imminent defeat and death in warfare, which can sometimes be prevented by courage. ("Mors ipsa refugit Saepe virum"—Lucan, *Pharsalia*, lib. ii. 75.) The device may, however, be an allegorical representation of death being "swallowed up in victory" (St. Paul), that is to say, in a sense, being overcome by virtue. Compare the Roman Catholic antiphon already referred to: "O mors, ero mors tua: morsus tuus ero, inferne." "Vivit post funera Virtus" is a Latin saying which occurs on various "Sterbethaler" and mortuary medals; it has also been adopted as a motto by several families, and is inscribed on the monument of Dr. Caius (died 1573) in Caius College Chapel, Cambridge. A German medalet, dated 1611, bears the following inscription on the reverse: ALLES WAS AVF ERDN IST VERGEHT, LOB EHR VND TYGEND EWIG BSTEHT. The medallist's signature is H.R.F. (Madai, *Vollst. Thaler-Cabinet*, No. 5231). In Rouen Cathedral, on the sepulchral monument (1525) of Cardinal Georges d'Amboise (died 1510), Archbishop of Rouen and Minister of King Louis XII of France, is an inscription ending with—

> "Mortuus en jaceo, morte extinguuntur honores,
> At virtus mortis nescia morte viret."

For permission to illustrate this plaque, I am indebted to Mr. Hogarth and Mr. Bell, of the Ashmolean Museum, who kindly sent me a cast (see Fig. 62). A Flemish sixteenth-century tapestry of curious design, at Berlin, may also be referred to in this connexion. It represents the triumph of Valour, and is figured in the great work, *Pétrarque . . . son Influence sur les Artistes*, by the Prince d'Essling and Eugène Müntz, Paris, 1902, p. 263.

FIG. 62.—Death and Virtue, on a sixteenth-century plaque.

The following German jettons or casting-counters (German, "Rechenpfennige"), for casting accounts, &c., bear "morality" devices or inscriptions relating to death. They are of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

(I. and II.) Counter by Hans Krauwinckel, of Nürnberg.

Obv.—Death seizing a lady dressed in rich "Elizabethan" attire. Inscription: MORS VLTIMA.

Rev.—A tree. Inscription: EST ARBORI SPES ; SI PRÆCISA FVERIT, RVRSVM VIRESCIT.

F. P. Barnard, *The Casting-Counter and the Counting-Board*, Oxford, 1916, p. 218, No. 61, and Plate xxxii. No. 61. The obverse legend is from Horace, *Epist.*, i. 16, 79: "Mors ultima linea rerum est." The reverse legend is adapted from the Vulgate version of *Job* xiv. 7: "For there is hope of a tree, if it be cut down, that it will sprout again."

The two chief families of Nürnberg counter-makers were the Krauwinckels and the Laufers. Hans Krauwinckel, who worked about 1580–1610, was doubtless the most prolific of all. His counters are often found, with a fine "patina" on them, in the soil of England and, I believe, all parts of Europe; this bears witness to the truth of the rhyming lines inscribed on one of them:—

"Hans Krauwinckel bin ich bekont,
In Frankreich und auch in Niderlont."

(I. and II.) Counter by Hans Laufer, of Nürnberg.

Obv.—The infant Christ (?), &c. Inscription: ARBEIT VND TVGENT MACHT EDEL.

Rev.—Skeleton (Death) in a Churchyard. Inscription: DEN · KVMPT · DER · DODT · GIBT · DEN · LON.

J. Neumann, *Kupfer-Münzen*, Prag, 1868, vol. v. p. 426, No. 32331.

(I. and II.) Counter by Hans Laufer, of Nürnberg.

Obv.—Adam and Eve, &c. Inscription: OMNES MORIVNTVR IN ADAM.

Rev.—The crucified Christ. Inscription: SANATI SVM CVIVS LIVORE. In exergue: IN CHRISTO OMNES VIVFICABVNTVR.

J. Neumann, *loc. cit.*, p. 426, No. 32332.

(I. and II.) Counter by Mathaeus Laufer, of Nürnberg.

Obv.—Adam and Eve, &c. Inscription: OMNES MORIVNTVR IN ADAM. 1625.

Rev.—The crucified Christ. Inscription: CVIVS LIVORE SANATI SVM. In exergue: IN . CHRISTO . OMNES . VIVIFICABVNTVR.

J. Neumann, *loc. cit.*, p. 433, No. 32385.

(I. and II.) Counters by Andreas Alnpeck, mint-master at Freyberg, Kingdom of Saxony (1546–1556).

Several varieties are described having a reverse inscription, such as: NICHTES · GEWISSERS · DAN · DER · TOD; with an obverse inscription, such as: VOR · ALLEN · DINGEN · LIBE · GOT.

J. Neumann, *loc. cit.*, p. 463, Nos. 32656 to 32664.

(IX.) The motto, *Dulce est pro patriâ mori*, occurs on a medal (1605) of Stephen II, Bottskai, Prince of Transylvania (Madai, *Vollst. Thaler-Cabinet*, No. 1603), and on a mortuary Thaler (1676) commemorating the death (from a gunshot wound at the capture of Philippsburg, in Baden) of Augustus Frederick, eldest son of Antony Ulric, Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel (Madai, *op. cit.*, No. 3641).

(II.) A medal of Adolph Occo III (1524–1606), a physician (and numismatist) of Augsburg, doubtless a friend of the princely and art-loving Fuggers (Augsburg) of his day, has the following inscription on the reverse: VITA MIHI CHRISTVS MORS ERIT IPSA LVCRVM ("To me to live is Christ, and to die is gain"—St. Paul's Epist. to the Philippians i. 21). Cf. C. A. Rudolphi, *Numismata Virorum de Rebus Medicis, &c.*, Duisburg's edition of 1862, p. 110. There are two varieties. Another medal (dated 1552) of the same physician (see Fig. 143, after Camille Picqué, *Revue Belge de Numismatique*, 1899, vol. 55, p. 44 and Pl. iii.) has a skeleton and the following inscriptions on the reverse: ABSORPTA EST MORS IN VICTORIAM ("Death is swallowed up in victory"—St. Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians xv. 54); and IPSE IVBET MORTIS TE MEMINISSE DEVS ("God Himself commands you to remember death")—Martial, *Epigram*, lib. ii. No. 59.[455] (Compare Psalm xc. 12.) Dr. Storer has told me of several other medals of the three physicians, Adolph Occo I (1447–1503), Adolph Occo II (1495–1572), and Adolph Occo III, especially, two medals of Adolph Occo II, with a skeleton on the reverse and the inscription, DIXI PVTREDINI, &c. (Job xvii. 14: "I have said to corruption, Thou art my father: to the worm, Thou art my mother, and my sister"). See also the article by R. Forrer in *Archiv der Medaillen und-Plakettenkunde*, Halle-a-S., 1914, vol. i. p. 27. One of the third Occo (about 1552?) has on the reverse a skeleton, with

[455] "Frange toros, pete vina, rosas cape, tinguere nardo:
Ipse jubet mortis te meminisse deus."

By "deus" Martial of course meant the deified Roman Emperor.

an inscription in Greek. The skeleton is leaning in a pensive attitude on an altar (or rather *cippus*), on which is an hour-glass. The design of this, as also of the other skeletons on the Occo medals, was suggested by Jan von Calcar's woodcut (cf. Part I. D. and Fig. 144) in Vesalius's great anatomical work, *De Humani Corporis Fabrica*, Basel, 1543, p. 164.

(II.) Memorial medal of Nicholas and Dorothy Wadham (1618?), the founders of Wadham College, Oxford.

Obv.—Bust of Nicholas Wadham, three-quarters, to right, head bare, in ruff and plain cloak. Inscription: WHEN CHRIST WHO IS OVR LIFE SHAL APPEARE.

Rev.—Bust of Dorothy Wadham, three-quarters, to left, in damasked gown, stiff ruff, and broad-brimmed hat. Inscription: WE SHAL APPEARE WITH HIM IN GLORY.

A narrow wreath, united by a skull at each side and at each end, forms a border on both sides. Oval medal, consisting of two plates or shells soldered together. Diameter, 2·15 × 1·8 inches. *Medallic Illustrations*, London, 1885, vol. i. p. 220, No. 73.

Nicholas Wadham, of a family settled at Merrifield, in Somersetshire, died in 1609, at the age of 77 years. Dorothy Wadham, his wife, died in 1618, at the age of 84 years. She was a daughter of Sir William Petre, Principal Secretary of State to Queen Elizabeth. The first stone of Wadham College was laid on July 31, 1610. In regard to the legend on this medal, cf. St. John xi. 25, 26 (the passage which has been adopted for the commencement of the Church of England Burial Service); also the motto: "Mors Christi, mors mortis mihi."

(I., XIX.) Some "Sterbemünzen," or rather "Begräbniss-münzen" (1618), commemorating the death and burial of Anna Maria, of Brandenburg, the widow of Barnim XI, Duke of Pomerania, represent on the reverse the Pomeranian griffin with ten heraldic shields of arms on its wings, holding a sword in its right claw, and in its left claw a shield with a death's-head on it. (Madai, *Vollst. Thaler-Cabinet*, Nos. 1424 and 1425.) The Thaler of this type is figured in O. Helbing's sale catalogue, Munich, December, 1913, Plate xiv. No. 2059.

(I.) Some Pomeranian mortuary coins (silver) of 1618 have the obverse device of a rose-bush and serpent, with inscription: VT ROSA RODIMVR OMNES ("Like the rose, we are all eaten up").

(V., XI.) Execution of John van Olden Barneveldt, Grand Pensionary of Holland (1619).

There are three different medals commemorating the death of Barneveldt, each of which bears his portrait and name on the obverse, and an inscription on the reverse, referring to his high character and the injustice of his execution. These medals are described and figured in G. van Loon's *Histoire métallique des Pays-Bas*, French edition, 1732, vol. ii. pp. 109–111.

(II., IV.) Some mortuary pieces commemorating the death (1619) of Francis II, Duke of Saxe-Lauenburg, have on the reverse the inscription, "Mors mihi quies, vita bellum." (Madai, *Vollst. Thaler-Cabinet*, Nos. 1311 and 3799.)

(I.) A "Sterbethaler" (1621) of Rudolph, Prince of Anhalt, the founder of the Zerbst line, bears the motto, MEMENTO MORI. This inscription likewise occurs on some earlier coins issued during his reign. (Madai, *Vollst. Thaler-Cabinet*, Nos. 1010, 1011.)

(I., II.) Some memorial pieces (1622) of John, Duke of Holstein, have a death's-head and bones on the obverse, with the inscription: VIVE MEMOR LETHI. Below are the letters G.G.G.M.F., which some have supposed to stand for the saying, *Gottes Güte Giebt Mir Friede.* (Madai, *Vollst. Thaler-Cabinet*, Nos. 1288, 1289.)

(II., XVIII.) A mortuary thaler (1623), commemorating the death of Clara Maria, the first wife of Augustus junior, Duke of Brunswick-Wolffenbüttel (new line), has on the obverse a long Latin inscription, signifying that the Duke Augustus junior, with tears, had the medal made to the memory of his wife (*conjugis suavissimae memoriae cum lachrymis*

fieri fecit). On a tablet on the reverse is the inscription: VIXI . DUM . VIXI . BENE . IAM . MEA . PERACTA . MOX . VESTRA . AGETUR . FABULA . VALETE . ET . VIVITE . UT . VIXI . BENE. (K. G. von Schulthess Rechberg, *Thaler-Cabinet*, München, 1867, vol. iii. part ii. p. 43, No. 6821.)

(I.) A medal of Johann Udalrich, Prince of Eggenberg zu Ehrenhausen, by Sebastian Dadler (1631), has his portrait on the obverse. On the reverse is a lily, and above it the inscription: HOMINES · SVMVS · ITA. Cf. Job xiv. 2, "He cometh forth like a flower, and is cut down: he fleeth also as a shadow, and continueth not."

(II., III., XI.) Death of Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, at the Battle of Lützen, 1632.

Obv.—The dead body of the king in armour. His soul is being carried by two angels upwards to heaven. From the radiant Hebrew name Jehovah, above, come the following words: EUGE SERVE FIDELIS! Over a battle-scene in the distance: VEL MORTUUM FUGIUNT. The whole design is within a wreath of leaves, outside which is the inscription: GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS MAGNUS.

Rev.—The king seated on a triumphal car, the right half of his body in armour, the left half represented as a skeleton. In the right hand he holds a sword, and in the left hand (that of a skeleton) he holds a book (the Bible). Religion and Justice crown him with laurel. The car, drawn by winged horses, is rolling over monsters, one of which wears the Papal triple crown. Above the king, in two lines: ET VITA ET MORTE TRIUMPHO. The whole design is enclosed in a wreath of leaves; outside which is the inscription: DUX GLORIOS(us) PRINC(eps) PIUS HEROS INVICT(us) VICTOR INCOMPARAB(ilis) TRIUMPH(ator) FELIX & GERM(aniae) LIBERATOR 1633. There are similar smaller pieces. (Madai, *Vollst. Thaler-Cabinet*, Nos. 221 and 2630. Schulthess-Rechberg, *Thaler-Cabinet*, Nos. 2042 and 2043.)

(II., III., XI.) A memorial double-thaler on the death (1632) of Gustavus Adolphus, struck in 1634 at Erfurt, under the direction of the Erfurt Münzmeister, Weissmantel (whose mark it bears), represents the king in a triumphal

car on the obverse. On the reverse the body of the king is represented lying in armour and crowned, whilst two angels are carrying his soul to heaven. From the radiant Hebrew name Jehovah, above, come the words: EVGE SER(ve) FIDELIS. Shields are arranged around the main type, with the inscriptions: (1) MONVMENTUM REGIVM, *den 6 . Novemb. 1632*; (2) IN ANGVSTIIS INTRAVIT; (3) PIETATE(m) AMAVIT; (4) HOSTES PROSTRAVIT; (5) REGNVM DILATAVIT; (6) SVECOS EXALTAVIT; (7) OPPRESSOS LIBERAVIT; (8) MORIENS TRIVMPHAVIT. Around the whole design is the pentameter verse: VITA MIHI CHRIST(us) MORS MEA DVLCE LVCRVM (cf. St. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians i. 21). (Schulthess-Rechberg, *Thaler-Cabinet*, No. 2048.)

Very similar to the first piece (with the half-skeleton figure in a triumphal car) is a large medal by Sebastian Dadler. There is also a similar commemorative medal by Dadler issued in 1634, and there are likewise several medals and medalets commemorating the same event, with a celestial crown or some similar device on the reverse.

(II., III.) The inscription, *Vivit post funera virtus*, occurs on various German coins and Sterbethaler: of Ludwig der Treue, Landgraf of Hesse (1626); of Anna Maria, Duchess of Mecklenburg-Schwerin (1634); of Reuss (1619, &c.); of John Adolph, Bishop of Gottorp (1607).

(I., II.) A mortuary thaler (1632), on the death of the learned Moritz, Landgraf of Hesse, has on the reverse an hour-glass, with the inscription: CONSILIO ET VIRTVTE MAVRITI MEMENTO MORI. (Madai, *Vollst. Thaler-Cabinet*, No. 1246.)

(II. and VIII.) Danish *memento mori* medal (1634).

Obv.—Inscription in seven lines: NAAR DU: MEENE. AD: FLORERE BEST SAA . ER . DOEDEN DIN: WISSE GEST ∴ ("When you think you are blooming best, Then is death your certain guest").

Rev.—Skull and crossed bones, with hour-glass (surmounted by a ball to represent human life) and ears of corn. Inscription:

HVOR . DV . DIG : WENDE ER . DØDEN . DIN . ENDE ("Wherever you wend, Death is your end"). In the field, the date 1634. (Fig. 63.)

Diameter, 1·0 inch; copper gilt; in the Royal Collection at Copenhagen. *Danske Mynter og Medailler i den Kongelige Samling*, Copenhagen, 1791, p. 331, No. 842, Pl. xxii. No. 12.

The device of the ears of fresh corn, that is to say, corn springing up from dry and apparently lifeless seeds, on the reverse of this medal, refers to the doctrine of resurrection and eternal life. Compare the "tessera anatomica" figured in Thomas Bartholin's *Domus Anatomica* (printed at the Hague in 1662), p. 27. The design represents a skull and crossed bones with ears of corn, and is surrounded by the legend, VT SEMINA SICCA VIRESCENT. I have seen a similar device of skull, hour-glass, and ears of corn at the end of one of the "Dance of Death" books. So also one of Gabr. Symeoni's emblematic devices represents

FIG. 63.—Danish *memento mori* medal, 1634.

corn springing up around bones, with the motto, "Spes alterae vitae." Symeoni [456] adds: "Corne, graine, and seeds of sundrie sorts, being dead and cast into the ground, do revive, and spring againe: So mans bodie falling into the ground shall rise againe in glory, in the last and general day of the resurrection of the flesh." Symeoni's device and legend have evidently suggested the obverse type (twelve ears of corn, with crossed bones below, and the motto *Spes alterae vitae*) of a jetton or casting-counter by Kilian Koch, of Nürnberg, apparently of the end of the sixteenth century.[457] On one of the old sixteenth century Edinburgh houses (the so-called "speaking house") the device of ears of corn springing up out of dry bones, accompanies the inscription: "Constanti pectori res mortalium umbra."

[456] *The Heroicall Deuices of M. C. Paradin, &c.*, English translation by P. C., London, 1591, pp. 320, 321.

[457] J. Neumann, *Kupfer-Münzen*, Prag, 1868, vol. v. p. 412, No. 32207.

(II. and VIII.) Danish *memento mori* medal (1634).

Obv.—Bust of a young woman, with coronet on her head, to right. Inscription: (in outer circle) LERE · OS · AT · BETENCKE · AT · WI · SKULLE · (and in inner circle) DØE · AT · WI · MA · BLIFE · PSAL · 90 ("Teach us to remember that we must die, so that we may become wise," Psalm xc., verse 12, after Luther's translation). In the field to right: IEG ER SKIØN ("I am beautiful").

Rev.—Skeleton standing by a table resting left hand on an hour-glass. Inscription: (in outer circle) MINE · DAGE · HAFFE · VERIT · SNARERE · END · EN · LØBERE. (and in inner circle) DE · FLYDE ·

Fig. 64.—Danish *memento mori* medal, 1634.

BORT · OCH · HAFFE · INTET IOB 9 ("My days are swifter than a post: they flee away, they see no good."—Job ix. 25). In the field, below the table: IEG WAR SKIØN 1634 ("I was beautiful, 1634"). (Fig. 64.)

Diameter, 1·75 inches; gold; in the Royal Collection at Copenhagen. *Danske Mynter og Medailler*, *loc. cit.*, p. 331, No. 841; Pl. xxii. No. 11.

These last two medals (specimens of which my father, Sir H. Weber, kindly examined during a short visit to Copenhagen) are said to have been struck on the death of Anna Cathrina, the eldest daughter of King Christian IV of Denmark by his morganatic wife, Christina Munk (or Munck). The lady in question (born in 1618) was betrothed to Frantz Rantzow (or Rantzau), Governor of the Royal

Palace, when the latter was (apparently accidentally) drowned in the moat of the Royal Palace of Rosenborg in 1632. She is supposed to have died of grief in the following year (1633).[458]

(II. and VIII.) German *memento mori* medal of about 1634.

Obv.—Bust of a young woman with coronet on her head to right. Inscription: QVAE SIM POST TERGA VIDEBIS ("Who I am you will see on the reverse").

Rev.—Skeleton standing by a table, resting left hand on an hour-glass. Inscription: SIC NVNC : PVLCHERRIMA QVONDAM ("Like this now; very beautiful once"). In the field below the table: CVM PRIVIL: CAES: C.M. (Fig. 65.)

FIG. 65.—German *memento mori* medal by Christian Maler.

Oval medal, 1·5 × 1·2 inches; illustrated in Forrer's *Biographical Dictionary of Medallists*, London, vol. iii. p. 542.

The German medallist, Christian Maler, generally added the words "cum privil." to his signature C.M., as he has done on the reverse of this medal, because he held the Imperial permission to strike medals in his own house. The designs of obverse and reverse are evidently copied, as Mr. C. F. Gebert of Nürnberg kindly pointed out to me,

[458] Cf. F. C. Schønau, *Leben und letzte Stunden Christina von Munk*, German translation, Copenhagen and Leipzig, 1757, p. 211.

from those on the medal last described, which is supposed to relate to the death of Anna Cathrina, daughter of King Christian IV of Denmark. The reverse designs on both medals were evidently suggested by Jan von Calcar's woodcut (cf. Part I. D.) in Vesalius's *Anatomy*, Basel, 1543, p. 164 (see Fig. 144). I have to thank Mr. L. Forrer and Messrs. Spink and Son for the blocks for Fig. 65.

One need hardly point out that medals of this kind are analogous to the *gisant* type of sepulchral monuments (see Part I. C.), inasmuch as they are intended to contrast—from the religious and admonitory, or *memento mori*, point of view—life, vigour, and beauty with death, powerlessness, and putrefaction. So also, various carved beads, wooden or wax statuettes, &c., described in Part IV. ii., have a quite similar significance. The inscriptions may be compared with the mottoes on memorial rings, &c., such as: "Quod es fui, quod sum eris," "Hodie mihi cras tibi."

Dr. H. R. Storer kindly tells me of an earlier *memento mori* medal (1603) by Christian Maler. The obverse represents a woman in rich dress, behind whom is Death with an hour-glass; Latin inscription. The reverse device is a withered tree in a spring landscape. (Silver; diameter 1·5 inches.) The design of this medal reminds me of the Nürnberg counter by Hans Krauwinckel (see back), with the inscription MORS VLTIMA on the obverse.

(VIII., XVII.) A German medal of about 1634 by Christian Maler, likens human life to soap-bubbles, and might have been inspired by Ecclesiastes. The obverse is the same as that of a preceding medal (Fig. 65). But the reverse (Fig. 66) represents a boy seated on the ground, leaning on a death's-head, and playing with soap-bubbles. Inscription: OMNES BULLÆ SUM(VS) INSTAR ("We are all like a bubble"); the letters in the exergue seem not to be the ordinary signature of the medallist, Christian Maler. I am indebted for the illustration of this piece to the sale catalogue, by Otto Helbing of Munich, 1901, of the J. J. Schrott Collection, in which it formed No. 1443. My attention was kindly drawn to the existence of the piece by Mr. A. E. Cahn of Frankfurt-a.-M.

Dr. H. R. Storer has kindly drawn my attention to a memorial medal of Tomas Ernsthuyse, who died in 1684, shortly after he had been appointed Governor-General of the Dutch Indies. The medal is figured by G. van Loon (*Histoire métallique des Pays-Bas*, French edition, 1732,

vol. 3, p. 286), and bears on the reverse the device of a child blowing bubbles, with the inscription: MEMENTO MORI.

A "Sterbethaler" (1679) of Christiana, the wife of Christian, Duke of Saxe-Weimar, may be compared with the two preceding medals. It has on the reverse a boy, seated on a human skull, blowing soap-bubbles, with the inscription: OMNIA VANITAS. (Madai, *Vollst. Thaler-Cabinet*, No. 1540.)

Cf. the Greek saying, Πομφόλυξ ὁ ἄνθρωπος ("Man is a bubble"), and the Latin equivalent, "Bulla est vita humana." The great Francis Bacon (1561–1626) commenced a poem on Life (which might perhaps

FIG. 66.—Reverse of German *memento mori* medal by Christian Maler.

have been adduced to lend support to the exploded theory that Lord Bacon was the true author of Shakespeare's plays) as follows:—

"The World's a bubble, and the Life of Man
Less than a span."

William Drummond, of Hawthornden (1585–1649), likewise compares human life to a bubble:—

"This life, which seems so fair,
Is like a bubble blown up in the air
By sporting children's breath."

A painting (1821), by William Hilton, R.A. (now in the National Gallery of British Art—the "Tate Gallery"), represents a somewhat similar fancy: "Nature blowing bubbles for her children."

Francis Beaumont, in regard to the "Life of Man," wrote:—

"The wind blows out; the bubble dies;
The spring entombed in autumn lies;
The dew's dried up; the star is shot;
The flight is past; and man forgot."

Lord Byron exclaims:—

"How little do we know that which we are!
How less what we may be! The eternal surge
Of time and tide rolls on, and bears afar
Our bubbles; as the old burst, new emerge," &c.

In Lucian's dialogue, entitled "Charon," that famous ferryman of the lower world has visited the upper world to find out what there is in life on earth that makes all men weep when they enter his boat, and in his conversation with Hermes (Mercury), he compares the lives of men to bubbles, some large, some small, but all breaking up after a longer or shorter time. Hermes tells Charon that his comparison is as good as Homer's celebrated one to the leaves on trees (*Iliad*, Book vi.). Jeremy Taylor adopted and elaborated Lucian's simile in the opening paragraph of his work, "The Rule and Exercises of Holy Dying" (1651). St. James, in his Epistle (Chap. iv. 14), compared human life to "a vapour that appeareth for a little time, and then vanisheth away." The Roman Emperor, Marcus Aurelius, in his first book of "Meditations," compared human life to a gusty, changeable wind. Cf. Sir Edwin Arnold (*The Deva's Song*):—

"We are the voices of the wandering wind,
Which moan for rest and rest can never find;
Lo! as the wind is, so is mortal life,
A moan, a sigh, a sob, a storm, a strife."

Cf. also the various mottoes and sayings likening the life of man to a shadow. Most of the following have somewhere or other been inscribed on sun-dials: Σκιᾶς ὄναρ ἄνθρωπος ("Man is like the dream of a shadow," Pindar, *Pythia*, viii. 136); "Man is but a shadow"; "Pulvis et umbra sumus" (Horace); "Man is like a thing of naught; his time passeth away like a shadow" (Psalm cxliv. 4); "Our days on the earth are as a shadow, and there is none abiding" (1 Chronicles xxix. 15); "My days are like a shadow that declineth" (Psalm cii. 11); "I am gone like the shadow when it declineth" (Psalm cix. 23); "We spend our years as a tale that is told" (Psalm xc. 9); "As a dream when one awaketh" (Psalm lxxiii. 20); "Shadows we are, and like shadows depart"; on a stained-glass sun-dial in a window at Groombridge Place, I have seen the following inscription: "Umbra videt umbram"—signifying that the person looking at the shadow on the sun-dial is himself only a passing shadow;[459] "He (man) fleeth as it were a shadow, and never continueth in one stay" (Church of England Burial

[459] On a second window-dial in the same window in Groombridge Place is the inscription, "Lumen umbra Dei." Charles Leadbetter, in his book on *Mechanick Dialling* (first edition, London, 1737), devotes a few paragraphs to window-dials, and refers to their pleasant effect in a room. Those at Groombridge Place help to give the room a quiet "old world" air.

Service, after Job xiv. 2); "Shadows we are and shadows we pursue" (a quotation by Edmund Burke); "Quod petis, umbra est." The significance of all such mottoes and sayings may be summed up in the words of the Preacher: "Vanity of vanities: all is vanity" (Ecclesiastes i. 2); "All is vanity and a striving after wind" (Ecclesiastes i. 14, Revised Version).

(I.) A badge of the guild of physicians and surgeons at Delft (1635) bears on the obverse a skull and crossed bones, with the inscriptions: MEMENTO MORI and DELPHENS. S(igillum) COLLEGII MEDIC & CHIRURG. The device is that on the seal of the guild in question. (H. R. Storer, *Amer. Journ. Num.*, April, 1901, p. 111, No. 1614.)

(II.) A mortuary medal (1640) of Anna, daughter of John Günther IV, Count of Schwarzburg, bears her motto: A(lles) V(ergänglich), G(ottes) G(nade) W(ähret) E(wiglich). (Madai, *Vollst. Thaler-Cabinet*, No. 1891.)

(II., XV.) A thaler on the death (1644) and burial (1645) of Albert II, Duke of Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach, has the inscription: CORONAM VITÆ ACCIPE (cf. Revelation ii. 10). (Madai, *Vollst. Thaler-Cabinet*, No. 1484.)

(II.) Memorial medal on the death of Sir John Hotham (1645).

Obv.—Bust of Hotham to right; behind his neck, a minute skull, surmounted by a crown. Inscription: MORS MIHI VITA.

Rev.—Shield of arms of Sir John Hotham impaling those of his fifth wife, Sarah, daughter of Thomas Anlaby, of Elton, in Yorkshire.

Diameter, 1·25 inches; cast and chased in silver. *Medallic Illustrations*, 1885, vol. i. p. 314.

Sir John Hotham was Parliamentary Commander of Hull, but became dissatisfied with the proceedings of the Parliamentary party, and was with his son suspected of treason. They were both condemned and executed on Tower Hill.

(II., XV.) A curious "moral" medal by the seventeenth-century German medallist, Sebastian Dadler, has on the reverse the inscription: SEY GETREW BIS AN DEN

TODT SO WILL ICH DIR DIE KRON DES LEBENS GEBE (Revelation ii. 10). I do not know on what ground this medal has been (doubtless incorrectly) supposed to commemorate the Peace of Westphalia (Peace of Münster) in 1648.

(I., XIII.) A medal of Nicolas Georg de Raigersperg, representative of the Archbishop Elector of Mainz in drawing up the Treaty of Westphalia (Peace of Münster), 1648, has his portrait on the obverse and his arms on the reverse, with the motto: COGITA MORI ANTE MORTEM. This medal (diameter, 1·1 inches) is signed by Vestner, and is therefore a work of the eighteenth century. (Le Maistre sale catalogue, Amsterdam, 1913, No. 184.)

(XI.) Anne of Austria, Queen-Mother and Regent of France. Medallic jetton, 1648.

Obv.—Shield of arms and inscription: ANNA · D · G · FR · ET · NA · REG(INA) · REGNI · MODERATRIX.

Rev.—A pelican in her piety. Inscription: MORIAMUR DVM-MODO · VIVANT ("Let us die provided that they—the children—live"). In the exerque is the date, 1648. The two young birds signify Anne's two sons, King Louis XIV, and Philip, Duke of Orleans.

Diameter, 1·0 inch; struck in bronze, &c. F. P. Barnard, *The Casting-Counter and the Counting-Board*, Oxford, 1916, p. 148, No. 187, Plate xiii. No. 187. The device of the pelican feeding her young with her own blood (the "pelican in her piety") is discussed further on.

(II. and V.) Memorial medal on the death of King Charles I of England (1649).

Obv.—Bust of Charles I to left. Legend: CAROLVS D. G., &c.

Rev.—A skull between the letters C. R.; over it, a celestial crown with a label GLORIA; below it, an earthly crown with the label VANITAS. Legend: BEATAM . ET . ETERNAM . SPLENDIDAM . AT . GRAVEM. The legend signifies: "(I receive) a blessed and eternal (crown). (I relinquish) one splendid but burdensome." Floral border on both sides.

Oval medal; diameter, 0·8 by 0·7 inch; cast and chased in silver. *Medallic Illustrations*, 1885, vol. i. p. 344.

The device on the reverse is illustrated by the following passage in the *Icon* (*Eikon*) *Basilike:* "I shall not want the heavy and envyed crownes of this world, when my God hath mercifully Crowned and Consummated his graces with Glory, and exchanged the shadows of my earthly Kingdomes among men, for the substance of that Heavenly Kingdome with himselfe." The device on one of the memorial rings (described in Part IV. ii.) on the King's death is similar to that on the reverse of this medal.

Lord Macaulay, writing of Tunbridge Wells, in Chapter iii. of his *History of England*, refers to the Church of England (see old copies of the Prayer-book) commemoration of the "martyrdom of the blessed King Charles the First in 1649": "In 1685 a subscription had just been raised among those who frequented the Wells for building a church, which the Tories, who then domineered everywhere, insisted on dedicating to Saint Charles the Martyr." The Chapel of St. John the Evangelist at Groombridge, near Tunbridge Wells (which was formerly the private chapel of the old moated grange, Groombridge Place, where—or rather, in the castle which preceded the moated house—Charles Duke of Orleans was a prisoner after the battle of Agincourt, 1415, and wrote some of his poetry), has a stained glass memorial window representing Charles the First, "King and Martyr," in his royal robes of state and crowned, kneeling before an altar and placing his trust in Christ; behind him is St. George, the patron saint of England. Havelock Ellis,[460] discussing political executions and Gourmont's paradox that "injustice is one of the forms of justice," says of the execution of King Charles I: "It has conferred upon him a prestige he could never have conferred upon himself. For of all our English monarchs since the Conquest he alone has become a martyr and a saint, so far as Protestantism can canonise anybody, and of all our dead kings he alone evokes to-day a living loyalty."

(V., XI.) Memorial medal on the execution of James Graham, first Marquis of Montrose (1650).

Obv.—Bust of the Marquis of Montrose, front face, in plain falling collar and armour.

Rev.—Incuse inscription:—

Treu Pellican who
shlit his blood
To Saue his King
do's Country good.

[460] Havelock Ellis, *Impressions and Comments*, London, 1914, p. 149.

Diameter, 1·95 by 1·5 inches; silver-gilt; cast, repaired by the graving tool, in very high relief, good bold style of work, not highly finished, with a ring for suspension. It was probably intended to be worn by the partisans and friends of Montrose as a memorial of affection after his execution. *Medallic Illustrations*, 1885, vol. i. p. 386.

The famous Royalist commander, the accomplished and noble first Marquis of Montrose, was defeated and made prisoner in 1650, and hanged in the Grassmarket at Edinburgh (May 21st, 1650) with every circumstance of indignity (the various quarters of his body were dispersed throughout the country, according to the sentence passed on him). At the Restoration, in 1661, his remains were buried in state, by order of King Charles II, in the Cathedral Church of St. Giles, at Edinburgh. The emblematic use of the pelican in medallic and heraldic devices will be referred to further on. In Fairbairn's *Book of Crests*, under the family of Hamond-Graeme, the Graeme crest is described as: "Two arms erect issuing from clouds in the act of removing from a spike a human skull; above the skull a marquis's coronet, all between two palm-branches." Surely, this crest (originally) was intended to recall the circumstances of the death of the famous Marquis of Montrose (Graeme being really the same name as Graham). The motto is, I think, *Sepultus viresco*.

(II.) A kind of religious medallic "charm," or "amulet" (German, apparently of the seventeenth century), has on the obverse a traditional representation of the Adoration of the Three Kings ("Magi"), and on the reverse the following inscription, in six lines: H(eilige) · 3 · KON(ige) · CAS(par) · MEL(chior) · BAL(thazar) · BITET FUR UNS IEZ U · IN DER · STERB · STUND · ("O Holy Three Kings, Caspar, Melchior, and Balthazar, plead for us now, and in the hour of death!") This little piece (octagonal, 0·75 × 0·85 inch), struck in bronze, was kindly sent to me by Dr. H. R. Storer, who suggests that it may have come from Cologne, where there is a famous shrine of the Three Kings. (Cf. the idea of the death-bed scene, as shown in Fig. 18.)

T. J. Pettigrew, in his book *On Superstitions Connected with Medicine and Surgery* (London, 1844, p. 58), narrates that William

Jackson, a Roman Catholic and a proscribed smuggler, was tried for and convicted of murder at Chichester, in January, 1748–9; sentence of death was passed upon him, and he was directed to be hung in chains. He, however, died in gaol a few hours after the sentence was delivered. In a linen purse upon his person was found the following charm ("charact"): *Sancti tres Reges, Gaspar, Melchior, Balthasar, Orate pro nobis nunc et in hora Mortis nostrae.* The same story, slightly varied, is told in Brand's *Popular Antiquities of Great Britain*, edition of 1849, vol. iii. p. 321, in the section on "characts" or "inscription-charms." On the same page the following passage from the *Gentleman's Magazine* for February, 1749 (vol. xix. p. 88) is quoted: "These papers have touched the three heads of the holy kings at Cologne. They are to preserve travellers from accidents on the road, head-achs, falling-sickness, fevers, witchcraft, all kinds of mischief, and sudden death."

(I., II.) German late seventeenth-century or early eighteenth-century religious *memento mori* medal (by Christian Wermuth).

Fig. 67.—German seventeenth-century *memento mori* medal.

Obv.—Death (as a skeleton with a scythe) standing behind a rich man who holds a clock in his left hand and an image of the sun in his right hand. Inscription: OMNIS DIES OMNIS HORA QVAM NIHIL SUMUS OSTENDIT ("Every day, every hour, shows that we are nothing").

Rev.—A hand from a cloud holding the mystic Christian emblematic device of a pelican feeding her young with her blood. Over this device, on an arched scroll, is the inscription: NAM CHRISTI MORS MEA VITA EST ("For the death of Christ is my life"). Above this is a hand from a cloud holding a death's-head, with the legend: DISCO MORI CHRISTO ("I learn to die in Christ").

Diameter, 1·25 inches; struck in silver; formerly in the author's possession (Fig. 67).

The pelican feeding her young with her own blood, which is the heraldic device known as the "pelican in her piety," is a mystic Christian emblem of Christ and the resurrection, the fabulous idea being that the female pelican wounded her breast and revived her apparently dead young ones with her own blood. The device has likewise been employed as an emblem of parental (especially maternal), dutiful, and patriotic devotion and self-sacrifice, and of charity in general. On the medal (already mentioned) commemorating the execution (1650) of James Graham, first Marquis of Montrose, the Marquis is referred to as a true pelican who shed his blood for the sake of his king and for the good of his country. Two queen-mothers of France, Marie de Médicis, when Regent (1610–1614), and Anne of Austria, when Regent (1643–1661), adopted the "pelican in her piety" as their device. I have already (see back) described a medallic jetton (1648) of the latter queen-regent, bearing this device, with the appropriate legend, *Moriamur dummodo vivant* ("Let us die provided that they—the children—live"). The device lent itself well for architectural ornaments in churches, &c., for ornaments in wood-carving (for instance, "misericord" seats in the choir and elsewhere of old churches and cathedrals), and, naturally, as a personal or family heraldic emblem or badge.

(I., II.) German *memento mori* medal by Christian Wermuth (about 1700).

Obv.—A man seated at the base of a broken column; on the ground by him is an antique Roman lamp; on the other side of the column Death is leaning in the form of a skeleton with a quiver full of arrows. Inscription in Gothic letters: "Schau mich an und bedrachte wohl, aus dir dergleichen werden soll."

Rev.—Inscription in Gothic letters in fifteen lines: "Gewiss ist der Todt, ungewiss der Tag, die stund auch niemand wissen mag, drum fürchte GOTT, und denck darbey, dass jede stund die letzte sey." Medallist's signature: C. W.

Diameter, 1·35 inches; struck; in the Royal Collection at Dresden. Illustrated in *Blätter für Münzfreunde*, Leipzig, 1885, vol. 5, Pl. 75, fig. 15. (Compare also the medal formerly in my possession, illustrated in this book, Fig. 67.)

The following four pieces (Figs. 68 to 71) belong to the class of so-called "Moralische Pfenninge" struck at Basel in the seventeenth century. They were apparently designed to be given as presents, sometimes probably in connexion with funerals. The medallist, whose signature on these pieces is F. F., was doubtless Friedrich Fechter or one of his family (F. F. standing either for Friedrich Fechter or for "Fechter fecit"). In connexion with *memento mori* medalets of this class, it must not be forgotten that the devastating epidemics of disease in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries gave them an increased significance at the time when they were issued.

Georges Kastner (*Les Danses des Morts*, Paris, 1852, p. 3, footnote) speaks of a medal struck at Basel in connexion with the very fatal epidemic of 1438. Three roses were on one side and a skull and ear of corn (symbols of death and life after death) on the other; according to Kastner, the survivors presented the medal to each other as a *memento mori*. Obviously, however, Kastner was referring to a seventeenth-century medalet similar to those here described, with the inscription, "Heut roth, morgen todt." This inscription occurs likewise on some jettons or casting-counters (German, "Rechenpfennige") of the early seventeenth century, by Hans Krauwinckel of Nürnberg, as those described by Josef Neumann (*Kupfer-Münzen*, Prag, 1868, vol. v. p. 415, Nos. 32243-4) and F. P. Barnard (*The Casting-Counter and the Counting-Board*, Oxford, 1916, p. 223, No. 92, Plate xxxiv. No. 92).

(I. and VIII.)

Obv.—Basilisk, with leaf-like wings, holding shield bearing the arms of Basel.

FIG. 68.—Medalet struck at Basel in the seventeenth century.

Rev.—Skull on bone, with worm; rose-tree with flower and buds growing over it. Inscription: HEUT RODT MORN DODT ("To-day red, to-morrow dead"). In exergue, an hour-glass and the engraver's signature, F.F. (Fig. 68.)

Diameter, 0·95 inch; struck in silver. R. S. Poole, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Swiss Coins in the South Kensington Museum* (the Townshend Collection of Swiss Coins), London, 1878, p. 45, No. 15.

(I. and VIII.)

Obv.—View of the city of Basel.

Fig. 69.—Medalet struck at Basel in the seventeenth century.

Rev.—Skull and crossed bones; above which, rose-tree with flower and buds; beneath, hour-glass. Inscription: HEUT . RODT . MORN . DODT ("To-day red, to-morrow dead"). (Fig. 69.)

Diameter, 0·8 inch; struck in silver. R. S. Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 45, No. 16.

(I. and VIII.)

Obv.—Branch with three roses. Inscription: HEVT SENID WIER ROT ("Heut sind wir roth"—"To-day we are red").

Fig. 70.—Medalet struck at Basel in the seventeenth century.

Rev.—Dead stag to left, transfixed with arrow, beneath trees. Inscription: UND MORGEN TODT ("And to-morrow dead"). (Fig. 70.)

Diameter, 0·6 inch; struck in silver. R. S. Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 45, No. 17.

(II.)

Obv.—View of the city of Basel.

Rev.—Phoenix in burning nest (emblem of the resurrection of the body, and the immortality of the soul). Inscription: MORIAR UT VIVAM ("I will die that I may live"). (Fig. 71.)

FIG. 71.—Medalet struck at Basel in the seventeenth century.

Diameter, 1·2 inches; struck in silver. R. S. Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 46, No. 20.

(I.) An English seventeenth-century *memento mori* medalet (*circa* 1630).

Obv.—A child seated on the ground, leaning on a skull. On either side, a flower. In the background, a building with spires, apparently meant to represent a church. The whole type surrounded by a serpent with its tail in its mouth. No legend.

FIG. 72.—English *memento mori* medalet.

Rev.—Legend in two circles with a rose in the centre: (in outer circle) AS · SOONE : AS · WEE · TO · BEE · BEGVNNE : (and in inner circle) WE · DID · BEGINNE : TO · BE · VNDONE : (Fig. 72.)

Diameter, 1·25 inches; struck in bronze.

A specimen, which I afterwards presented to the British Museum Collection, was described by me in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1892,[461] where I alluded to its resemblance in style of workmanship and in certain details of execution to the medal commemorating John Lilburne's trial in 1649.[462] A similar piece, possibly from another die, but with the same legend, was described by J. Atkins[463] as a jetton or token supposed to have been issued by Sir Walter Raleigh for the Settlement made by him in Virginia, 1584.

There is another variety (see Fig. 73) with a slight difference in the legend, a specimen of which was kindly shown me by the late Sir John Evans, to whom it belonged. It is of decidedly rougher and more careless workmanship, somewhat smaller (diameter, 1·15 inches), and reading: (in

FIG. 73.—English *memento mori* medalet.

outer circle) AS · SOONE · AS · WEE · TO · BEE · BEGVNN: (and in inner circle) WE · DID · BEGIN · TO · BE · VNDONN. This variety is figured in the Catalogue of the Fonrobert Collection, by Adolph Weyl.[464]

I think these pieces may have been produced to be distributed at funerals. The obverse design and the legend on the reverse were evidently derived from an illustration (see Fig. 74) in G. Wither's *Emblems;*[465] the legend in question is

[461] F. P. Weber, *Numismatic Chronicle*, London, 1892, Third Series, vol. xii. p. 253.

[462] *Medallic Illustrations*, 1885, vol. i. p. 385, No. 3.

[463] J. Atkins, *The Coins and Tokens of the Possessions and Colonies of the British Empire*, London, 1889, p. 250.

[464] Berlin, 1878, p. 336, No. 3728.

[465] G. Wither's *Emblems*, London, 1635, folio, p. 45.

an English rendering (which accompanies Wither's illustration) of the well-known Latin hexameter line : "Nascentes morimur finisque ab origine pendet" (Manilius, *Astronomicon*, iv. 16). Wither may have derived the idea of the child leaning on the skull from one of Giovanni Boldu's medals already referred to, or from some other Italian source, or from one of Barthel Beham's engravings representing a child and skulls.

A Florentine woodcut (already referred to in Part I. E.) by an unknown master of the fifteenth century, represents a naked boy leaning on a skull, with an hour-glass on the trunk of a tree at his

FIG. 74.—*Memento mori* design from Wither's *Emblems*, 1635.

head, and the inscription : LHORA PASSA. The woodcut in question is reproduced by G. Hirth and R. Muther, in their work on *Meister Holzschnitte*, Muenchen, 1893, Plate 31. An allegory of life is expressed in a similar way by various Italian statuettes, &c. Thus, in the *Catalogue of the Burlington Fine Arts Club Exhibition of Italian Sculpture* (London, privately printed, 1912), there is the description (page 58, No. 8) of a sixteenth-century ivory statuette in the possession of Mr. F. Leverton Harris. It represents a nearly nude boy, standing; in his left hand is a staff, which rests on a skull. In the same catalogue (p. 66, No. 32) is the description of a bronze hand-bell by Andrea Briosco, surnamed "Riccio" (early sixteenth century), in Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan's possession. It bears the arms of the Doria

family, and the handle is formed in the shape of a nude boy seated on a skull and holding an acanthus thorn in his left hand. Cf. also Part I. E., where the Italian statuette of a boy with a skull (Fig. 28) may be referred to in this connexion.

The aspect of life suggested by the illustration in Wither's *Emblems* (Fig. 74) is an easy one of quiet contemplation amidst shady groves and beautiful park-land, with the view of church spires in the distance (the ideal life of a college "don"[466] in the popular imagination of former generations). On a circle around the illustration is inscribed part of the line from Manilius: "FINIS AB ORIGINE PENDET"; and accompanying the illustration is printed the English equivalent—

> "As soone as wee to bee begunne,
> We did beginne to be undone."

The perpetual springing up of new life to replace the old life which is decaying, is indicated on the medalets (Figs. 72 and 73) and on Wither's design (Fig. 74) by the flowers and by the serpent with its tail in its mouth, an emblem of eternity. In a similar way, Schiller (*Wilhelm Tell*, 1804, act iv., scene 2) makes the dying Attinghausen say:—

> "Das Alte stürzt, es ändert sich die Zeit,[467]
> Und neues Leben blüht aus den Ruinen."

Cf. Ecclesiastes i. 4: "One generation passeth away, and another generation cometh: but the earth abideth for ever." Or possibly the flowers springing up from near the skull constitute an emblem of the doctrine of resurrection: The dead are to rise up and live again, just as fresh corn and flowers spring up from dry and apparently lifeless seeds.

[466] Richard Porson (1759–1808), the famous professor of Greek at the University of Cambridge, is said to have emblematically compared the ordinary life of a college "don" to a certain view at the "backs" of the colleges at Cambridge, namely, a long shady avenue, with a church spire at the end—the spire signifying that the "don" often ended his restful life as a parson in the country.

[467] According to Matthias Borbonius (*Delitiae Poetarum Germanorum*, Frankfurt, 1612), the hexameter, "Omnia mutantur, nos et mutamur in illis," was attributed to the Emperor Lothair I, who in 855 divided up his empire between his three sons, and died as a monk in the Benedictine Abbey of Prüm. The more usual saying is, "Tempora mutantur, nos et mutamur in illis." Cf. Ovid, *Fast.*, vi. 771: "Tempora mutantur, tacitisque senescimus annis."

(V.) A French medallic jetton, dated 1651, threatens Cardinal Mazarin with beheading, &c. On the obverse, together with the fasces of the Roman lictor, is the inscription: QVOD · FVIT · HONOS · CRIMINIS · EST · VINDEX. On the reverse is a sling (the sling of David), referring to the civil war of the "fronde" (= sling), which lasted from 1648 to 1652. The reverse inscription is: SVNT · CERTA · HEC (= haec) · FATA · TIRANNIS (= tyrannis). This medallic jetton (1·0 inch in diameter) was doubtless made for one of the French nobles of the "Fronde" party, opposed to Cardinal Mazarin (by whom many of the high nobility thought themselves humiliated). It is figured by F. P. Barnard, *The Casting-Counter*, Oxford, 1916, Plate xiii. No. 188.

(X.) There are several medals of Pope Alexander VII, referring to the bubonic plague (1656 and following years) at Rome (L. Pfeiffer and C. Ruland, *Pestilentia in Nummis*, Tübingen, 1882, pp. 109, 110). One of them, signed with the initials of the medallist, Gaspare Mola, has the portrait of the Pope on the obverse in the third year of his pontificate. The reverse shows stricken persons lying on the ground, one of whom looks towards and raises hands towards a floating figure of St. Peter holding keys. On the right a winged form, holding a death's-head and a flaming sword, is departing. On the left, in the distance, is the Cathedral of St. Peter at Rome. Underneath is the inscription: VT VMBRA ILLIVS LIBERARENTVR. Of this medal there are two varieties (Pfeiffer and Ruland, *loc. cit.*, Nos. 318 and 319). Another medal has the portrait of the same Pope in the third year of his pontificate on the obverse, and on the reverse the representation of an angel holding a cross and the Bible, conquering Death; inscription: POPVLVM RELIGIONE TVETVR (Pfeiffer and Ruland, *loc. cit.*, No. 320).

(I.) A mortuary piece (1670) on the death of Leopold Charles, the infant son of Ferdinand Albert, Duke of Brunswick (new Wolfenbüttel line), bears the inscription: HOMO UT FLOS ORIETUR MORIETUR. (Cf. Job

xiv. 2: "He cometh forth like a flower, and is cut down: he fleeth also as a shadow, and continueth not.") (Madai, *Vollst. Thaler-Cabinet*, No. 3652.)

(II., XV.) A mortuary piece of Charles Gustave X, King of Sweden (1660), has the inscription: ÆTERNAM (coronam) SIBI RESERVAVIT. (Madai, *Vollst. Thaler-Cabinet*, No. 2639.)

(II.) A "Sterbethaler" (1660) of Elisabeth Charlotte, widow of the Elector George William of Brandenburg (1619–1640), mother of the "Great Elector" Frederick William (1640–1688), and sister of the unfortunate Frederick V, Count Palatine of the Rhine (the "Winter King" of Bohemia), has the inscription: NON FVIT MORTALE QVOD OPTABAT DEFVNCTA. (Madai, *Vollst. Thaler-Cabinet*, No. 595.)

(II., XV.) Mortuary medal on the death of Cornelia Willems Ruigh (1662).

Obv.—On a large ornamental tablet is an inscription, signifying that Cornelia Willems Ruigh was born on the 20th December, 1637, and died on the 9th April, 1662. The tablet is supported by a little winged Cupid-like genius standing, one on each side, one holding a torch upwards, the other holding a torch downwards. Behind, a skeleton is standing facing, holding torch and scythe.

Rev.—A human skull, crowned with a laurel wreath, with crossed bones below it and a winged hour-glass above it; behind it are two crossed scythes. On a ribbon above is a Dutch inscription, signifying: "Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord and rest from their work." In a compartment below the skull and crossed bones is another Dutch inscription, signifying: "To me to live is Christ and to die is gain" (St. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians i. 21). Below the compartment the deceased lady is represented lying. On either side of the compartment is a little Cupid-like genius, one of them holding a torch downwards, the other blowing bubbles—the "bubbles of life" (cf. Part II. xvii.).

Oval, 2·5 by 2·25 inches. The medal is hollow, and made of two silver plates, cast and chased, fastened together back to back, after the manner of the medals by Peter van Abeele. It is not described in Van Loon's work. Coin-sale at Sotheby's, London, December 7th, 1915, lot 34.

(II.) An Italian piece, dated 1663, mentioned by Madai (*Vollst. Thaler-Cabinet*, No. 4608), of a Count of Gazoldo, bears the type of a phoenix, with the inscription: HINC VITA PERENNIS.

(II.) A "Sterbethaler" (1664) of Eleonora Dorothea, widow of William IV, Duke of Saxe-Weimar, bears the inscription: "Christus ist mein Leben, Sterben ist mein Gewinn" (St. Paul's Epist. to the Philippians i. 21). (Madai, *Vollst. Thaler-Cabinet*, No. 1496.)

(VIII.) A "Sterbethaler" and smaller pieces (1666) of Augustus, Duke of Brunswick (New Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel line), has on the reverse a leafless tree with a human skull at its foot and various chronogrammatic inscriptions, including: *Sic transit gloria mundi*. This was the Duke of Brunswick who in 1643 had the famous series of "Glockenthaler" (coins with a bell on the reverse) struck, and whose motto, *Alles mit Bedacht*, appears so frequently on his coins. (Madai, *Vollst. Thaler-Cabinet*, Nos. 1153 and 3629.)

On one type of his Thaler, besides his motto, *Alles mit Bedacht*, there occurs, in addition, *Jacta est alea*, as Julius Caesar is said to have cried out when, after mature deliberation, he crossed the Rubicon. It is like Ulrich von Hutten's favourite German motto, *Ich habs gewagt*.

(II., XIV.) A mortuary medal on the death (1670) of William VII, Landgraf of Hesse, has on the reverse: VIXIT DIV QVIA BENE VIXIT. The medal is signed: I G.B. (Johann Georg Büttner ?). (Madai, *Vollst. Thaler-Cabinet*, No. 1261.)

(II.) A "Sterbethaler" (1670) on the death of Aemilia, widow of Ludwig Günther, Count of Schwarzburg, has on the reverse a Christian device, with the inscriptions: IESVS — HOC DVCE — SVB CRVCE — NON SINE LVCE. (Madai, *Vollst. Thaler-Cabinet*, No. 1899.)

(I.) Halfpenny token of John Brearcliffe or Briercliffe, of Halifax (*circa* 1670).

Obv.—Inscription in five lines: *John Brearcliffe in Halifax his halfe Penny.*

Rev.—A skull and crossed bones, with the inscription: RESPICE . FINEM, on a label above the skull. (Fig. 75.)

Diameter, 0·8 inch; struck in copper or bronze.

John Brearcliffe was a surgeon and antiquary of Halifax, where he died in 1682, at the age of sixty-three years. The device on the reverse of this token is one of the commonest and simplest *memento mori* devices of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Shakespeare refers to a similar device, when, in the Second Part of *Henry IV* (act ii., scene 4), he makes Falstaff say, "Do not speak like a death's head; do not bid me remember mine end."

FIG. 75.—Halfpenny token of John Brearcliffe, of Halifax.

In G. C. Williamson's edition of W. Boyne's *Trade Tokens issued in the Seventeenth Century* (London, 1889–1891) many English seventeenth-century trade tokens bearing the device of a human skull or of three human skulls are described, besides the above-mentioned one of John Brearcliffe (*ibid.*, p. 1317, No. 104). The device in question seems to be sometimes an apothecary's sign or the sign of an inn. Following is a short list of such tokens:—

(1) "John Hill of Newbury." (Berkshire.) A skull. *Ibid.*, p. 29, No. 58.

(2) "Lancelot Cox of Beaminster." (Dorsetshire.) A skull pierced by an arrow. *Ibid.*, p. 170, No. 5.

(3) "Edward Coddington in Chancery Lane, 1667." (London.) A skull. *Ibid.*, p. 553, No. 496.

(4) "R. D. M. at the Deathes Head in Distaf Lane, 1652." (London.) A skull. *Ibid.*, p. 582, No. 832.

(5) "Elenor Fleemin in Finsbury Yard." (London.) A skull. *Ibid.*, p. 598, No. 1037.

(6) "I. H. W. at ye Deathes Head in Southwarke, (16)57." A skull. *Ibid.*, p. 1010, No. 103.

(7) "E. D. M. in Saruim [Sarum], 1651." (Wiltshire.) A skull. On the reverse: a heart, with the words, "If thou believest." *Ibid.*, p. 1245, No. 202.

(8) On the obverse is a skull, with the words, "Thomas Wilson of"

and the date, 1668. On the reverse is a shield with three crowns; the inscription (continuation of the obverse legend) is "Easingwood, his half peny." (Easingwold in Yorkshire.) *Ibid.*, p. 1315, No. 87.

(9) On the obverse, inscription in four lines: *Joseph Oddie in Leeds, his half peny.* On the reverse, a skull, with the inscription, "Memento. Finis," and the date, 1668. *Ibid.*, p. 1327, No. 204.

(10) "E. M. V. at the 3 Dethes Hedes in Waping." (Wapping, London.) *Ibid.*, p. 787, No. 3347.

(11) "William Hopkinson. His peny. At ye Swan in Bradford." (Yorkshire.) Arms, consisting of three skulls with crossbones. *Ibid.*, p. 1311, No. 41.

On the subject of Death and Death's-heads as signs of inns, &c., compare J. D. Blavignac, *Histoire des enseignes d'hôtelleries, d'auberges et de cabarets*, Geneva, 1878, Chapter li. ("La Mort"), pp. 336–343.

(XIII.) Mortuary medal on the death of George Hojer (1670).

Obv.—Skull, lamp, and corn. On a ribbon above is the inscription: *Obiit Amstelodami 26 Aprillis* CIↃIↃCLXX. Below: *Mors omnibus aequa.*

Rev.—Inscription in six lines: *P M Cl^us Doct^us Viri Georgii Hojer Commissarii Regis Daniae* VITA EST MEDITATIO ("To the pious memory of the most illustrious and learned man, George Hojer, Commissary of the King of Denmark. —Life is Meditation").

Oval, 2·1 by 1·85 inches. Illustrated in *Danske Mynter og Medailler i den Kongelige Samling*, Copenhagen, 1791 (Coins and Medals of Christian V), Pl. 62, No. 3.

The corn with the skull and lamp on the obverse of this medal evidently has the same signification as that associated with the death's-head and hour-glass on a Danish medal of 1634, already described and illustrated (see Fig. 63). The dead man is to rise up and live again, just as fresh corn springs up from dry and apparently lifeless seeds.

(II.) A mortuary piece (1671) on the death of Sibylla Ursula, the first wife of Christian, Duke of Hollstein-Glücksburg, represents on the reverse the deceased duchess accompanied by angels above the clouds; below lies a skeleton, with a cross, a scourge, and thorns; inscription: QVI VICERIT SIC VESTIETVR VESTIMENTIS ALBIS. (See Revelation iii. 5, "He that overcometh, the

same shall be clothed in white raiment, and I will not blot out his name out of the book of life.") (Madai, *Vollst. Thaler-Cabinet*, No. 1292.)

(V., XI.) Murder of the brothers Jan and Cornelius De Witt, at the Hague, 1672.

There are seven medals commemorating the murder of the De Witts. All of these are figured and described in G. van Loon's work, *Histoire métallique des Pays-Bas*, French edition, 1732, vol. 3, pp. 81–85. The largest of these medals (diameter, 2·75 inches), signed by a medallist, "Aury" or "Avry" (signature: AVRY F.), bears on the obverse the portraits of the two De Witts facing each other; the reverse design represents their murder by the populace in the guise of a many-headed monster. There is a fine specimen of this medal struck in gold in the British Museum Collection. On the reverse of one of the other medals, the dead bodies of the two brothers are shown fastened to a post.

On comparing the above-described medal signed AVRY F., with a medal of the French Jesuit statesman, Michel Le Tellier, dated 1679, and signed AVRY F., I agree with Miss Agnes Baldwin that both of them are the work of the same medallist, who was probably a Frenchman, or resided in France, not in the Netherlands.

(II.) A silver mortuary medal (1672) on the death of Heinrich Ernst, Count of Stolberg-Wernigerode, has on the obverse a death's-head with the following inscription: Hoc ERGASTVLO CONFRACTO SVBLIMIS VIVo, which means, "Now that this prison is broken up, I live on high." The larger letters (H.E.C.S.VV.) of this inscription stand for Henricus Ernestus Comes Stolberg-Wernigerode. (Madai, *Vollst. Thaler-Cabinet*, No. 1920.)

(I., II.) Mortuary medal on the death of Anne Eldred (1678).

Obv.—Armorial shield. Legend: ANNE · THE · WIFE · OF · IO : ELDRED · ESQ. DIED · MAR · THE · 31 · 1678 · AGED · 72.

Rev.—A veiled female figure seated, facing, holding a skull, and resting her head upon her hand supported by a pedestal,

on which stands an urn. Legend: A WISE WOMAN BVILDETH HER HOVSE.

Diameter, 2·0 inches; a hollow medal, cast and chased in silver, in high relief, of rather coarse workmanship. *Medallic Illustrations*, 1885, vol. i. p. 571; Lady Evans, *Numismatic Chronicle*, Fourth Series, 1908, vol. viii. p. 178.

The Anne Eldred commemorated on this medal was the wife of John Eldred (who died November 16, 1682), of Olivers, in Essex, and was the daughter and co-heir of Thomas Godman, of Leatherhead, Surrey. For further details, see Lady Evans, "Memorial Medal of Anne Eldred," *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1908, *loc. cit.*

(I.) Josias Nicolson. Mortuary medal on his death (1683–84).

Obv.—Bust of Nicolson, three-quarters, to left, with the legend: IN REMEMBRANCE OF IOSIAS NICOLSON. The legend is divided by four death's-heads.

Rev.—Death leaning on a spade, with the legend (incuse): MEMENTO MORI.

Diameter, 2·15 inches; made of two plates of silver, cast and chased, in high relief and of somewhat rude workmanship. In the collection of the late Sir John Evans. *Medallic Illustrations*, 1885, vol. i. p. 597.

In regard to what is known about this Josias Nicolson and his family, see Lady Evans's article in the *Numismatic Chronicle* (Fourth Series, 1901, vol. ix. p. 241), where the medal is well illustrated.

(X.) Recovery of the town of Erfurt (1683) from the pestilence.

Obv.—The Archangel Michael, standing on a skeleton, sheathes his flaming sword; to the left is a tablet, surmounted by a death's-head, with the inscription: A · 1683 · SUMMA MORTUORUM · 9437. The surrounding inscription is a "Leonine" pentameter line: MORS JUGULANS CEDIT, VITA SALUSQ(ue) REDIT. Below is the signature, D (? D. S. Dockler, of Nürnberg).

Rev.—View of the town of Erfurt, with the sun shining above it. The inscription is the pentameter line: HOC REDEUNTE

PERIT CONTAGIOSA LUES ("This—the sun—returning, the contagious pestilence disappears"). In exergue: ERPHORDIA A PESTE LIBERA(tâ) · ANNO 1683 EXEUNTE.

Diameter, 1·9 inches; struck in bronze. Described by L. Pfeiffer and C. Ruland, *Pestilentia in Nummis*, Tübingen, 1882, p. 112, No. 330. These authors likewise describe a variety without a death's-head over the tablet on the obverse, and with German instead of Latin inscription on the tablet.

(X.) Recovery of the town of Magdeburg (1683) from the pestilence.

Obv.—The town, with the sun shining; above, the arms and, on a band, the inscription: TANDEM LVX ALMA REVERTIT. Below is the signature, C. P. (Christoph Pflug, Mint-master at Magdeburg).

Rev.—In a landscape are two female figures standing; on the right, Death with his scythe rides away; above is the eye of God, and, on a band, the inscription: VITA ADSTAT MORSQUE RECEDIT. In exergue: MAGDB · A · PESTE LIBERATUM MENS · FEBR · 1683.

Diameter, 1·8 inches; struck. Described by L. Pfeiffer and C. Ruland, *Pestilentia in Nummis*, Tübingen, 1882, p. 112, No. 332. There exists likewise a variety of this medal dated 1682 instead of 1683.

(I., VIII.) A "Sterbethaler" (1684) on the death of Duke Julius Sigismund, of the Münsterberg-Oels line, has on the reverse a leafless tree with a young shoot, and a chronogrammatic inscription: "Exusta est arbor, sic exit gloria mundi," &c. (Madai, *Vollst. Thaler-Cabinet*, No. 1582.)

(I.) Two medals of the Swedish court physician, Urban Hjärne (1641–1724), with his portrait on the obverse, have the following curious reverse design: A human skull, without the lower jaw-bone, rests on the ground, encircled by laurel, irradiated by the sun, and bathed by rain from an armorial shield (of the Tott family) among the clouds. From the right orbit comes a serpent or worm. Around the skull is the inscription: GOTT VND TOTT. One medal is dated 1682, and the other 1702; they are both signed by the medallist,

A. Karlsteen. The play on the word TOTT (= Death) alluded to the family of Tott, patrons of Hjärne. (See C. A. Rudolphi, *Numismata Virorum de Rebus Medicis, &c.*, Duisburg's edition of 1862, p. 196.)

(I.) Memorial medal on the death of King Charles II of England (1685).

Obv.—Time seated to right, on a tomb, with one foot on a skull, holding in one hand a scythe and hour-glass, and extending a laurel wreath in the other. Legend: TO · THE · COLD · TOMB · ALL · HEADS · MVST · COME.

Rev.—Inscription: KING · CHARLES · THE · SECOND · AETAT · 55 · OBIIT · FEBRV · 6 · ANNO · DOM · 1684. (The date is according to the old style.)

Diameter, 1·55 inches; struck in silver and copper. *Medallic Illustrations*, 1885, vol. i. p. 601. There are two varieties, differing from each other only in the arrangement of the legend on the obverse.

The legend on the obverse of these medals is taken from James Shirley's *The Contention of Ajax and Ulysses* (1659):—

"Your heads must come
To the cold tomb;
Only the actions of the just
Smell sweet, and blossom in their dust."

In Tate and Brady's metrical version of the Psalms (1696) the following similar lines occur (Psalm 112):—

"The sweet remembrance of the just
Shall flourish when he sleeps in dust."

Cf. George Herbert (1593–1633):—

"Only a sweet and virtuous soul,
Like seasoned timber, never gives;
But though the whole world turns to coal,
Then chiefly lives."

A specimen of the second variety of these memorial medals, which is in the British Museum Collection, has had the reverse inscription erased, and another inscription engraved in its place, commemorating the death, in 1702, of Bartholomew Gidley, of Gidley, in Devon. Specimens, thus altered, were probably distributed at the funeral of Bartholomew Gidley.

(VIII.) Memorial medal on the death of King Charles II of England (1685).

Obv.—Bust of Charles II to right. Legend: CAROLUS II D.G. &c.

Rev.—Sea, with setting sun. Legend: OMNIA ORTA OCCIDUNT. In exergue, MDCLXXXV.

Diameter, 1·95 inches; struck in silver or (as in a specimen which belonged to me) in white metal. *Medallic Illustrations*, 1885, vol. i. p. 601.

The reverse legend, referring to the dissolution of all created things, is derived from Sallust, *Jugurtha*, 2, and may be compared with Ecclesiastes i. 4, 5: "One generation passeth away, and another generation cometh. . . . The sun also ariseth and the sun goeth down, and hasteth to his place where he arose."

(V.) Execution of Monmouth and Argyle (1685).

Obv.—Bust of King James II of England, with his titles, &c.

Rev.—A pedestal inscribed: AMBITIO MALESUADA RUIT; on the pedestal, Justice, trampling on a serpent, weighs three crowns against the sword, the torch, and the serpent of discord. At her feet lie the bodies of Monmouth and Argyle; their heads are on blocks inscribed: IACOBUS DE MONTMOUT—ARCHIBALD D'ARGYL. Above, the sun. On one side, lightning darting against troops at Sedgemoor. On the other side, two heads fixed over the gates of the Tower of London.

Diameter, 2·4 inches; struck in silver and white metal. *Medallic Illustrations*, London, 1885, vol. i. p. 615, No. 27.

This medal is by R. Arondeaux, a Flemish medallist, of the end of the seventeenth century. There are other medals commemorating the defeat and execution of Monmouth. One of them (*Medallic Illustrations*, *loc. cit.*, No. 26) presents the rebellion in a different light. It bears the portrait of Monmouth on the obverse, and, on the reverse, his head spouting blood, with the legend: HUNC SANGUINEM LIBO DEO LIBERATORI.

(XI.) Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, by Louis XIV, 1685.—Persecution and Martyrdom of Huguenots.

A medal commemorating the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes bears on the obverse a figure of the Pope seated on

the beast with seven heads, holding the keys in his left hand and wielding a thunderbolt with his right hand. On the reverse is a scene representing the execution and persecution of Protestants in France, with the inscription: EX MARTYRIIS PALMAE. Diameter, 2·25 inches; struck in silver.

This and two other medals on the same subject are described and figured by G. van Loon, in his *Histoire métallique des Pays-Bas* (French edition), 1732, vol. 3, p. 312, Nos. 1–3. Three medals of Louis XIV commemorate the same event from the Roman Catholic point of view, bearing such inscriptions as EXTINCTA HAERESIS and RELIGIO VICTRIX. They are described and figured in *Médailles de Louis le Grand*, Paris, 1702, pp. 209–211. Another (undated) medal commemorating religious persecution under Louis XIV, was struck at Rome about 1673. On the reverse is a warrior attacking Heresy, with the inscription, QVIS CONTRA NOS. It is signed by Giovanni Hamerani.

(II.) Seventeenth-century ornamental memorial plate (1688).

Lady Evans has kindly shown me a small engraved and enamelled plate, the design on which is oval, measuring 1·75 by 2·0 inches. On a shield-shaped compartment the following inscription is engraved: "James Son of Ben^{j} Warren and Mary Denew ob: 22^{d} March 168$\frac{7}{8}$ aged 5 years. Dreamed 48 hours before he dyed that he had Wings and Flew to HEAUEN." Above the inscription are two cupids supporting a crown.

With this, in regard to *naïveté*, the Latin epitaph (1676) on a boy named Thomas Welsted, in the cloisters of the Chantry Chapel at Winchester College, may be compared (*Inscriptiones Wiccamicae*, Oxford, 1885, p. 61). He was killed at the age of 18 years by a blow from a ball, and the inscription adds: "In this school he was first, and is not, we hope, the last in Heaven, whither he went instead of to Oxford (University)." An American visitor was heard to say that "it must have come a good deal cheaper."

(II., VI.) Memorial on the death of Marshal Schomberg at the Battle of the Boyne (1690).

Obv.—Bust of Marshal Schomberg, three-quarters, to right. Legend: FRIDERICUS MARESCHALUS SCHOMBERG, &c. Artist's signature on truncation, P. H. M. (Philipp Heinrich Müller).

Rev.—Schomberg, in Roman dress, resting on a shield ornamented with the Christian monogram, plants, like another Hercules, his club, which takes root and flourishes as an olive-tree; &c.

Diameter, 1·95 inches; struck in silver, &c., or (as a draughtsman) in wood.

For a more complete description of the reverse of this medal, see *Medallic Illustrations*, 1885, vol. i. p. 717, No. 139. The edge bears the inscription: PRO RELIGIONE ET LIBERTATE MORI, VIVERE EST, with the initials of Friederich Kleinert, who is said to have been the first medallist in Germany to strike medals with an inscription on their edges.

(V.) Execution of Grandval (1692).

There are several medals commemorating the execution of Barthélemi de Lignières, Chevalier de Grandval, on account of his share in the plot to assassinate William III of England. He was hung, drawn and quartered, and on three of the medals gallows and poles bearing his head and quarters are represented. (*Medallic Illustrations*, 1885, vol. ii. pp. 75–78, Nos. 287–290.)

(I.) A gold mortuary medal (1693) of Ida Blok, of Amsterdam, has the device of a skull and crossed bones, surmounted by a winged hour-glass. (Communicated by Dr. H. R. Storer; figured in the catalogue of the Müller sale at Amsterdam, 18th March, 1907, No. 66.)

(I.) Dr. H. R. Storer has told me of what I suppose is a seventeenth-century jetton of some kind, bearing on the obverse the design of cupid seated on a lion, with the inscription: AMOR VINCIT OMNIA. The reverse represents a man and a woman upon an enclosed platform, with the inscription: MANVS MANVM LAVAT; below are a skull and crossed bones and the medallist's signature, I. H.

(I., VIII.) A memorial medal on the death (1697) of Charles XI, King of Sweden, has on the reverse the inscription: HVC TENDIMVS OMNES. Cf. Ovid, *Consol*

ad Liviam Augustam, v. 359: "Tendimus huc omnes; metam properamus ad unam." (Madai, *Vollst. Thaler-Cabinet*, No. 2643.)

(II., III.) A mortuary medal (1701) on the death of August, Graf von der Lippe zu Bracke, "General-Feldmarschall" of Hesse-Cassel, is remarkable for the number of mottoes which it bears. On the obverse, above the count's head, three figures of Fame trumpet forth the following messages: (1) *Vivit post funera virtus;* (2) *Haec me post fata manebunt* (the middle figure who trumpets this is placing a crown of laurel on the count's head); (3) *Major post exequias.* On the reverse is the cross of the Deutscher Orden, with a crown above it and the inscription: *Vicerunt crucem coelestia gaudia tandem;* over the crown: *Promissa fideli.* On the four sides are two roses, a star, and a swallow, heraldic bearings from the count's arms; with the first rose (1) is the inscription: *Nunc cinis, ante rosa;* with the star (2) is: *Per aspera ad astra;* with the swallow (3) is: *Alibi hyemandum;* with the second rose (4) is: *Forma perit, virus remanet.* The signature of the medallist, Gabriel Le Clerc, occurs on the obverse: G.L.C. (Madai, *Vollst. Thaler-Cabinet*, No. 1748.)

(II.) A medal commemorating the death (1717) of Anna Sophia, widow of John George IV, Elector of Saxony (1691–1694), states that the deceased, *quae illustris vixit, illustris nunc vivit*, and that her son, the Elector Frederick Augustus I, King of Poland, had the "eternal memorial" made. The reverse shows a ship entering a port, with the inscription: DEO DVCE PORTVM INVENIT. (In regard to the saying, *Inveni portum*, &c., see Part I. A.) The medal is signed I.G.S. (for Iohann Georg Schomburg). (Madai, *Vollst. Thaler-Cabinet*, No. 560.)

(III., XIV.) A Thaler-like medal (1717) of William Ernest, called "The Righteous," Duke of Saxe-Weimar, has on the reverse the inscription: NON OMNIS MORIAR (Horace, *Od.*, iii. 30. 6), referring to a "pious foundation" of his. The medal is signed C.W. (for Christian Wermuth,

the well-known medallist). (Madai, *Vollst. Thaler-Cabinet*, No. 1500.)

(I., IX.) There are various medalets (about 1661–1693) of the Guild of Surgeons at Middelburg, which bear *memento mori* devices. One of them has on the obverse a skeleton with hour-glass and dart and the inscription : VIVE MEMOR LETHI. See H. R. Storer, *Amer. Journ. Num.*, July, 1901, p. 17, Nos. 1636–1639.

(I., IX.) Various entrance tickets to the Medical Garden of Amsterdam bear *memento mori* devices, such as a skeleton with scythe, hour-glass, and tomb. I suppose they began to be used in the second half of the seventeenth century. See H. R. Storer, *Amer. Journ. Num.*, July, 1901, p. 19, Nos. 1651–1664.

(X.) The series of St. Benedict amulets ("Benedicts-Pfennige") were employed by believers as preservative charms against deadly epidemic diseases, &c. The earliest pieces are doubtless of the seventeenth century, but the type has been more or less preserved to modern times on medalets sold to credulous pilgrims at various popular shrines of Southern Germany and Switzerland. The characteristic type is as follows : The obverse represents St. Benedict with the inscription, CRVX S. P. BENEDICT. The reverse has the device of a cross with the letters, CSSMLNDMD, and in the angles, CSPB ; the surrounding inscription is, IHS·V·R·S·N·S·M·V·S·M·Q·L·I·V·B. These mystical letters stand for "Crux sacra sit mihi lux non draco (sit) mihi dux. Crux Sancti Patris Benedicti. ——Iesus.——Vade retro, Satanas, nunquam suade mihi vana. Sunt mala quae libas, ipse venenum bibas." See L. Pfeiffer and C. Ruland, *Pestilentia in Nummis*, Tübingen, 1882, pp. 106–108. These authors likewise describe many other medalet-like amulets, or "Pest-Pfennige," against plague, cholera and other deadly epidemic diseases. Of course St. Sebastian and St. Rochus figure on some of the plague-medalets. Thus, an oval one, with loop for suspension, struck at Munich (1637 ?), has on the obverse

Moses and the brazen serpent before the town of Munich; three dead bodies are lying on the ground. On the reverse is the so-called "shield" of St. Benedict (that is to say, the reverse type of a St. Benedict amulet) between the figures of St. Sebastian and St. Rochus, with the inscription: S. SEBASTIANE . O(ra) . P(ro) . N(obis)—S. ROCHE . O(ra) . P(ro) . N(obis) (Pfeiffer and Ruland, *op. cit.*, p. 105, No. 298.) Another (*ibid.*, p. 106, No. 301) has a cabalistic sign and legend on the obverse, with the surrounding inscription: SIGNVM·ROCHI·CONTRA·PESTEM·PATRONVS (*sic*): on the reverse is St. George riding to the right, with the inscription: ORA · PRO · NOBIS · S. GEORGIVS.

(V., X.) The following are typical examples of the class of medals, &c., on which deadly epidemics of plague and other infectious diseases are referred to as punishments or retributive calamities, visitations or manifestations of the divine wrath on account of the wickedness of the people. They were made at Hamburg, 1709–1714:—

Obv.—Patient lying in bed, with priest, physician, and surgeon at his bedside. Inscription: DIE STRAFF WIR WOHL VERDIENET HAN, SOLCHS MUS BEKENNEN JEDERMAN. NIEMAND DARF SICH AUSSCHLIESSEN.

Rev.—An angel digging a grave. DRUM LEGE DOCH DIE SÜNDE AB. SONST GRAB ICH EILENT DIR EIN GRAB.

The following is struck on a four-cornered flan:—

Obv.—Dead and dying lying on the ground; the towers of the town in the distance; above, over clouds, an angel holding sword. Inscription: SO IHR EUCH NICHT BESSERT, WERDET IHR ALLE ALSO UMBKOMEN. In the exergue is the Latin inscription: "Periculum ex aliis capito."

Rev.—Inscription: ACH! GOTT! BESSERE ZEIT UND LEUTE 1711. In the exergue is the Latin inscription: "Dabit Deus his quoq(ue) finem."

Another four-cornered medal has the same obverse, but on the reverse has the inscription: DOCH WERD'T IHR EUCH VON SÜNDEN KEHREN, SO WIRD AUCH GOTT DER PLAGE WEHREN, 1713.

The following medal, signed by the Hamburg medallist, David Gerhard von Hachten (engraver at the Hamburg Mint, 1704–1726), was made in 1714, the year after the preceding medal:—

Obv.—Christ standing amongst dead and dying persons; the town in the background. Inscription: IESUS DER EINIGE, &c. In the exergue: ANNO MDCCXIV, and the medallist's signature, "V. Hachten."

Rev.—Long inscription: HAMBURG, SIEHE ZU, DU BIST GESUND WORDEN, SUNDIGE FORT NICHT MEHR, and so on, from St. John v. 14; and elsewhere.

On the edge of the medal: DER HERR HAT GROSSES AN UNS GETHAN, DES SINT WIR FROLICH, PSAL. CXXVI.

The above medals are all described by O. C. Gaedechens, in his book, *Hamburgische Münzen und Medaillen*, Hamburg, 1850, and by L. Pfeiffer and C. Ruland, *Pestilentia in Nummis*, Tübingen, 1882, pp. 115–117.

Pfeiffer and Ruland (*op. cit.*, pp. 117, 118), also quote a four-cornered piece relating to Prague, 1713, very similar to the second of the two above-mentioned four-cornered pieces. Another medal, which they describe (*op. cit.*, p. 118), relating to the termination of the same epidemic at Prague, shows on the reverse the sword held by the avenging angel being grasped by a hand from the clouds; the inscription is: SVFFICIT, NVNC CONTINE MANVM TVAM; in exergue: II. REG. XXIV. v. 16.

This reference is to the Second Book of Samuel (here called the Second Book of the Kings), xxiv. 16:—"And when the angel stretched out his hand upon Jerusalem to destroy it, the Lord repented him of the evil, and said to the angel that destroyed the people, It is enough: stay now thine hand."

A medal struck at Leipzig in 1680 (Pfeiffer and Ruland, *op. cit.*, p. 111, No. 327), commemorating the deliverance of the town from the bubonic plague, suggests the same idea of epidemic diseases being manifestations of divine wrath. The reverse inscription is: WIR SAHEN GOTTES RVTH V(nd) SIND AVCH SELBST VERSEHRT, DOCH WARD DVRCH REV V(nd) BVS, DER PLAGE BALD GEWEHRT. Similarly, a medal on the termination of the

pestilence at Erfurt in 1683 (already referred to) represents the Archangel Michael sheathing his sword.

(IX.) A medal of Antonio Pacchioni (1665–1726), the Italian anatomist, has on the obverse his portrait at the age of 54 years, and on the reverse an allegorical design relating to the study of macroscopical and microscopical anatomy. A boy is being conducted by a winged genius to Apollo, who shows him a dead body; at the feet of Apollo a child is seated, holding a microscope; in the distance is a temple. The inscription is: NON · INGLORIVS · IBIS · (C. A. Rudolphi, *Numismata de Rebus Medicis, &c.*, Duisburg's edition of 1862, p. 24). This medal is illustrated by P. Capparoni (*Rivista di storia critica delle scienze mediche e naturali*, 1914, Anno iv.), who says that it was produced in 1719 by the Hamerani medallists at Rome, after models made at Nürnburg in Germany.

(I.) A curious medal by the Swiss medallist, Hans Jakob Gessner, of Zurich, commemorates the death (1725) of the

Fig. 76.—Swiss medal, 1725.

wife of Hans Georg Steiner, of Zurich, who was daughter and co-heiress of Heinrich Rahn of Winterthur. On the obverse are the arms of the Rahn and Steiner families, with the inscription: RARA CONCORDIA. On the reverse, Death with a scythe is mowing in a field of grass and flowers; inscription: FLOS DEFLUIT ET REFLUIT. In the exergue is the date, MDCCXXV; the artist's signature is H.I.G.

Diameter: 1·55 inches; struck; silver. A specimen was sold in the Stroehlin Collection, 1911. (See Fig. 76.) The thirteenth card of old packs of "Tarot" cards has a skeleton reaping with a scythe, somewhat as on the reverse of this medal.

In regard to the type of the reverse of this medal, cf. Psalm ciii. 15: "As for man, his days are as grass: as a flower of the field, so he flourishes"; and Job xiv. 2: "He cometh forth like a flower, and is cut down." Compare also the following stanza of a hymn quoted by Charlotte Brontë, in her novel *Shirley* (published in 1849):—

"Like flowery fields the nations stand,
Fresh in the morning light;
The flowers beneath the mower's hand
Lie withering ere 'tis night."

(I., II.) An engraved German (Niedersächsisch) so-called "Bauernthaler," dated 1728, has on the reverse the following inscription: "*Hin geht die Zeit—her Kommt der Todt—O Mensch thu Recht—und fürchte Gott.*" (Information from Mr. L. Forrer.)

(II.) A "Sterbethaler" (1737) commemorating the death of Frederick Eberhardt, Count of Hohenlohe-Kirchberg, has on the reverse the device of a phoenix in flames with the motto: EX CINERIBVS ORIOR, that is to say, "I rise out of the ashes." (Madai, *Vollst. Thaler-Cabinet*, No. 1725.)

With this may be compared other Hohenlohe pieces with the device of a phoenix and the motto: EX FLAMMIS ORIOR, that is to say, "I rise out of the flames." (Madai, *op. cit.*, Nos. 1720, 1723, 5307.)

(I., II.) A mortuary medal (1738) of Geldolphus van Overbeke, of Amsterdam, has the following obverse design: At the left, a tree in foliage and flowering plants beneath a radiant sun. At the right, a recumbent skeleton beneath a withered tree. On the reverse there is a corpse upon a couch supported by skeletons; above the corpse are floating angels with trumpets. (Communicated by Dr. H. R. Storer; figured in the catalogue of the Müller sale at Amsterdam, 18th March, 1907, No. 383.)

(II., XIX.) An engraved mortuary medal (1738) of Johanna Elisabeth van de Werre has the obverse design of a monument surmounted by cherub-heads and supported by skeletons holding scythes. (Communicated by Dr. H. R. Storer; figures in the catalogue of the Müller sale at Amsterdam, 18th March, 1907, No. 384.)

(III.) A medal of the Italian historian, L. A. Muratori (1672–1750), the work (1806) of the medallist, Tommaso Mercandetti, of Rome, has for the reverse design a figure representing History warding off a winged figure holding hour-glass and scythe, representing the destructive power of Time. (Anthony Durand, *Médailles et Jetons des Numismates*, Genève, 1865, Pl. ix. Fig. 5.)

(IX.) Memorial of the death of William Cheselden, the surgeon (1752). The Cheselden prize-medal of St. Thomas's Hospital, London, for practical surgery and surgical anatomy.

Fig. 77.—Reverse of the Cheselden medal.

Obv.—Bust of William Cheselden (1688–1752), the well-known surgeon, to right. Legend: CHESELDEN. Below, W. WYON SC. MINT.

Rev.—The body of a man laid out for dissection. In the background, on a table decorated with the arms of St. Thomas's Hospital, are a skull, book, and vases; above is a human

leg which has been dissected. Legend: MORS VIVIS SALVS. In the exergue: ST. THOMAS'S HOSPITAL.—W. WYON S. MINT. (See Fig. 77.)

Diameter, 2·85 inches; struck. *Medallic Illustrations*, 1885, vol. ii. p. 668.

This beautiful prize-medal, one of the finest works of William Wyon, R.A. (1795–1851), was founded by the late George Vaughan.

(IX.) A medal of J. B. Morgagni (1682–1771), with his portrait on the obverse, has on the reverse a figure of Minerva handing a knife (for post-mortem examinations) to a winged genius, holding the serpent-staff of Aesculapius; in the background, on a couch, is a dead body, the thorax of which has been opened; inscription: SALVTI SCIENTIA. This medal is signed by the medallist, T. Mercandetti, of Rome, and dated 1808. (C. A. Rudolphi, *Numismata de Rebus Medicis*, &c., Duisburg's edition of 1862, p. 30, No. 2.)

(II.) Dr. Malcolm Storer (Boston, U.S.A.) has kindly told me of the following medalet in the collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society. It is engraved on an oval plate of silver (0·9 × 1·13 inches), and Dr. Storer regards it as an American college society medal. In the field of the obverse is the legend: A.K.—FEB. XXIII—1767. Around it is the motto: ΣΙΓΗ · ΚΑΙ · ΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΗ ("Silence and Knowledge"). On the reverse is a human skeleton, standing, facing, with the inscription: MORS VINCIT MORTEM ("Death conquers death").

Death conquers death in a kind of way, because *Morte carent animae* (Ovid, *Metamorph.*, xv. 158), and because, "Death once dead, there's no more dying then" (Shakespeare, *Sonnet*, No. 146); but there is likewise, of course, the specially Christian idea, *Mors Christi, mors mortis mihi.*

(IX.) The medal of the Company of Surgeons (London), by Thomas Pingo, 1767.

The obverse of this medal bears the arms of the Company of Surgeons (now the Royal College of Surgeons of England), and the reverse represents the story of Galen contemplating the skeleton of a robber. (See Fig. 78, for which I am

indebted to Mr. L. Forrer and Messrs. Spink and Son.) The skeleton lies on the ground, on the right, in rustic mountainous scenery; Galen, in antique dress, on the left, stands facing the skeleton, in an attitude of contemplation. The story, as given by Galen himself, is as follows: "I saw the body of a robber lying on a mountain, remote from any public road. He had been killed by a traveller whom he had attacked, and the inhabitants of the vicinity, conceiving so wicked a man proper prey for the vultures, refused him sepulture, and two days afterwards his bones were stripped of their flesh, and dry, like those prepared for students." In

FIG. 78.—Medal of the Company of Surgeons, London, 1767.

those days it was very difficult to get the opportunity of studying from actual skeletons—even at medical schools skeletons were rare, and it may be called to mind that Apuleius (the author of the *Metamorphoseon*, or *Golden Ass* romance), who, like Galen, was born about 130 A.D., was accused amongst other things of possessing a skeleton—*for purposes of magic*. There was, therefore, some danger in possessing a skeleton.

On the reverse of this medal Pingo has evidently, as Mr. T. E. James observed to me, to a large extent copied the design of the frontispiece, representing the same subject, of William Cheselden's *Osteographia* (published in London, 1733).

Cheselden's *Osteographia* is remarkable for the artistic quality of the plates. Truly in some of his illustrations the dry bones express life, as the bones do in Jan von Calcar's woodcuts illustrating the great anatomical work of Vesalius, *De Humani Corporis Fabrica* (printed by J. Oporinus, at Basel, 1543), notably Calcar's famous figure of a human skeleton leaning on an altar (*op. cit.*, Basel edition of 1543, p. 164, reproduced in this book, Fig. 144). Some of the illustrations in Cheselden's work were admittedly suggested by woodcuts in Vesalius's great book. In the "curio-room" of the Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons, London, is an excellent sepia brush drawing (of about the Cheselden period ?), representing a human skeleton in a life-like attitude, kneeling and praying. In the background is a cart, the wheels of which have become stuck in the clay, referring evidently to Aesop's popular fable of Hercules and the Carter. This drawing is signed with the name, "Swantzfager," but is not dated. I mention it here on account of its artistic workmanship and its probable connexion with the skeleton in the attitude of a man kneeling and praying, on Plate xxxvi. of Cheselden's *Osteographia*.

The reverse of the present "honorary medal" of the Royal College of Surgeons of England is the same as that of Pingo's medal. Sir Henry Morris kindly tells me that, under the Company of Surgeons, from 1768 it was the custom to award a medal to the Company's Professor of Anatomy each year. Mr. Joseph Else, who, I understand, was the second of the Company's Professors of Anatomy, was the first one to receive the medal; it was presented to him in 1768, that is to say, the year after Pingo engraved the dies, according to the date (1767) on the obverse die. The idea of making such a medal was started before the Company of Surgeons separated from the Company of Barber Surgeons (the separation occurred in 1745). At all events, on 15th August, 1734, according to the records, it was ordered that a silver medal was to be made with a proper device on each side, to be presented at the end of the year to the Demonstrators, as an acknowledgment of their trouble in performing such demonstrations. On 17th September, 1734, it was further decided "that for the encouragement of such Demonstrator or Demonstrators as shall duly and zealously discharge the trust reposed in them . . . a medal shall be given yearly with a fine stamp in relievo of the most excellent picture of this Company by Hans Holbein, of King Henry the 8th giving the Charter to the Company on one side. On the reverse the fine Anatomical Theatre of the Company built by Inigo Jones, with a body dissected on the Table, and a proper inscription expressing the intention and motive of establishing the same." No medals of this type were, however, ever made. (Cf. *Memorials of the Craft of Surgery in England*, by J. F. South and D'Arcy Power, London, 1886, p. 245.)

(IX.) Because of its reverse design, the following medal of William Hunter (1718–1783), the physician and anatomist,

may be described here. It is the work (1774) of Edward Burch, R.A., who was well known as a gem-engraver, and, as mentioned further on, was indebted to William Hunter for opportunities of acquiring anatomical knowledge.

Obv.—Bust of William Hunter to left. Inscription: GVL . HVNTER . ANATOMICVS. Signed in smaller letters: BURCH · FEC.

Rev.—A large two-handled vase on which is the representation in bas-relief of an anatomical demonstration. Inscription: OLIM MEMINISSE IVVABIT ("Once it will be a pleasure to remember," Virgil, *Aeneid*, i. 203).

Diameter, 3·2 inches; cast in bronze. Figured by Anthony Durand, *Médailles et Jetons des Numismates*, Genève, 1865, Plate vi. Fig. 4.

A variety has the date, 1774, on the reverse. I have seen yet another variety, without either date or artist's signature, but with the following inscription on the rim: S[t] GEORGE'S SCHOOL OF MEDICINE SESSION 1856-57 ANATOMICAL PRIZE, AWARDED TO M[r] HERZEON.[468] From any cast medal (in fairly high relief) altered copies can easily be made later on, either to serve as prize medals, &c., or even for purposes of fraud (to deceive collectors).

The design on the vase on the reverse doubtless refers to William Hunter's lectures, dissections, and anatomical demonstrations at his house at Great Windmill Street in London, or to his *Anatomical Description of the Human Gravid Uterus* (Latin edition, J. Baskerville, Birmingham, 1774). In this connexion it may be noted that the artist, Edward Burch, R.A., who, according to the Royal Academy Records,[469] died in 1814, expressed himself as much indebted to his patron, Dr. William Hunter, for opportunities of acquiring anatomical knowledge.[470]

[468] There is no record of this at St. George's Hospital Medical School, London. The Anatomy Prizemen of that session had other names.

[469] Burch was, I believe, librarian to the Royal Academy.

[470] See p. xiii. of the introduction to a *Catalogue of One Hundred Proofs from Gems engraved in England*, by E. Burch, R.A., Engraver to His Majesty for Medals and Gems, London, 1795, quarto.

(IX.) The Bristowe prize-medal of St. Thomas's Hospital, London, may be mentioned for convenience here. On the obverse is the profile head to left of Dr. John Syer Bristowe (1827–1895), a well-known physician of the hospital. The reverse represents the interior of a pathological laboratory, with a young man seated to right, examining a human heart (see Fig. 79.) The medal is awarded annually in silver for pathology.

FIG. 79.—Reverse of the Bristowe medal.

(XIV.) A medal of J. H. Pozzi (1697–1752), poet and physician of Bologna, is inscribed on the reverse with the Hippocratic aphorism, VITA BREVIS ARS LONGA. (C. A. Rudolphi, *Numismata Virorum de Rebus Medicis, &c.*, Duisburg's edition of 1862, p. 28.)

The following medals and medalets, bearing the same Hippocratic aphorism, are placed here for convenience, though somewhat out of their chronological order.

(XIV.) A medal of Dr. C. G. B. Daubeny (1795–1867), Professor of Chemistry at Oxford, has the legend, ARS LOGNA VITA BREVIS, on the reverse. (H. R. Storer, *Amer. Journ. Num.*, July, 1893, p. 12, No. 630.)

(XIV.) A medal commemorating the foundation of the Medical Association of Warsaw, 1809, bears the Hippocratic aphorism, Ο ΒΙΟΣ ΒΡΑΧΥΣ Η ΔΕ ΤΕΧΝΗ ΜΑΚΡΗ, and the names of Dr. A. F. von Wolff and the other founders. (C. A. Rudolphi, *Numismata Virorum de Rebus Medicis, &c.*, Duisburg's edition of 1862, p. 193.)

Dr. H. R. Storer has kindly furnished me with descriptions of medals on which this famous aphorism of Hippocrates occurs. Besides the medals of Pozzi and Daubeny and of the Warsaw Medical Association, already mentioned, it occurs in Latin on medalets of various Paris medical societies, including the Société Médicale (founded 1796), the Société Médico-Philanthropique (1806), and the Société Médico-Pratique (1808).

(V.) Threat of death to Admiral John Byng, after the loss of Minorca in 1756.

Obv.—Half-length figure of General Blakeney, facing, holding the British flag; on one side is a ship, on the other a fort firing cannon. Inscription: BRAVE · BLAKNEY · REWARD · (in exergue:) BUT · TO · B · GIVE · A · CORD.

Rev.—Half-length figure of Admiral Byng, three-quarters, to left, receiving from a hand a purse; behind him, a ship. Inscription: WAS MINORCA SOLD BY · B · (and in the exergue) FOR · FRENCH GOLD.

Diameter, 1·4 inches; struck in brass or bronze. *Medallic Illustrations*, London, 1885, vol. ii. p. 679, No. 394. There is likewise a slightly smaller variety of this medal with a relatively larger figure of Byng (*Medallic Illustrations, loc. cit.*, No. 395).

The island of Minorca was surrendered to the Duc de Richelieu, on June 27, 1756. This medal is one of the toy-shop or popular kind, like those struck to commemorate the taking of Porto Bello by Admiral Vernon in 1739; and it was doubtless one of the numerous means of exciting popular indignation against Admiral Byng. On his return he was tried by court-martial, condemned, and shot in Portsmouth Harbour on the quarter-deck of the *Monarque*, 14th March, 1757. Voltaire alluded to this execution in his *Candide*, published in

1759 : "Dans ce pays-ci il est bon de tuer de temps en temps un amiral pour encourager les autres." [471]

(II.) A medal of the philosopher, Moses Mendelssohn (1729–1786), of Berlin, has on the reverse a skull, on which is a butterfly, and the inscription : PHAEDON. It refers to his work, *Phaedon, oder über die Unsterblichkeit der Seele* (in imitation of the *Phaedon* of Plato), published at Berlin in 1767.

(X.) The following medal (1777), commemorating the prohibition of burials within the walls of Breslau, is described by L. Pfeiffer and C. Ruland, in their book *Pestilentia in Nummis* (Tübingen, 1882, p. 172, No. 478).

Obv.—A church in a broad inclosure. Inscription: CONSERVA NOS DOMINE IN PACE.

Rev.—Long Latin inscription, commemorating the event in question.

Diameter, 2·0 inches ; struck in silver.

(X.) A Belgian new year's jetton for 1785 commemorates the edict of the 26th June, 1784, whereby burials were prohibited in cities and towns or inside cathedrals, churches, chapels, and other closed buildings throughout Belgium.

Obv.—Busts facing each other of Marie Christine and Albert of Saxe-Teschen. Inscription: MAR. CHRIST. AVST., &c.

Rev.—Inscription in five lines: MORTVI VRBIBVS ELIMINATI MORE VETERI MDCCLXXXIV.

Octahedral in shape ; struck ; 1·45 inches in longest cross-measurement. *Revue Belge de Numismatique*, Bruxelles, 1888, vol. 44, p. 73, Plate ii. Fig. 1. Dr. H. R. Storer kindly drew my attention to this piece.

(I.) Death of Louis Joseph Xavier François, Dauphin of France (1789). On the obverse Death, with his scythe, approaches a bed on which the child-dauphin is lying, whilst a female figure (France) endeavours to hold him back. (*Trésor de Numismatique-Médailles de la Révolution Française*, Paris, 1836, Plate ii. No. 8.)

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[471] Cf. the comments on it by Havelock Ellis, *Impressions and Comments*, London, 1914, p. 146.

(V.) Satirical tokens threatening Thomas Paine (1793–1797).

There are many halfpenny and farthing tokens of the end of the eighteenth century, representing on the obverse a man hanging from a gallows, with the inscription: END OF PAIN. On one variety of this type a demon is seated on the gallows, smoking a pipe. Amongst the reverse-types of this series are the following [472]:—

(*a*) An open book inscribed: THE WRONGS OF MAN · JANY 21 1793.

(*b*) Inscription: MAY THE KNAVE OF JACOBIN CLUBS NEVER GET A TRICK.

(*c*) A man and a monkey, each standing on one leg, with the inscription: WE DANCE . PAIN SWINGS.

(*d*) A number of combustibles, intermixed with labels, issuing from a globe inscribed FRATERNITY. The labels are inscribed: REGICIDE, ROBBERY, FALSITY, REQUISITION, FRENCH REFORMS 1797.

Thomas Paine (1737–1809) published his *Rights of Man* in London, 1790–1792, and, after migrating to France in 1792, was given the title of French citizen and elected a member of the Convention. His *Age of Reason* was published in 1793, and made him still more unpopular in England. A satirical print by the caricaturist, James Gillray, entitled "Tom Paine's Nightly Pest," shows Paine sleeping on a bed of straw, seeing in his dreams judges, scaffold and pillory awaiting him; Fox and Priestly as winged cherubs are acting as guardian angels.

The satirical halfpenny and farthing tokens of the "END OF PAIN" type probably helped to prejudice the people against him. Such political tokens doubtless served the purpose of cheap political newspapers, just as some of the "toy-shop medals" (such as those of Admiral Vernon) did during an earlier portion of the same century.

(V.) The political executions in France during the great French Revolution are satirized on an anti-revolutionary medal (1795) by the London medal- and gem-engraver,

[472] Cf. James Atkins, *The Tradesmen's Tokens of the Eighteenth Century*, London, 1892, pp. 133, 373, 374, 382, 383.

W. Whitley. The reverse shows a decapitated man, surrounded by a circle of bleeding heads and the inscription: A PHILOSOPHICAL CURE FOR ALL EVILS—LICENTIOUS LIBERTY IS DESTRUCTION, &c.

(IX.) Two medals of Benjamin Franklin, dated respectively 1784 and 1786 (of the latter one I had a very fine specimen in my collection), should be mentioned in this book, because they refer to his life-saving discovery of lightning-conductors, just as much as to the part he played in the American War of Independence. Both medals are signed as the work of the artistically and technically gifted Augustin Dupré, of Paris, the foremost medallist of the great French Revolution. On the obverse (the same obverse die was used for both medals) is a clothed bust of Franklin in profile to left, a lifelike expressive portrait of the great and upright and philanthropic sage. On the reverse both have as inscription the famous Latin hexameter epigram: ERIPUIT CŒLO FULMEN SCEPTRUMQUE TYRANNIS ("He snatched the thunderbolt from heaven, and the sceptre from tyrants"), but the reverse of the medal of 1786 has the inscription as the main type (within a wreath of oak), whereas on that of 1784 the inscription accompanies the following device: a winged genius stands facing, and with his right arm points to a circular temple on a hill at the left, protected by a rod (lightning-conductor) from a flash of lightning darting from a cloud; with his left arm he points to a crown and sceptre, both broken, on the ground before him. The Latin epigram on these medals [473] was first applied to Franklin by the French statesman Turgot (1727–1781), to whom it was probably suggested by a hexameter line of Manilius (*Astronomicon*, i. 104), relating to the influence of the teaching of Epicurus against superstitious fears: "Eripuitque Jovi fulmen, viresque tonandi." With reference to a French translation of Turgot's epigram, Franklin wrote: "Notwithstanding my experiments on electricity, the lightning continues

[473] Cf. C. W. Betts, *American Colonial History illustrated by Contemporary Medals*, New York, 1894, p. 302.

to fall before our noses and our beards, and as regards the tyrant there were more than a million of us engaged in tearing the sceptre from his hands."

(XVIII., XIX.) Dr. H. R. Storer has kindly drawn my attention to a rare Masonic medal used at the memorial procession at Boston, in 1800, coincident with the funeral of George Washington, the first President of the United States of America (who died on 14th December, 1799):—

Obv.—Bust of Washington within wreath. Inscription: HE IS IN GLORY, THE WORLD IN TEARS.

Rev.—Skull and crossed bones, with account of Washington's life.

Struck in silver; perforated for suspension.

(II.) A memorial medal of Aloisio Galvani (1737–1798), by Mercandetti (1803), bears on the reverse the inscription: MORS MIHI VITA, (and in the exergue) SPIRITUS INTUS ALIT (Virgil, *Aen.*, vi. 726). (C. A. Rudolphi, *Numismata Virorum de Rebus Medicis, &c.*, Duisburg's edition of 1862, p. 33.)

(IX.) Medals of F. J. Gall (1758–1828), the founder of the so-called "phrenological doctrine." A medal by Friedrich Loos, of Berlin, dated 1805, with Gall's portrait on the obverse, has on the reverse a partially veiled human skull on a cube, in the front of which are a torch and the Aesculapian staff crossed; the inscription on the reverse is: DER SEELE WERKSTATT ZU ERSPAEHN FAND ER DEN WEG. Another medal by Abramson, of Berlin, also dated 1805, has a similar portrait on the obverse; on the reverse a human skull, mapped out phrenologically, is represented, with the inscription: DISTRIBUIT PARTES ANIMAE SEDESQUE. I have likewise seen wooden snuff-boxes with representations, in low relief on the lid, of three human skulls mapped out phrenologically according to Gall. On the under-surface of these boxes is an explanatory tabular key of the phrenological areas.

(X.) A French medal of Gall, by J. J. Barre, dated 1820, has his portrait on the obverse. The reverse represents

a sick person upon a bed, from whom Aesculapius, holding his staff in his left hand, drives away with his right hand an owl and a bat, and with his foot crushes a toad: behind him is a skull upon a pedestal; the inscription is: AESCULAPIO SALVATORI. One of Thomas Rowlandson's caricatures represents Gall lecturing on phrenology; and doubtless many satirical designs exist on the same subject.

(IX., X., and XI.) The Fothergillian medal of the Royal Humane Society (London), 1810.

Obv.—A raft with a man and two boys. In the distance a hastening boat. Artist's signature, W. WYON R.A.

Rev.—A nude child, to right, endeavours to rekindle a torch with his breath. Legend: LATEAT SCINTILLVLA FORSAN. In exergue: EX MUNERE ANTONII FOTHERGILL, M.D. MDCCCX. Artist's signature: W. WYON R.A.

Diameter, 2·8 inches; struck in bronze or gold.

This medal has been awarded in gold on about four occasions since it was founded, for the best treatise on methods of saving life. The British Museum now possesses the specimen struck in gold awarded to the late Sir John Erichsen, the surgeon, in 1845, for his *Experimental Enquiry into the Pathology and Treatment of Asphyxia*. Amongst others who received the medal struck in gold was H. R. Silvester, whose "method of restoring persons apparently drowned" was adopted by the Royal Humane Society in 1861. The beautiful reverse design [474] occurs likewise on the ordinary medals awarded by the Society for gallantry in saving life. Into the general subject of medals awarded for or commemorating gallantry in life-saving in England and other countries, I shall not enter here. It constitutes a large subject in itself.

(II., XVII.) A mortuary medal (1827) of Adrian van Bijnkershoek van Hoogstraten (1774–1827), a numismatist

[474] I do not know the origin of the motto, *Lateat scintillula forsan*, nor whether the associated design was suggested by some Greek or Roman gem or sculpture. Epigrams in the Greek Anthology seem to show that in ancient times there existed one or more famous works of art representing a cupid or a child endeavouring to rekindle a torch by blowing on it.

of Amsterdam, has the following obverse design: A compartment with long inscription, inclosed by bones and surmounted by an infant blowing soap-bubbles (emblematic of life and the vanity of earthly ambitions); the compartment is supported by skeletons (emblematic of death), one with scythe and the other with inverted torch. The reverse design is meant to suggest life after death. The dead man, upon a couch supported by cherubs, is irradiated from a Hebrew word in the clouds above. Two floating cherubs are holding a ribbon, on which is the inscription: "Ziet de Dood is een Ingang ten Leven," equivalent to: "Death is entry into life." (Communicated by Dr. H. R. Storer; Anthony Durand, *Médailles et Jetons des Numismates, &c.*, Genève, 1865, p. 21, Plate ii. Fig. 4.) The medal was engraved in silver (oval, 2·9 by 2·6 inches) by the dead man's friend, Hendrik Westhoff, Junior, of Amsterdam, whose name appears below the large compartment on the obverse.

(IX.) A medal of the anatomist and anthropologist, J. F. Blumenbach (1752–1840), made at Berlin by Heinrich Gube, under the direction of Gottfried Loos (1825), has his portrait on the obverse, and on the reverse three human skulls of ethnological interest (European between Mongolian and Aethiopian skulls).

(XIX.) A medal on the death (1832) of the Duke of Reichstadt, titular Emperor of the French as Napoleon II., has on the reverse his epitaph at Vienna: PHTHISIS TENTAVIT, TRISTISSIMA MORS RAPVIT, &c. It is the work of the French medallist, Valentin Maurice Borrel, 1840.

(X.) Epidemic of cholera in Paris (1832).

A French medal, by E. Rogat (1832), has on the obverse a figure of Aesculapius feeling the pulse of a sick woman with his left hand, and warding off a figure of death with his right hand. Diameter, 3·3 inches. Figured in *Pestilentia in Nummis*, by L. Pfeiffer and C. Ruland, Tübingen, 1882, No. 450.

(X.) Some curious amulets or "charms" against the cholera at Munich (1836) are described by L. Pfeiffer and C. Ruland, *Pestilentia in Nummis*, Tübingen, 1882, p. 162. Many analogous coin-like or medalet-like amulets of various periods, against diseases, &c., are described by these and other authors.

(X.) Help during cholera epidemics at Brussels, 1849 and 1854.

A medal by the Belgian medallist, J. P. Braemt, of Charles de Brouckère, Burgomaster of Brussels, has on the obverse the portrait of de Brouckère, and on the reverse St. Michael striking down a dragon (the arms of Brussels); on the left, a spade and coffin; upon the latter, a skull and crossed bones; inscription: ZELE INFATIGABLE PENDANT L'INVASION DU CHOLERA 1849 & 1854. Diameter, 3·5 inches.

(X.) A medal commemorating the cholera epidemic at Paris of 1848 and 1849 has on the obverse the bust of the French Republic and a corpse facing each other; at the sides, a scythe and torch. On the reverse is a tomb with the dates 1848, 1849. (Communicated by Dr. H. R. Storer.)

(V.) Indignation against the so-called "Massacres of Galicia" ("Blutbad") in connexion with the suppression of the revolt in Austrian Poland (1846).

Obv.—Head of Liberty, to right; in front, a bayonet; behind, a palm-branch. Inscription (incuse): DÉMOCRATIE FRANCAISE. Below the head is the artist's signature, *David*, with the date, 1846.

Rev.—A gallows. Inscription (incuse): MASSACRES DE GALLICIE, (and in the field below the gallows) METTERNICH BRENDT VOUÉS A L'EXÉCRATION DE LA POSTÉRITÉ.

Diameter, 1·6 inches; cast in bronze, very low relief. A specimen was formerly in my collection.

It is the work of (or rather from models by) the French sculptor, P. J. David d'Angers, whose extensive series of portrait medallions (cast in bronze) is so well known. In

the Musée David at Angers is a large cast bronze medallion (diameter, 15·75 inches), by the same artist, and commemorating the same historical episode. It represents Liberty inscribing on a gallows the names of the leaders who were regarded by the French and Poles as responsible for the "massacres" (*Catalogue of the Musée David*, by H. Jouin, Angers, 1881, p. 222, No. 210). The same museum contains a design for the head of Liberty on the obverse of the above-described medal. David d'Angers, like his friend and patron, Louis David, the painter, was much concerned in the political movements of his time, and after the *coup d'état* of 1852, was forced to leave France, owing to the position he had taken up. In commemoration of the "Blutbad" there is likewise a cast bronze plate-shaped medal (diameter, 3·75 inches), by the Polish medallist Dmochowski, with the heads of Metternich and Szela, and men, women, children, a death's-head and bones about them.

(XI.) Death of Denis Auguste Affre, Archbishop of Paris (1848).

There are a considerable number of struck medalets commemorating his martyr-like death, having his portrait on the obverse and various devises on the reverse. On one reverse the inscription is: MORT MARTYR DE SON HÉROIQUE DÉVOUEMENT 27 IUIN 1848. A contemporary rough medalet, cast in white metal, is figured in *Souvenirs Numismatiques de la Révolution de* 1848, Paris (not dated), Pl. 54, No. 6.

Archbishop Affre was shot on the barricades in Paris, whilst endeavouring to prevent bloodshed between the Parisian insurgents (red republicans), who were defending the barricades, and the tricoloured soldiery who were attacking them. He had been warned by General Cavaignac of the risk he ran in such an attempt, but replied that his life was of small consequence. He was removed to his palace, where he died on 27th June, 1848.

(I., II.) A Dutch mortuary medal, 1854.

This may be mentioned here on account of the obverse-type—a death's-head above a bone and a branch crossed,

instead of the usual crossed bones. The reverse bears an inscription in four lines, commemorating a certain J. S. Swaan, a theological student, who died on March 11th, 1854. The medal is struck and is 1·3 inch in diameter.

(VII.) Medal of Samuel Plimsoll, "the Sailors' Friend" (1875).

Obv.—His head to left, wearing spectacles; neck and shoulders clothed. Inscription: S. PLIMSOLL. HOUSE OF COMMONS 22 JULY 1875 LONDON. Signed on the truncation, A. CHEVALIER.

Rev.—Ship at sea, sinking. On a sail is pictured a death's-head with crossed bones. In exergue are the words, COFFIN SHIP.

Diameter, 1·4 inches; struck in bronze or brass, with loop for suspension.

These medalets refer to the "death-traps" termed "coffin ships," which Mr. Plimsoll greatly helped in abolishing. These or similar smaller medalets were made by A. Chevalier, an engraver (of Paris), and were worn by those present at a *fête* given in 1875, when Mr. Plimsoll was elected Member of Parliament for Liverpool.

(X.) Commemorative medal of the International Medical Congress held in London (1881).

This medal has on the obverse the crowned head of Queen Victoria to left, and on the reverse an allegorical design by Sir John Tenniel (executed by Leonard C. Wyon, son of W. Wyon, R.A.), representing Aesculapius standing in front of a globe; before him a mother, holding her sick child, and two sufferers, seek his aid; behind him a figure of death is represented floating in the air. Diameter, 2·8 inches; struck in bronze, &c. From the artistic point of view, this medal is unfortunately not pleasing.

(X., XI.) A medal by Madame Marcelle Renée Lancelot-Croce, commemorating the visit of Humbert I, King of Italy, to Naples, during the cholera epidemic of 1884, bears his exclamation in reply to warnings not to venture to Naples: "A Napoli si muora: vado a Napoli," that is, "At Naples

they are dying: I go to Naples." The medal was struck in 1888. (Communication from Dr. H. R. Storer.)

(I., X.) There are, according to Bergsøe,[475] certain "pest-tokens" (1889), bearing on the obverse a skull and crossed bones, with or without the inscription: MEMENTO MORI, and on the reverse the inscription: DEN ER DIG VIS ("It—death—is certain for you"). I do not know what the use of these tokens (tickets?) really was, or whether they have any right to be termed "pest-tokens."

(X.) Badges worn by medical students at Paris, about the end of the nineteenth century. Dr. C. A. E. Wickersheimer, of Paris, kindly informs me that, about 1897, many of the medical students at Paris carried, at the left upper buttonhole of the coat, a peculiar little badge, consisting of a black and red (sometimes entirely red or entirely black) rosette with a minute death's-head (in silver-plated metal) in the centre. About the same period (and later) some medical students at Paris carried a minute skull (and crossed tibiae) sewn on to their velvet student's caps. About the same period students of the other faculties at Paris often carried rosettes, but of course without the death's-head. The emblem of the law students was the scales of justice, that of the students of the commercial schools was a caduceus, and so on.

(X.) Epidemic of cholera in Hamburg, 1892.

The honorary medal of the Communal Council of Hamburg, conferred for services rendered during this epidemic, is by August Vogel, a contemporary sculptor and medallist residing at Berlin. The obverse bears the arms of Hamburg, with the inscription: DAS DANKBARE HAMBURG 1892. The reverse represents Hercules attacking the Lernean Hydra, and has the inscription: DEN HELFERN IN DEN NOT, together with the artist's signature, and what I take to be the initials of the designer, "J. v. L." (Diameter, 2·75 inches.)

[475] Cf. Vilhelm Bergsøe, *Danske Medailler og Jetons*, Copenhagen, 1893, p. 141, Nos. 989, 990.

(IX.) A medal (1892) of Karl Vogt, the great German naturalist, Professor at the University of Geneva, by the Swiss medallist, Hugues Bovy, has a skull as part of the device on the reverse.

(III.) A cast commemorative bronze plaquette (4·5 × 3·25 inches) of Philippe de Girard, by the modern French artist, Louis Eugène Mouchon (1892), bears an allegorical representation of Posthumous Fame. A specimen of this plaquette is exhibited in the Luxembourg Museum at Paris.

Philippe de Girard, the inventor of the flax-spinning machine, was born in 1775, at the village of Lourmarin, in the department of Vaucluse. He died in 1845. During his life he never received due recognition for his varied talents, his restless work, and his useful inventions; it was not till 1882 that a bronze statue (by Guillaume) was erected to him at Avignon.

(IX., X.) A medal of Sir George Buchanan (1831–1895), M.D., F.R.S., the hygienist, has his portrait on the obverse. On the reverse two female figures are standing, of whom one wards off Death, winged and holding a scythe, from a prostrate person; inscription: IN SALUTEM PUBLICAM AUDACIA ET INDUSTRIA. By Buchanan's endowment in 1894, this medal was to be awarded in gold triennially by the Royal Society, for distinguished services in sanitary science.

(X. and XI.) Medal awarded for help in sanitary and medical work during the epidemic of bubonic plague at Hong-Kong (1894).

Obv.—Sick Chinaman on a bed, partly supported by a European man, who with his left arm presses back a figure of death floating in the air and aiming a spear at the sick man. On the other side of the bed stands a European sick-nurse. In the field, on the left, Chinese characters signifying Hong-Kong. On the right, A. WYON SC. In exergue the date, 1894.

Rev.—PRESENTED BY THE HONG KONG COMMUNITY, (and in the centre) FOR SERVICES RENDERED DURING THE PLAGUE OF 1894.

Diameter, 1·4 inches; struck in silver and gold. This medal is by Allan Wyon, the obverse being from a design by Frank Bowcher. Illustrated in *The War Medal Record*, London, 1896, vol. i. Pl. i. No. 4.

(V., XIX.) There is a plaque by the great modern French medallist, L. O. Roty, representing France mourning over President Carnot (assassinated 1894).

(II.) A modern "Odd Fellows" medalet.

Obv.—Three links of a chain, in which respectively are the three letters, F., L. and T. (standing for Friendship, Love, and Truth). Above, the radiating eye of Providence. Below, a human skull and crossed bones.

Rev.—The Lord's Prayer, inscribed in very small letters.

Diameter, 0·55 inch; struck in bronze. Given me by Dr. H. R. Storer. Medals and medalets with an optimistic significance like this might likewise be remembered (by way of antithesis) in regard to Part II. Heading xvii.

(X., XIX.) Medals relating to the cremation of corpses.

Dr. H. R. Storer has kindly drawn my attention to various modern medals on this subject.

The first is a medal of Dr. Malachia de Christoforis, of Milan. A cinerary urn, &c., are represented on the obverse, with the inscription: VERMIBUS EREPTI PURO CONSUMIMUR IGNI, &c.

The second commemorates the consecration of a crematorium at Stuttgart, 1907.

Obv.—An angel, floating upwards, conducting two souls to heaven. In the lower background, a building. In the exergue, two smoking torches. On the lower right edge of the shield is the artist's signature: P. MÜLLER INV. On the lower left edge of the field is the signature of the die-sinking firm: M. & W. ST. (Wilhelm Mayer and Frantz Wilhelm, of Stuttgart).

Rev.—Within depressed circular field, a three-pointed mausoleum, upon which the following verses in incuse letters in eight lines: SAGT ES NIEMAND, NVR DEN WEISEN, WEIL DIE MENGE GLEICH VERHÖHNET, DAS LEBEN'GE WILL ICH PREISEN, DAS NACH

FLAMMEN—TOD SICH SEHNET. Circular inscription: Z. GEDÄCHTNISS D. EINWEIHVNG D. KREMATORIVMS I. STVTTGART 1907.

Diameter, 2·0 inches; struck in bronze. (Communicated by Dr. H. R. Storer.) There is likewise a quite similar smaller medal, of diameter 1·3 inches. The P. Müller, since deceased, whose signature appears on the obverse, was a sculptor (a native of Stuttgart), who furnished the local Crematorium Union with the design from which the medals were made.

The third is a medal of Burkhard Reber, of Geneva, with a covered urn on the reverse, on which is the word CREMATION.

Burkhard Reber, pharmacist and archaeologist of Geneva, founded the Cremation Society of Geneva in 1887, and in 1912 that society had another medal made in his honour, by A. Jacot-Guillarmod, to commemorate his twenty-five years of activity since its foundation. His portrait, three-quarters to right, is on the obverse, and on the reverse is a dedicatory inscription, with a kind of canopic vase, &c.

The medals relating to cremation should to some extent find a place in regard to Part II. Heading xix., as well as under Heading x.; a few have also a bearing on Heading ii.

(VII.) A Dutch plaquette commemorating the International Peace Conference at The Hague in 1899, has the following reverse design: A warrior (emblematic of war) on horseback is being stopped by figures emblematic of peace. A skeleton (emblematic of death and destruction) places a wreath on the warrior. Above, two floating cherubs hold a scroll, on which is the word PAX. This rectangular plaquette was struck in silver and in bronze (3·3 by 2·5 inches); it was designed by Professor G. Sturm, modelled by W. Achtenhagen, and executed by Carel Joseph Begeer (Utrecht). (*Tijdschrift van het Koninkl. Nederl. Genootschap voor Munt- en Penningkunde*, Amsterdam, 1911, vol. xix. p. 9, Plate i.)

(XI.) In connexion with Part II. Heading xi. medals of those who have lost their life in perilous exploration by land or sea, including Arctic and Antarctic expeditions, might be

referred to: David Livingstone (1873), Henry Hudson (1611), Sir John Franklin (1847), Captain Robert Falcon Scott (and the brave companions who died with him in 1912), and many others. These heroes perished in the struggle of civilization against the physical agencies of Nature, as those also did who have lost their lives in the adventurous pursuit of scientific (chemical, medical, &c.) knowledge. With them may be associated those who in the cause of civilization in savage parts of the world have met their death, not from natural physical agencies, but at human hands—such as Captain James Cook (1779) and General C. G. Gordon (1885)—of whom we possess medallic or similar memorials. On 10th November, 1913, the Italian Geographical Society presented a gold medal to Captain Scott's widow, bearing the following inscription: "Alla memoria di Robert F. Scott, R.N., guinto secondo al polo Australe suggella colla morte la verita della scoperta."

Amongst modern medals mostly relating to medicine and the medical sciences, kindly communicated to me by Dr. H. R. Storer, are the following :—

(IX., X.) A medal of Paul Ehrlich of Frankfurt-a-M., and S. Hata of Tokio, signed by the Austrian medallist, Franz Kounitzky, commemorates (1909) the discovery of salvarsan (called at first "606"), a discovery of the greatest therapeutical importance. On the obverse are their portraits. The reverse represents Hercules and the Lernean Hydra.

(X.) A medal (1900) of J. C. Félix Guyon, the Paris surgeon, by the medallist, Louis A. Bottée, of Paris, represents on the reverse a figure of Death lying, overthrown, upon his shoulders.

(X.) A medal of Samuel Jean Pozzi, the gynaecologist of Paris, by the great French medallist, J. C. Chaplain (1905), has for the reverse type a nude and agonized woman clinging to an erect and laureated female, who protects her from a robed skeleton which leans over the operating-table.

(IX.) A medal (1899) of L. H. Faraboeuf, Professor of Anatomy at Paris, is by the celebrated Paris medallist, Louis Oscar Roty. The reverse represents a draped woman making a drawing of a nude cadaver. Above, on the left, is a diagram of skeleton and pelvis.

(IX., X.) The plaquette of the International Conference for the study of Cancer (Paris, 1910), by the Hungarian medallist, Tony A. Szirmaï, has a skeleton in the reverse design. The medal of the International Sanitary Conference (1911), by the same medallic artist, has for the reverse design a nude female seated, contemplating a skull.

(IX.) A curious medal on the centenary (1909) of the birth of the great English naturalist, Charles Robert Darwin, has the design of an ape contemplating a skull; a serpent between. It is the work of the German medallist, K. Goetz.

(IX., X.) A medal, by Gyorgy Vastagh, of Dr. Cornelius Chyzer, of Buda-Pest, struck in connexion with the Congress of Hungarian Physicians and Naturalists at Miskolcz, in 1910, has on the reverse a semi-nude and bearded man, seated, contemplating a skull which he holds in his left hand.

(I., IX., X.) A medal of the Hungarian, Dr. Ignacz Berger, by J. Remenyi, struck in 1907, has the device of book, skull, candle, and inkstand, with the inscription: VMBRA SVMVS. Dr. Berger was born at Miskolcz in 1852.

(IX.) There is a commemorative medal of the German Anthropological Society (1907), bearing a representation of Strassburg Cathedral on the obverse, and on the reverse an inscription in four lines, with the arms of the city above and a human skull below. The medal is lozenge-shaped, struck in bronze.

(VI.) A medal (1915), by R. Klein, of the German Field-marshal von Hindenburg bears the latter's head on the obverse, and on the reverse the device of an eagle and a skull.

(XI.) A very fine medal (1915) is that presented to the nearest relative of every French writer killed on the battle-field in the Great European War. The obverse represents France personified, armed with sword in her right hand, leading and exhorting the French army. The inscription is: CREDIDI PROPTER QVOD LOCVTVS SVM. In small letters is the artist's signature, HENRI NOCQ. 1915. The reverse represents a winged female figure (a figure of victory, or an angel of death, or both?) seated in an attitude of contemplation on a sarcophagus; in her right hand she holds a laurel wreath; on the sarcophagus by her side are a book, a sword, and a soldier's cap; on the front of the sarcophagus is inscribed in small letters: MORT AV CHAMP D'HONNEVR. In the background is a radiating cross. Above is the inscription: ET MORTVVS. In the exergue is space for the name of the writer and the title of his best work to be engraved. The medal (2·3 inches in diameter) is the work of the sculptor and medallist, Henri Nocq, of Paris, and was made for Maurice Barrès, of the French Academy. It has been awarded only in silver. Specimens struck in bronze were presented to the British Museum and other museums and libraries.

(V.) Sinking of the Cunard Liner, "Lusitania," by a German submarine, May 7th, 1915.

Obv.—At a window of a booking-office of the Cunard Line Steamship Company, a skeleton-like figure of Death (German, *Knochenmann*) is giving out tickets to intending passengers on the "Lusitania," for her homeward voyage from America to England. One of these intending passengers is reading a newspaper with a notice on it: U-BOOT GEFAHR ("Danger from U-boats"). But another points upwards to a motto: GESCHÄFT ÜBER ALLES (Business over everything!). In the exergue are the letters, K.G. (initials of the medallist, K. Goetz, of Munich).

Rev.—The "Lusitania," loaded with war-munitions, an aëroplane, &c., is represented sinking. Above is the legend: KEINE BANNWARE! ("No contraband goods!"). Below, in the exergue is the inscription: DER GROSSDAMPFER "LUSITANIA" DURCH EIN DEUTSCHES TAUCH-

BOOT VERSENKT 5 · MAI 1915 ("The great steamship, 'Lusitania,' sunk by a German submarine boat, 5th May, 1915.") [The error in the date is curious.]

Diameter, 2·2 inches; cast in iron. See Fig. 80, from a plaster cast of an original in the British Museum. The fact that the wrong date is given for the sinking of the "Lusitania" is very remarkable.

FIG. 80.—German medal on the sinking of the Cunard Liner, "Lusitania" (May, 1915). (Reduced.)

(V.) Another German medal on the sinking of the "Lusitania" is the work of the artist, W. Eberbach, and was produced in 1916, apparently as a kind of further warning to President Woodrow Wilson and the United States of America. On the obverse is a gigantic skeleton, or *Knochenmann* (i.e. as a threat of destruction), standing in the sea, astride over a large steamship (the "Lusitania"), and bending down as if to inspect the ship and search for contraband cargo, &c. Inscription: HEIMTÜCKE · U · GEWARNTER · LEICHTSINN · AN · BORD · D · LUSITANIA ("Trick and cautioned levity on board of the Lusitania"). In the exergue is the artist's signature, W. EBERBACH. On the reverse is the legend: DEM · VERÄCHTER · DER · WARNUNG · WOODROW · WILSON · 1916 ("To the despiser of the warning, Woodrow Wilson, 1916").

Diameter, 2·7 inches; cast in iron. See Fig. 81, from a plaster cast of the obverse of the specimen presented by Sir Arthur Evans to the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

(V.) England threatened in Egypt, 1915.

Obv.—Bust of Sir Edward Grey, facing, with drops of sweat on his forehead; behind him a skeleton (*Knochenmann*) holds up an hour-glass, as if warning or threatening him. Inscription: SIR GREY, ZEIG' DEINE MACHT! ("Sir Edward Grey, show your power!"). In the field, initials of the artist-medallist, K.G. (K. Goetz, of Munich).

Rev.—Sphinx in front of pyramids; an oriental army arrayed at the feet of the pyramids. Above, star and crescent and the date 1915. In the exergue, ÄGYPTEN ERWACHT ("Egypt awakes").

Diameter, 2·2 inches; cast in iron (specimen in the British Museum).

FIG. 81.—German medal on the sinking of the "Lusitania," with a warning to the President of the United States of America. (Half-size.)

(V.) A German satirical medal, commemorating the British and French expedition to Gallipoli (1915), has on the reverse two skeletons lying on a sandy desert in front of wire-entanglements; above, a star and crescent between the dates 1915 and 1916; artist's signature, K.G. (K. Goetz, of Munich.

Diameter, 2·2 inches; cast in bronze (specimen in the British Museum).

(V.) A German satirical medal on the alleged abuse of the flags of neutral countries (1915) by England, has on the obverse a ship, bearing the name EDWARD GREY, in which a skeleton-like figure of Death, dressed up as an Admiral, is standing, holding the flags of the United States of America and Italy; flags of other neutral countries also are flying from

the ship; at the mast cowers a man in civilian dress; in the exergue is the date, 1915. The reverse bears a rhyming inscription within a circle formed by a life-belt, on which is the motto, HONI · SOIT · QVI · MAL · Y · PENSE. The inscription within the life-belt is as follows: MIT · NEVTRALEN · FLAGGEN · HOHEITSGEBIETEND · STELLT · SICH · ZVR · WEHR · DER · EDLE · BRITE · DER · WEITMEER-BEHERRSCHER · NACH · SEERÆVBER · SITTE ("The noble Briton, the ruler of the seas, claiming sovereignty, protects himself with the flags of neutral countries after the manner of pirates.") Below this inscription is a sprig of laurel, with the artist's signature, K.G. (K. Goetz, of Munich).

Diameter, 2·2 inches; cast in bronze. See Fig. 82, from a plaster cast of the obverse of the specimen presented by Sir Arthur Evans to the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

FIG. 82.—German satirical medal (1915) on the alleged abuse of the flags of neutral countries by England. (Half-size.)

(V.) German satirical medal on the naval supremacy of Great Britain, 1916.

Obv.—A gigantic skeleton, or *Knochenmann* (emblematic of death and destruction) standing in the sea, with the right hand crushes and sinks a warship flying the British flag (Union-Jack), and with the left hand points to the surrounding inscription: BRITANNIA RULE(S) · THE · WAVES · THOUGH? In the field, to the right, is the artist's signature: W. TH. EBERBACH.

Rev.—Inscription: DEM · ERSTEN · SEELORD FISHER · 1916 ("To the first sea-lord Fisher, 1916"). Below the date is a bent or broken trident.

Diameter, 2·7 inches; cast in iron. By W. Eberbach. See Fig. 83, from a plaster cast of the obverse of the specimen presented by Sir Arthur Evans to the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

(V.) German satirical medal on the sinking of the Dutch ship, the "Tubantia," 1916.

Obv.—Back view of a gigantic skeleton, or *Knochenmann* (emblematic of death and destruction), squatting, tailor-wise, in the sea (with the upper part of the skull above the surface), holding a mine in the left hand and a torpedo in the right hand. In front of the skeleton's head is a ship (the "Tubantia"), moving under steam to the right. Inscrip-

Fig. 83.—German satirical medal on the naval supremacy of Great Britain, 1916. (Half-size.)

tion: ENGLANDS · GRUSS · AN · DIE · NEUTRALE · TUBANTIA ("England's greeting to the neutral 'Tubantia'"). The artist's signature to the right of the skeleton is: W. EBERBACH.

Rev.—Inscription: ES · KANN · DER · BESTE · NICHT · IM · FRIEDEN · LEBEN · WENN · ES · DEM · BÖSEN · NACHBAR · NICHT · GEFÄLLT · 1916 ("The best person cannot live in peace if his quarrelsome neighbour does not please to let him").

Diameter, 2·7 inches; cast in iron. By W. Eberbach. See Fig. 84, from a plaster cast of the obverse of the specimen presented by Sir Arthur Evans to the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

The neutral (Dutch) ship, "Tubantia," was sunk in March, 1916, and for a time the Germans said it was done by an

English mine or torpedo. It is to this temporary German explanation that the whole type of the medal refers.

The verses of the reverse legend on this medal are altered from the lines in Schiller's *Wilhelm Tell* (act iv., scene 3) :—

> "Es kann der Frömmste nicht im Frieden bleiben,
> Wenn es dem bösen Nachbar nicht gefällt."

Schiller's lines form a variation of an old German proverb, quoted already in 1527, by Kaspar Schatzgeyer (cf. Büchmann's *Geflügelte Worte*, 22nd edition, Berlin, 1905, p. 248).

(V.) Another German satirical medal (1916), in the same *macabre* style, by W. Eberbach (same diameter, cast in iron), refers to Italy's part in the War and the Italian statesman

FIG. 84.—German satirical medal on the sinking of the Dutch ship, the "Tubantia," 1916. (Half-size.)

Baron Sidney Sonnino, who was Minister for Foreign Affairs in 1914. The obverse represents a skeleton-like figure, or *Knochenmann* (emblematic of death and disaster), kneeling and throttling a wolf; the accompanying legend is: FÜR · LATEINISCHE · BUNDESTREUE ("For Latin loyalty of alliance")—TRIENT $\frac{1915}{1915}$ FRIAUL. On the reverse is the legend: AN · SIDNEY · SONNINO · DEN · REDEGEWANDTEN ("Dedicated to Sidney Sonnino, the cunning orator").

The wolf (of Rome) is meant here to signify Italy, suffering disaster, because (from the German point of view) in 1914, under the influence of Baron Sonnino, she broke her supposed pledge in regard to the "Triple Alliance," and finally, in 1915, declared war on Austria, with the object of attacking and annexing Trento (Trient). Italy did not

formally declare war on Germany till August 1916. The Austrian attack on Friuli in 1916 is represented as the punishment and disaster in question.

On another German satirical medal the Italian poet and dramatist, Gabriele D'Annunzio, is represented as Judas Iscariot.

(V.) Another German satirical medal (1916), in the same *macabre* style, by W. Eberbach (same diameter, cast in iron), relates to the Irish rebellion (Dublin revolt), of April–May, 1916. On the obverse a skeleton-like figure of Death, smoking a short pipe and wearing the undress cap of an English hussar, is represented seated on a tomb, which is inscribed: HOME RULE. R.I.P. (= *requiescat in pace*).

(V.) A sixth *macabre* medal of 1916, by W. Eberbach (same diameter, cast in iron), represents the popular German idea of the punishment of England, by bombardment of her coasts, by the activities of submarine U-boats, Zeppelin air-ship raids, &c. (Cf. the at that time popular German phrase, *Gott strafe England!*) On the obverse a gigantic skeleton-like figure, or *Knochenmann* (emblematic of death and destruction) is represented, with fists clenched, running through the sea towards the coast of England, near which are ships and a bomb-dropping Zeppelin. Inscription: U 22 · L 19—ENG-LAND · DAS · MASS · IST · VOLL ("England! the measure is full"—that is to say, "The day of reckoning has come"). On the reverse, under the German flag, is the inscription: EXORIARE · ALIQVIS · NOSTRIS · EX · OSSIBVS · VLTOR, which signifies: "Some avenger shall rise up from our bones" (Virgil, *Aeneid*, iv. 625).

The artist on this medal means apparently to invoke vengeance on England for the alleged murder of sailors of a German submarine (U 22) by the crew of the English auxiliary cruiser "Baralong" on August 19th, 1915; and also for the refusal of the crew of the English trawler, "King Stephen," to rescue the crew of the damaged Zeppelin air-ship, L 19, when that air-ship was sinking in the North Sea, February 2nd, 1916. The latter incident is also graphically depicted on a medal by K. Goetz, of Munich, the artist of the German satirical medal on the sinking of the "Lusitania" (see back).

The six above-described medals by W. Eberbach, constitute a satirical kind of *danse macabre* series on the Great European War, from the point of view of the German artist in 1916.

(V.) A German satirical medal, dated August 3rd, 1916, by K. Goetz, of Munich (diameter, 2·3 inches, cast), refers to the execution of Sir Roger Casement, in London, on that date. As the obverse design, a thin ("lanky") British soldier, in Highland uniform,[476] is represented with a cord strangling a prisoner whose arms are confined in irons: below is inscribed the name, ROGER CASEMENT. On the reverse, English law is represented by a thick volume (labelled "English law, 1351"), amidst such dismal surroundings as various instruments of torture, a human skull with snakes protruding from the hollow sockets of the eyes (that is to say, being "eaten by worms"), and a gigantic spider's web. Across the field is the above-mentioned date of Casement's execution. Around the design is a doggerel rhyme:—

> "Edward Third's dead hand
> Fastens the noose round Ireland."

(XI.) The British memorial plaque (1918)—from a design by E. Carter Preston, of Liverpool—for presentation to the next-of-kin of those who fell in the Great European War, bears the inscription: HE DIED FOR FREEDOM AND HONOUR. It is cast in gun-metal, and is accompanied by a scroll, the words (or final phrasing) on which is mainly the work of Montague Rhodes James, Provost of King's College, in the University of Cambridge. A sentence on the scroll is by Charles Francis Keary, the novelist and writer on history, philosophy and numismatics, who died in 1917. The successful design—namely that by E. Carter Preston, to whom the first prize was awarded—was illustrated in the *Illustrated London News*, for April 6th, 1918. The six designs adjudged next in order of merit were illustrated in the same periodical, for April 20th, 1918.

[476] The English Army has been frequently typified in German caricatures by lean and lanky Scottish Highlanders in kilts; in other words, the kilted Highlanders have made such an impression on the Germans, that the latter (in satirical cartoons, &c.) have frequently pictured a Highlander as a type, to signify the *whole army* of Great Britain.

PART IV.

ENGRAVED GEMS, FINGER-RINGS, JEWELS, ANCIENT POTTERY, AND SMALL OBJECTS OF ART, RELATING TO DEATH AND TO THE VARIOUS ASPECTS OF OR ATTITUDES TOWARDS DEATH.

I. Antique Engraved Gems, Designs on Antique Vases, &c.

There seem to be no antique gems engraved with devices which could make one suppose that they had served the purpose of memorial tokens of deceased friends or relatives, analogous to the memorial finger-rings of relatively modern times, to be described later on. No "parting scenes" occur on gems, such as are found on some beautiful Greek sepulchral marbles, reminding one of the famous lines of Lucretius, commencing—

> "Jam jam non domus accipiet te laeta neque uxor
> Optima, nec dulces occurrent oscula nati
> Praeripere et tacita pectus dulcedine tangent";

and of Horace's—

> "Linquenda tellus et domus et placens
> Uxor neque harum quas colis arborum
> Te praeter invisas cupressos
> Ulla brevem dominum sequetur."

Parting scenes occur not only on ancient sepulchral marbles from Attica, &c., but also on some of the white Attic sepulchral lecythi, for instance, the parting of mother and child, on a fragment of such a lecythus in the British Museum. Parting scenes as allegories of death are readily understood. Maurice Maeterlinck's *La Mort de Tintagiles* is simply a pathetic parting scene of the kind for acting as a play.

There are, however, various engraved gems of early and later Roman times which may be supposed to have

in a kind of way served a *memento mori* purpose. Thus C. W. King figures a late Roman sard intaglio (once the property of Murat),[477] on which a winged Cupid-like figure (a kind of "genius of death," like that found on Roman sarcophagi[478]), is represented (Fig. 85) holding a torch downwards (a reversed or "inverted" torch). Similar winged Cupid-like figures holding inverted torches appear on three Roman intagli figured by Salomon Reinach.[479] In the "C. W. King" (or "Johnston") collection of engraved gems in the Metropolitan Museum

FIG. 85.—A genius of death. (After King.)

of Art, New York, a Roman intaglio in yellow sard bears the device of a boy extinguishing a torch and with the other hand holding a large hoop, which King, in his catalogue (No. 208), explains as an emblem of Time. In his essay on "Death, as depicted in Ancient Art,"[480]

[477] C. W. King, *Handbook of Engraved Gems*, London, second edition, 1885, Pl. xliii. No. 2.

[478] G. Kastner (*Les Danses des Morts*, Paris, 1852, Pl. i. Fig. 4) figures such a relief. A winged cupid-like boy rests his inverted torch on the recumbent figure of the dead person.

[479] Salomon Reinach, *Pierres Gravées*, Paris, 1895, Plate 36, No. 74, 4 and No. 74, 7, and Plate 124, No. 38.

[480] C. W. King, *The Gnostics and their Remains*, second edition, London, 1887, p. 179.

King thus writes of this Cupid-like representation of the Genius of Death:[481] "Mingling among the Cupids, whether sculptured or glyptic, and easy to be mistaken for one of the sportive group by the casual observer, comes the most popular antique embodiment of what to our notions is the most discordant of all ideas. He can only be distinguished from the God of Love by observing his pensive attitude; his action of extinguishing his torch either by striking the blazing end against the ground or by trampling it out with the foot; otherwise he leans upon it inverted, with folded wings, and arms and legs crossed in the attitude of profound repose. At other times he is divested of wings, to typify the end of all movement, and whilst he quenches his torch with one hand, he holds *behind* him with the other the large hoop (*annus*), to signify that for his victim no more shall the year (annus) roll on."

In regard to the representation of a "genius" of sleep, with or without wings, on Roman tombs, see G. E. Lessing's famous controversial essay, *Wie die Alten den Tod gebildet* (Berlin, 1769). In the Liverpool Museum is a rudely carved relief of a winged Cupid-like figure on a piece of a long bone, doubtless from a small casket of about the third century A.D. This figure was supposed to represent a "genius of death," but apparently on very insufficient grounds. See the description of this relief in the *Catalogue of Fictile Ivories in the South Kensington Museum*, by J. O. Westwood, London, 1876, p. 3. For illustrations of somewhat similar bone carvings, see in the *Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée de Cairo*, the volume on *Koptische Kunst*, by Josef Strzygowski, Vienna, 1904, pp. 182 *et seq.*

In a collection of engraved gems and rings sold at the

[481] On a satirical print, mentioned by R. Dagley, entitled, "An Emblem of a Modern Marriage," such a Cupid-like figure is referred to. The print represents a young couple visiting a tomb instead of the altar of the Cupid-like god Hymen, and below are the following lines:—

"No smiles for us the godhead wears,
His torch inverted, and his face in tears."

Hotel Drouot of Paris,[482] the circular bezel of a Hellenistic antique gold finger-ring bore the device (cut in intaglio) of a winged Cupid-like genius, seated at the foot of a sepulchral column and leaning on an inverted torch. One might here allude to something which is often not recognised, namely, that perhaps, *strictly speaking*, the winged genius with inverted torch represented on Roman tombs, antique gems, &c., is not a "*genius of death*," but rather a "*genius of the mourning for death*." If that were so, the winged boy with the inverted torch would be more nearly related to the true god of love than has been popularly admitted, for he would represent the fond but hopeless yearning ("Pothos," πόθος) after a loved one lost by death. Isaac D'Israeli, however, wrote in the same sense as King: "Love, with a melancholy air, his legs crossed, leaning on an inverted torch, the flame thus naturally extinguishing itself, elegantly denoted the cessation of human life."

King lays great stress on the attitude of crossed legs or crossed arms in ancient art as indicating profound repose or sleep. After referring to the crossed legs of Hypnos and Thanatos on the coffer of Cypselus (see further on), he writes:[483] "Thus it is manifest that from the very dawn of pictorial art the *crossed legs* were the accepted emblem of the most profound repose; whilst the sluggard's wish for 'a little more folding of the hands in slumber,' bears the same testimony to the import of the *crossed arms* of the Roman genius who leans on his inverted torch. In that masterpiece of Roman chasing, the Pompeian 'discus,' representing the Death of Cleopatra,

[482] May 8th, 1905, Illustrated Catalogue, No. 57, Plate iv.

[483] King, *loc. cit.*, pp. 183, 184.

the object of the design is indicated with equal truth and pathos by the placing of the beauteous infant genius at the knee of the dying queen, on which he rests his elbow to form a support for his head, as though dropping off into a gentle slumber. The traditional attitude retained its significancy well understood far down into the Middle Ages: witness so many cross-legged effigies of warriors resting from their toils—who for that sole reason popularly pass for Crusaders."

King also figures a peridot intaglio of Roman Empire

Fig. 86.—Charon in his boat, receiving the dead from Mercury. (After King.)

style,[484] on which Charon in his boat receives the dead from Mercury, that is to say, the Greek Hermes, in his character of "Psychopompos" (Fig. 86). With this gem the scene on a lecythus from Athens may be compared, likewise representing Charon in his boat, as ferryman of the rivers of the nether world, receiving a dead man from Hermes Psychopompos.[485] A good many "Charon scenes" exist on Greek vases, &c., in various collections.

[484] King, *Handbook of Engraved Gems*, London, second edition, 1885, Pl. lii. No. 6.

[485] It is figured in *Die Graeber der Hellenen*, by O. M. Baron von Stackelberg, Berlin, 1837, Pl. xvii.

It might be mentioned here that the winged figure of Saturn, holding a crooked pruning-knife, as it occurs on some Roman engraved gems, bears a resemblance, but merely a superficial one, to modern figures of Time holding a scythe.

A so-called "gryllus" of human faces combined with a death's-head might also be mentioned here, but the significance of the device is uncertain, though Venuti and Borioni (1763), who figured it, thought it was meant to represent the ages of human life. This "gryllus" intaglio, or a similar one, is likewise figured by Salomon Reinach (*Pierres Gravées*, Paris, 1895, Pl. 24, No. 47, 11), and similar ones are referred to by G. Treu, in his Latin dissertation, *De Ossium Humanorum Larvarumque apud Antiquos Imaginibus*, Berlin, 1874, pp. 24, 25.

Several Roman gems (intagli) are engraved with figures of skeletons ("larvae," or "shades"). Some at least of these designs seem to suggest the popular conception of Epicurean advice, namely, to seek pleasure, to eat, drink, and enjoy life to-day, since death may come to-morrow.

Cf. Horace's ode:—

> "Huc vina et unguenta et nimium brevis
> Flores amoenae ferre jube rosae,
> Dum res et aetas et sororum
> Fila trium patiuntur atra";

and similar passages already quoted in Part I. A., including the well-known Latin students' song:—

> "Gaudeamus igitur, juvenes dum sumus,
> Post jucundam juventutem,
> Post molestam senectutem,
> Nos habebit humus."

Thus, an occasional subject (Fig. 87) is a skeleton with a large wine-jar (pointed amphora) or two skeletons with a wine-jar between them. C. W. King, in 1869,[486] described the device on a gem of this kind as follows: "Skeleton, the received mode of depicting a *larva*, or ghost, leaning

[486] C. W. King, *Horatii Opera, illustrated from Antique Gems*, 1869, p. 431.

pensively against an amphora, and holding out the lecythus, oil-flask, that indispensable accompaniment of every Grecian burial. These two vessels held the wine and oil, the libations poured upon the funeral pile." But in a later work[487] he describes the same subject (*i.e.* the device on the identical gem) as an Epicurean device: "Larva, ghost, leaning upon a tall wine-jar, and holding forth an unguentarium: an Epicurean hint to enjoy life whilst one can." E. le Blant[488] refers to an unpublished gem, evidently of the same class, in the Walter Fol collection; it represents an upright skeleton and an amphora; the skeleton holds a small vessel in one hand.

Fig. 87.—The skeleton and wine-jar type. (After King.)

A. Furtwängler, in his work, *Die antiken Gemmen*,[489] figures several antique engraved gems having an obviously similar Epicurean significance. A chalcedony intaglio,[490] apparently identical with the one which I have figured after King (Fig. 87), represents a human skeleton standing in an easy attitude, leaning with his left elbow on a large pointed amphora for wine and holding a lecythus (or

[487] C. W. King, *Handbook of Engraved Gems*, second edition, 1885, p. 226.

[488] E. le Blant, *Mélange d'Archéologie et d'Histoire*, published by the "École Française de Rome," 1887, année vii. pp. 252–257.

[489] A. Furtwängler, *Die antiken Gemmen*, Leipzig, 1900, vol. i.

[490] A. Furtwängler, *op. cit.*, vol. i. Pl. xxix. Fig. 47.

perhaps it is a small wine-jug) in his right hand. A brown sard intaglio[491] represents two human skeletons carrying a large wine amphora between them; one of the skeletons holds a festive garland towards the other skeleton in his disengaged hand (see Fig. 88). The

Fig. 88.—Two skeletons carrying a large amphora between them. From an antique intaglio. (After Furtwängler.)

second skeleton seems to be in a tipsy attitude. The design of another intaglio[492] is a human skeleton stretched out like a corpse; on the right is a thyrsus and a festive garland; on the left is an uncertain object which may be meant to represent a kind of rattle-stick used in dancing, with a ribbon fastened to it, or a kind of flute (Fig. 89).

Fig. 89.—Antique intaglio representing human skeleton with thyrsus, garland, &c. (After Furtwängler.)

A carnelian intaglio[493] shows a human skeleton reclining at ease by the side of a large wine-amphora, and holding

[491] A. Furtwängler, *op. cit.*, vol. i. Pl. xxix. Fig. 49.

[492] A. Furtwängler, *op. cit.*, vol. i. Pl. xxix. Fig. 51 (the kind of gem-stone is not stated).

[493] A. Furtwängler, *op. cit.*, vol. i. Pl. xlvi. Fig. 26.

a cup (cantharus) in the left hand; above is a festive garland; on the left is a column with a sun-dial (*solarium*) on it (Fig 90). The use of a sun-dial on this gem, as a *memento mori* emblem, is interesting, though the significance of the *memento mori* message was, of course, of Horace's *Carpe diem* kind, and totally different to that conveyed by the sun-dial at a later period in Christian Europe. There is no evidence, I believe, that mottoes or epigrams of *memento mori* or other purport were ever inscribed on sun-dials or their bases in Greek and Roman times.

In connexion with the above gem-devices it is interesting to note that in Nubian (Berberine) cemeteries large wine-jars have been found

Fig. 90.—Antique intaglio representing human skeleton, amphora, festive garland, and sun-dial. (After Furtwängler.)

by the side of mummified human bodies or skeletons.[494] According to H. B. Walters,[495] in the older tombs excavated at Gela (Terranuova), in Sicily, the disposition of the pottery was usually as follows: a kylix (drinking-cup) on the left side of the head of the skelcton, an alabastron (for perfume-oil) under the right arm, and a lekythos (oil-flask) under the left. Food and wine were placed in Egyptian tombs for the use of the soul of the deceased. A similar custom has existed also in other parts of the world, where a life after the death of the body has been believed in, the soul of the deccased being supposed to frequent the tomb for purposes of nourishment, &c. Some of the above-described gems constitute a kind of satire on the fact of the real bodies or skeletons lying shrivelled in their tombs beside their dried-up wine-jars, their drinking-cups, and their vases for oil and ointment. It is just possible that an idea of this kind furnished some of the designs to

[494] *Vide* Bulletin No. 1 of the *Archaeological Survey of Nubia*, Cairo, 1908.

[495] H. B. Walters, *History of Ancient Pottery*, London, 1905, vol. i. p. 37.

the gem-engravers of late Roman times. Offerings were made by the Greeks and Romans at the tombs of the departed. Some of the "Epicurean" designs on gems, drinking-vessels, &c., may indeed have been suggested by the ancient custom of offering gifts to the Manes of the dead—food, wine, garlands, fillets (ribbons), &c. Cf. Sophocles, *Antigone*, 431: Χοαῖσι τρισπόνδοισι τὸν νέκυν στέφει. Some support is furnished to such a theory by an anonymous "Epicurean" epigram in the Greek Anthology. I quote the translation by Merivale: —

"Seek not to glad these senseless stones
With fragrant ointments, rosy wreaths;
No warmth can reach our mouldering bones
From lustral fire that vainly breathes.
Now let me revel whilst I may:
The wine that o'er my grave is shed
Mixes with earth and turns to clay:
No honours can delight the dead."

Cf. also a passage in the fourth "Ode of Anacreon" (so-called), which has been translated by Francis Fawkes (1720–1777) as follows:—

"Why on the tomb are odours shed?
Why pour libations to the dead?
To me far better, while I live,
Rich wines and balmy fragrance give."

Fig. 91.—Antique intaglio representing a death's-head, a wine-jug, a loaf of bread (?), a festive garland, and four astragali. (After Furtwängler.) This device is similar to that described by King Polemon of Pontus in an epigram in the Greek Anthology.

A carnelian intaglio[496] has the somewhat complicated symbolical device (see Fig. 91) of a death's-head between an oenochoë or lagynos (wine-jug) and a round object with radial markings, which R. Zahn thinks is meant for a loaf of bread (ἄρτος) rather than for a patera of the *phiale mesomphalos* shape, as had been suggested by

[496] A. Furtwängler, *op. cit.*, vol. i. Pl. xlvi. Fig. 24.

others; above the skull is a festive garland; and on each side above and below is an astragalus; these four astragali show the four possible "throws." In regard to the astragali (*ἀστράγαλοι*, *tali*, or dice) cf. the *Copa Syrisca*, attributed to Virgil (already quoted in Part I. A.): "Pone merum et talos, pereat qui crastina curat!" Cf. also J. F. Davidson's *Anacreontea*, London, 1915, p. 77:—

> "Then while fair halcyon hours are thine,
> Dice and quaff mirth-enkindling wine."

R. Zahn and others have pointed out that an engraved gem, similar to the last one (Fig. 91), must have been the original of the poetical description in the Greek Anthology (*Anthol. Palat.*, Cap. xi. No. 38) attributed to Polemon I or his son, Polemon II, King of Pontus:—

> Ἡ πτωχῶν χαρίεσσα πανοπλίη ἀρτολάγυνος
> Αὕτη, καὶ δροσερῶν ἐκ πετάλων στέφανος,
> Καὶ τοῦτο φθιμένοιο προάστιον ἱερὸν ὀστεῦν
> Ἐγκεφάλου, ψυχῆς φρούριον ἀκρότατον.
> "Πῖνε," λέγει τὸ γλύμμα, "καὶ ἔσθιε καὶ περίκεισο
> Ἄνθεα· τοιοῦτοι γινόμεθ' ἐξαπίνης."

The following English translation is very slightly altered from that given by Lord Neaves (*op. cit.*, p. 109):—

> "The poor man's armour see! this flask and bread,
> This wreath of dewy leaves to deck the head;
> This bone, too, of a dead man's brain the shell,
> The soul's supreme and holy citadel.
> The gem proclaims: 'Drink, eat, and twine your flowers;
> This dead man's state will presently be ours.'"

An amethyst intaglio seen by Le Blant[497] in the collection of Aug. Castellani at Rome has the simple

[497] E. Le Blant, "750 inscriptions de pierres gravées," *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, Paris, 1898, vol. 36, p. 114, No. 290.

device of a cantharus, a patera (?), and a festive garland, with the incription ΚΤΩ ΚΡΩ. Zahn suggests that here also, as in the device illustrated in Fig. 91, a symbolical loaf of bread may have been intended by the gem-engraver rather than a patera or *phiale mesomphalos*. The words *κτῶ χρῶ* (*posside, utere*, hold—possess—and use) have, in connexion with the device, an obviously "Epicurean" significance: "Use and enjoy what you have whilst you possess it, and whilst you have the power to enjoy it." The same inscription occurs on another gem and on a wine-cup, which will both be described further on.

In regard to bread and wine as emblems of the simple enjoyment of life, compare Omar Khayyam (Edward Fitzgerald's translation):—

> "Here with a Loaf of Bread beneath the Bough,
> A Flask of Wine, a Book of Verse—and Thou
> Beside me singing in the Wilderness—
> And Wilderness is Paradise enow."

It may be remembered that the Founder of the Christian religion had no objection to the use of bread and wine (not excess) and gardens.

The festive garland, which forms part of the device of most of the "skeleton-Epicurean" engraved gems of Roman times, and the roses and other flowers of which it was formed, are constantly referred to in ancient Anacreontic and so-called "Epicurean" poetry. It was customary for every guest to wear, or "be crowned with," a wreath at convivial banquets, and it is because all were expected to keep silence concerning secrets, &c., uttered on such occasions that the expression, *sub rosâ*, came into existence, in the sense in which it is still used.

The significance of the device is not quite obvious on an intaglio of sardonyx with transverse stripes,[498] which represents a human skeleton carrying on his left shoulder

[498] A. Furtwängler, *op. cit.*, vol. i. Pl. xxix. Fig. 50.

a pole to which two vessels are attached; in his right hand he holds a burning torch (Fig. 92).

P. D. Lippert in his *Dactyliothec* (Dresden, 1767–1776, second supplement, pp. 164, 165, Nos. 471 and 472) describes two antique "skelcton-gems" (onyx intagli), which perhaps had an "Epicurean" significance. The accuracy of the descriptions seems doubtful. Perhaps the second one represented a skeleton, with a plate of fruit in one hand and a festive garland in the other; a seat below.

It seems probable that the oil-flask (*lekythos*[499] or *unguentarium*) sometimes held by the skeleton (as perhaps in Fig. 87) refers both to the sepulchral use of oil and to the anointing of the body after baths, which, like wine, were included amongst the "Epicurean"

Fig. 92.—Antique intaglio representing human skeleton carrying on his left shoulder a pole to which vessels are attached. (After Furtwängler.)

delights of life. The priapic appendages attached to figures of skeletons or dried-up mummy-like corpses (as mentioned further on) have a similar coarse "Epicurean" significance, namely, that the joys of sexual love are to be seized whilst there is still opportunity, before the warmth of life gives place to the coldness of the grave.

This reminds me in some respects of the rare medals of members of the "Beggars' Benison Club," which was instituted at Anstruther in the first half of the eighteenth century. In my collection there was an example of such a medal in silver gilt, 1·4 by 1·15 inches in diameter.

[499] I have not been particular in regard to the English spelling of this word, *lekythos* and the latinized form, *lecythus*, being used indiscriminately. I may even have written *lecythos* in one or two places.

The obverse showed Adam and Eve, naked, standing facing, their hands joined; Adam points to a bower; at their feet, a lion. Inscription: BE · FRUITFULL · AND · MULTIPLY. The reverse showed Venus, recumbent, beneath a canopy; at her side, Cupid; behind, Adonis with spear, and dog under a tree. Inscription: LOSE.NO.OPPORTUNITY. Rather later varieties of the Beggars' Benison Club medal exist, one apparently issued as late as 1822 or 1826. The club was ostensibly for collecting "good" songs, jokes, &c., of all kinds, "but in reality to serve as an outlet for the most outrageous fun of the roughest description." The club included many noblemen and eminent men of all classes. I believe that King George IV was at one time a member, before he came to the throne (see Hawkins, Franks, and Grueber, *Medallic Illustrations of British History*, London, 1885, vol. ii. pp. 526–528, and *Henry Erskine, his Kinsfolk and Times*, by Lieut.-Col. A. Fergusson, 1882, pp. 147 *et seq.*). Amongst somewhat similar clubs of the eighteenth century was the "Medmenham Club," into the mysteries of which John Wilkes, the politician, was initiated by Sir Francis Dashwood (afterwards fifteenth Baron Le Despencer). It was a society of wits and humourists, who, under the assumed title of "The Monks of St. Francis," converted the ruins of Medmenham Abbey into a convivial retreat, and it was stigmatized by some contemporaries as "the Hell-Fire Club" (see George Lipscomb, *History of the County of Buckingham*, London, 1847, vol. 3, p. 615).

The dancing or tipsy attitude of skeletons on some vases is probably meant to supply a similar "Epicurean" hint, namely, to drink wine and dance (*i.e.* "enjoy" one's self generally) whilst one can. The collective meaning of all such devices is therefore to lose no opportunity of enjoying life and its chief delights, namely, "wine, women, and song," baths, music, and dancing. Gross indulgence of this kind was, indeed, in late Roman times considered by some so-called "Epicureans" to "constitute life," though (in excess) it led to disease—

> "Balnea, vina, Venus, corrumpunt corpora nostra,
> Sed faciunt vitam, balnea, vina, Venus."

If the word "Venus" might be allowed to stand for the female sex and women's work in general (including nursing), and if one believes that alcohol and bath-methods deserve any place in modern therapeutics, then the second line should nowadays run: "Nos aegros curant, balnea, vina, Venus." In regard to the first line exactly the same idea is

conveyed by an anonymous epigram in the *Greek Anthology* (Tauchnitz edition, 1829, x. 112): "Wine, baths, and love inspired by the Cyprian goddess speed men to Hades by the swiftest path." Other epigrams from the *Greek Anthology*, quoted by Iwan Bloch and J. D. Rolleston, associate public baths with prostitution, and remind one of modern London scandals connected with so-called massage and medical bath establishments.

A Latin inscription in three lines, quoted by E. Le Blant,[500] is: VENARI LAVARI LVDERE RIDERE OCC (for HOC) EST VIVERE; that is to say: "To hunt, to bathe, to play, to laugh—this is to live." [The omission of the aspirate from the HOC in this inscription may be merely a mistake by a careless and illiterate workman, but it reminds me by-the-bye that our modern 'Arry, in regard to his irregular introductions of aspirates, had a prototype in the person of a certain Roman, named Arrius. Thus, Catullus ridiculed the latter in the following lines:—

"*Ch*ommoda dicebat, si quando commoda vellet
Dicere, et *h*insidias Arrius insidias."

"Ionios fluctus postquam illuc Arrius isset
Jam non Ionios esse, sed *H*ionios."]

Bathing is likewise included amongst the "Epicurean" joys of life in an epigram from the Greek Anthology (by Rufinus, English version by Francis Fawkes):—

"Let us, my friend, in joy refine,
Bathe, crown our brows, and quaff the wine:
Short is the space for human joys;
What age prevents not, death destroys."

I must here refer to several other antique objects showing an obviously "Epicurean" motive. A remarkable antique sardonyx cameo[501] (the genuineness of which, as far as I know, has not been questioned) has a human skull cut on it, and below the skull is a tripod with eatables on it. Between the tripod and the skull is the following inscription in six lines: Πῖνε, λέγει τὸ γλύμμα, καὶ ἔσθιε, καὶ περίκεισο ἄνθεα, τοιοῦτοι γεινόμεθα ἐξαπίνης ("Drink, says the engraved stone, and eat, and crown yourselves with flowers, you will quickly become like

[500] See Le Blant's article in *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, Paris, 1898, vol. 36, p. 13.

[501] A. F. Gori, *Inscript. Antiq.*, part iii., Florence, 1743, p. 21; quoted by Baron J. J. A. M. de Witte, *Mémoires de la Soc. des Antiquaires de France*, Paris, 1869, vol. 31, p. 167; and by G. Kastner, *Les Danses des Morts*, Paris, 1852, p. 3. The small engraved gem in question is absurdly enlarged in Gori's figure.

this"—that is to say, like the death's-head engraved on the gem). This inscription is doubtless copied from the last two lines of King Polemon's epigram which I have quoted in a preceding paragraph.

With engraved gems of such design compare the verses from the Greek Anthology, commencing:—

> Πῖνε καὶ εὐφραίνου. τί γὰρ αὔριον, ἤ τί τὸ μέλλον,
> οὐδεὶς γινώσκει.[502]

That is to say: "Drink and enjoy yourself; for what there will be to-morrow, or what is to happen, nobody knows." Compare also: *εὔφραινε σαυτὸν, πῖνε*, and inscriptions of this type quoted by Caetani Lovatelli.[503] I have already alluded in Part I. A., to the little jointed figures of skeletons ("larvae") of bronze or silver introduced at Roman banquets in the way described by Petronius, in his satirical account of Trimalchio's feast. In Part I. A., the subject of the skeleton-reliefs on the wine-cups of the famous Boscoreale treasure was also discussed. Several other, though less costly, vessels or dishes (or fragments of such) exist, decorated with skeletons in similar style.

A stamped clay drinking-vessel[504] (Fig. 93) in the museum of Orleans, found in 1865 at Heudebouville (Eure), is adorned with a relief of four skeletons or "skin-and-bone figures" in more or less dancing attitudes, holding wine-jugs, &c., and apparently grouped around what seems to be an altar, on which are a rudder and an oar. Perhaps these implements of navigation constitute, as has been suggested, an allusion to the voyage of the

[502] *Epigrammatum Anthologia Palatina*, Didot edition, Paris, 1872, vol. ii. p. 294.

[503] Caetani Lovatelli, *Monum. Ant. . . . dei Lincei*, Milano, 1895, vol. v. cols. 5 to 15.

[504] Baron J. J. A. M. de Witte. "Note sur un vase de terre décoré de reliefs," *Mémoires de la Soc. des Antiquaires de France*, Paris, 1869, vol. 31, p. 160 (illustrated).

dead to Hades or to the "Islands of the Blessed" (*μακάρων νῆσοι*, Fortunate Isles, Elysium, Elysian Fields). Pieces of vessels of red-glazed "Arretine ware" have been discovered ornamented with reliefs of skeletons carrying fruit, plates of eatables, and garlands, and several other fragments have been illustrated.[505] Of a period somewhat earlier than that of "Arretine ware" is the portion of a vase of a yellowish-red shiny ware (somewhat resembling, and a precursor of, red "Arretine ware") in the Schliemann

FIG. 93.—A stamped clay drinking-vessel ornamented with skeletons or "skin-and-bone figures." (After De Witte.)

collection at Berlin. It bears the figure of a skeleton (wrongly represented with the scapulae in front of the thorax) in the posture of a drunken or dancing man, in rather high relief. The relief is an "applied" one, and was evidently made by a method somewhat similar to that in which the relief designs on "iced cakes" are

[505] See Caetani Lovatelli, *Monumenti Antichi pubblicati per cura della Reale Accademia dei Lincei*, Milan, 1895, vol. 5, columns 11 to 14, with figures.

made, and not by the whole vessel having been pressed into a mould with a concave design in it.

This vase was found in a Hellenistic or Roman house, and is described and figured by H. Winnefeld, in W. Dörpfeld's *Troja und Ilion*, Athens, 1902, pp. 444–446, Fig. 256. It is also illustrated by Jules Guiart, in *Aesculape* (Paris, December, 1912, p. 265), and by E. Holländer, in his *Die Karikatur und Satire in der Medicin*, Stuttgart, 1905, and in his *Plastik und Medizin*, Stuttgart, 1912. Holländer refers, in the last-named work, to other antique vases bearing figures of skeletons, and thinks that, when such vases were intended for drinking wine out of (as in the case of the Boscoreale cups—see Fig. 4, in Part I. A.), the skeleton ornamentation must have had a so-called "Epicurean" significance. He thinks that the occasional occurrence of death-masks or mummy-masks on ancient Peruvian pottery must have had the same significance. In this connexion, it may be noted that certain antique terra-cotta fragments, from Cilicia, &c., are also supposed, by Dr. Félix Regnault (*Presse Médicale*, Paris, May 13th, 1911), to represent the faces of decomposing human corpses. Dr. Regnault has also written on the subject of various antique terra-cottas of pathological interest, from Asia Minor (Smyrna), in the *Bull. de la Société Française d'Histoire de la Médecine*, Paris, 1909, p. 344; and elsewhere. Cf. the death's-head or mummy-mask (possibly from a wine-cup), and the representations of emaciated or skeleton-like figures in Franz Winter's *Die Typen der Figürlichen Terrakotten*, Berlin, 1903, Part ii., p. 444, Fig. 9 and Figs. 1–3.

Mr. E. J. Forsdyke mentioned to me that in the "Antiquarium" (Altes Museum) of Berlin there was an antique green-glazed one-handled cup with the figure of a skeleton in relief. Dr. R. Zahn informs me that the cup in question (which is said to have been obtained from Pella, in Macedonia), is almost certainly of the same period as the above-mentioned vessel in the Schliemann collection, and he has kindly sent me an excellent photograph of the cup (Fig. 94), and a published account of this and other objects of similar green-glazed pottery.[506] The cup is in shape similar to the two famous one-handled silver wine-cups, ornamented with skeletons (see back,

[506] R. Zahn, "Glasierte Tongefäsze im Antiquarium," *Amtliche Berichte aus den Königl. Kunstsammlungen*, Berlin, July, 1914, Jahrgang, xxxv. pp. 278–314.

Part I. A., Fig. 4), in the Boscoreale treasure, and Dr. Zahn thinks that it belongs to the first century B.C. The relief-ornamentation has been applied in the same way as the relief on the vessel, just referred to, in the Schliemann collection, and is partly in white, partly in

Fig. 94.—Green-glazed cup from Pella, in Macedonia. (Photograph sent by Professor R. Zahn.)

brownish-red, clay. As seen through the transparent pale-green glaze, the relief has a light-green colour, picked out with brown details. The well-modelled skeleton, forming the centre of the device, is represented facing, in an inert position (as if suspended in some way) with drooping skull, and with a festive garland on the neck.

It is surrounded by Bacchic or "Epicurean" emblems—namely, another garland, two Phrygian flutes, a pointed wine-amphora, and a haunch of lamb or venison—and in the field, above, is the inscription: ΚΤΩ ΧΡΩ. On each side of the skeleton is an emaciated grotesque dancer with enormous phallus. The inscription κτῶ χρῶ, signifying *Posside, utere*, "Hold (or, possess) and use" (that is to say, "Use and enjoy what you possess, whilst you possess it, and whilst you have the power to enjoy it") occurs likewise on an engraved gem with skeleton and wine-jug device (described and figured further on), and on another engraved gem, representing a festive garland, &c. (which I have referred to in a preceding paragraph).

A two-handled cup (a cantharus),[507] presented by Paul Gaudin, of Smyrna, to the Louvre Museum in Paris (Fig. 95), which was doubtless inspired by metal (silver) work, has a relief of dancing skeletons, some of them holding a thyrsus in one hand. A similar cantharus from Olbia has been described and figured by Pharmakowsky.[508]

A Roman glass bowl in the Pierpont Morgan collection, formerly deposited for a short time in the Victoria and Albert Museum (London), is ornamented with figures of skeletons in relief. They are represented in grotesque attitudes and are furnished with priapic appendages, as if to emphasize the contrast between death and amorous pursuits.

It seems to me that all these "Epicurean hints," in

[507] E. Pottier, "La danse des morts sur un canthare antique," *Revue archéologique*, Paris, 1903, 4th series, vol. i. pp. 12–16, Fig. 1.

[508] Pharmakowsky, *Archäolog. Anzeiger*, Berlin, 1911, p. 226, Fig. 37; referred to by R. Zahn, *loc. cit.*

which skeletons or dried-up (mummy-like) human figures are introduced, constitute practically a kind of caricature (from the grossly sensual point of view) of the delights to be expected by the just after death in the Elysian Fields. (Compare also some paragraphs further on dealing with the representation of skeletons in later Roman and Graeco-Roman art.)

In regard to the mere *memento mori* allusion on cups

Fig. 95.—Green-glazed cantharus, with relief of dancing skeletons. In the Louvre Museum at Paris. (After Pottier.)

and dishes, that is to say, in connexion with eating and drinking, Lady Evans kindly refers me to some relatively modern instances. One such is on a plate of Lambeth Delft ware (dated 1661), bearing the inscription: "*You and i are Earth.*" The plate is a deep one, of white glaze, of diameter $8\frac{1}{4}$ inches, and without any ornament or design excepting the above-mentioned inscription and date (in blue); it is described by John Eliot Hodgkin and Edith Hodgkin, in their *Examples of Early English*

Pottery.[509] Lady Evans likewise refers me to the description by Sir A. H. Church [510] of a large dish; it was boldly painted with shields of arms and various emblems, and bore the rhyming legend: "Earth : I : am : et : is : most : trwe : desdan : me : not : for : soo : ar : you : Jan : 16th 1660." On a scroll were the names: "Gorg : and : Ellizabeth : Stere." The dish perished at the burning of the Alexandra Palace (London) in 1873.

The calvarium or upper part of a human skull has sometimes been made into a bowl or drinking-cup, not for any ordinary *memento mori* purpose, but to remind the drinker of the death of an enemy. It was a delight of the Scandinavian and Teutonic paradise (Valhalla) to drink mead out of the skulls of vanquished enemies thus transformed into cups. The dead heroes, feasting in the hall of Odin's palace in Valhalla, have been thus pictured, in poetical tale, as drinking out of the skulls of their enemies. Alboin, King of the Lombards (murdered in 573), was said at a carousal to have ordered his wife, the beautiful Rosamunda, to drink from the skull of her father, Cunimund, King of the Gepidae, who was slain in 566.[511] Similarly, the skull of Sviatoslav (Swatoslaw) I, Slavonic Prince of Russia, slain by the Petchenegs about 972, was adorned with gold and made into a drinking-cup for the use of the conquering chief. According to one story the skull of Baldwin I, first Latin Emperor of Constantinople, was mounted with gold and used as a wine-cup by the Bulgarian King, Joannice, who defeated and captured him at Adrianople in 1205. So also Abbas I ("the Great"), Shah of Persia (1586–1628), is said to have had the skull of a slain chief of the Usbegs made into a drinking-bowl and ornamented with gold.[512] Some of the old legends of the Scottish clans (in regard to ferocity and revenge) remind one a little of these stories, which also suggest the triumph of savages in killing and *eating* their enemies. In regard to savage handling of the skulls of conquered enemies there is the story of the death of Marcus Licinius Crassus (surname "Dives"), the triumvir with Julius Caesar and Pompey. In B.C. 53 he was defeated in Mesopotamia by the Parthian General, Surenas, who cut off his head and sent it to the Parthian King, Orodes I. The latter, according to one account, had molten gold poured into the mouth of his dead enemy, saying: "Sate thyself now with the metal of which in life

[509] John Eliot Hodgkin and Edith Hodgkin, *Examples of Early English Pottery*, privately printed, London, 1891, p. 87, No. 312.

[510] Sir A. H. Church, *English Earthenware*, London, 1884, p. 37.

[511] Cf. Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Chapter xlv.

[512] See E. Caetani Lovatelli, *Thanatos*, Rome, 1888, pp. 77–78.

thou wert so greedy." Cf. the story of the human tooth quoted by L. Frobenius, *Childhood of Man*, English edition, 1909, p. 476: Si Gallak was a seemingly genial man, though a cannibal chief. He had a box in the lid of which a tooth was set. This tooth, he said, came from a hated enemy, whom he had killed and eaten. He used to bang the tooth each time he shut the box, declaring that by doing so he had the pleasant feeling of giving his enemy a real blow.

Many stories of the kind lose much of their gruesomeness by reason of their quaintness. Of all the fanciful conceits relating to drinking-cups made out of human skulls the quaintest is, perhaps, the inscription "on a skull picked up on the Acropolis at Athens" (Sir Edwin Arnold, *The Secret of Death, &c.*, London, 1885, p. 217):—

"I am the skull of Nedjm, a Turk,
Who fought at Athens with the Giaour;
When cannon-balls were hard at work
Shattering the Parthenon[513]—that hour
A classic fragment took me fair
. . . . . .
. . . . At the last
A Briton spied me, as he passed
Roaming the strewed Acropolis,
And lightly fashioned me to this.

[513] On September 26th, 1687, during the Venetian bombardment of Athens, a bomb, fired by a Lüneburg lieutenant—serving under Otto Wilhelm, Count von Königsmark (1639–1688), who was commanding the Venetian Army for Francesco Morosini—fell into and exploded a powder-magazine of the Turks in the Parthenon, killing a great number of Turks and ruining the Parthenon. The above-mentioned Count Königsmark is better known in England on account of the romantic history of his relatives. Visitors to Westminster Abbey will perhaps remember the story of his nephew, Johann Philipp, Count von Königsmark, who served under him against the Turks in Greece. In 1682, Thomas Thynne, of Longleat (known, on account of his wealth, as "Tom of the Ten Thousand"), was assassinated in London, in Pall Mall, apparently at the instigation of Johann Philipp, who was Thynne's rival, and wished to marry the rich heiress of the Percy estates. Thynne's monument in the south aisle of Westminster Abbey bears a graphic representation of the crime. Philipp Christoph, Count von Königsmark, the brother of Johann Philipp, disappeared mysteriously (probably he was assassinated) in 1694, at Hanover, where he was supposed to be carrying on an intrigue with Sophia Dorothea, of Celle, the wife of Prince George Lewis, afterwards King George I, of England. The sister of these two brothers, Maria Aurora, Countess von Königsmark (1662–1728), will always be remembered as the beautiful and accomplished mother of the famous Marshal Saxe.

Drink! if thou wilt; and, drinking, say
Never did ancient craftsman make
Cyathus, Krater, Patera
Fitter a mighty thirst to slake.
But! call not me a thing of the clod!
The Parthenon owned no such plan!
Man made that temple for a God,
God made these temples for a man!"

Sir Thomas Browne, in his *Hydriotaphia* (1658), adduced, as one reason in favour of cremation, that ordinary burial admitted the "tragicall abomination, of being knav'd out of our graves and of having *our skulls made drinking bowls and our bones turned into pipes.*"

On a remarkable antique engraved gem (Roman period) a skeleton is seen emerging from an urn, by the side of

Fig. 96.—Allegory of posthumous fame. (After King.)

which some armour is piled, and plucking a branch from a palm-tree (Fig. 96). C. W. King[514] alludes to this device as "a speaking allegory of the reaping of posthumous fame"—cf. Martial, *Epig.*, i. 26. 8: "Cineri gloria sera venit."[515] It may be held to express the emptiness of posthumous fame, and to illustrate the lines of Persius (Dryden's English version): "Live while thou

[514] C. W. King, *Handbook of Engraved Gems*, edition of 1885, p. 217.

[515] The posthumous awards for bravery and military services, which have been conferred nowadays in the Great European War, can certainly not be ridiculed in Martial's sense, and have doubtless often contributed to the consolation and satisfaction of the dead man's relatives and friends.

liv'st; for death will make us all a name, a nothing but an old wife's tale."

See Persius, *Sat.* 5, lines 151 *et seq.*:—

"Indulge genio : carpamus dulcia; nostrum est
Quod vivis : cinis et manes et fabula fies.
Vive memor lethi : fugit hora : &c."

From the same point of view the French scholar and printer, Étienne Dolet (1509–1546)—who was devoted to the writings of Cicero, and after a life of many quarrels was executed as a heretic at Paris—wrote:—

"Vivens videnque gloriâ meâ frui
Volo : nihil juvat mortuum
Quod vel diserte scripserit vel fecerit
Animose."

That is to say: "I wish to enjoy my glory whilst I am alive and can see: a dead man takes no delight in what he may have written elegantly, or done courageously, during his life."

It is, however, not quite certain that any "Epicurean" suggestion was implied by the device on the gem in question (Fig. 96). On the contrary, as expressing the vanity of posthumous fame, the gem may possibly have belonged to a Roman philosopher of the type of Marcus Aurelius, who "made it a special object of mental discipline, by continually meditating on death, and evoking, by an effort of the imagination, whole societies that had passed away, to acquire a realized sense of the vanity of posthumous fame." [516]

Another gem [517] represents Cupid throwing the light

[516] See Lecky's *History of European Morals*, edition of 1905, vol. i. p. 186. Lecky points out (*loc. cit.*, p. 185) that the desire for reputation, especially for posthumous reputation, "assumed an extraordinary prominence among the springs of Roman heroism."

[517] C. W. King, *Handbook of Engraved Gems*, edition of 1885, Pl. lxxv. No. 3. In the first edition of the *Handbook* (Bohn's Illustrated Library, 1866, p. 364) King says that on this gem it is clear that the skeleton represents a ghost—Ovid's "ossea larva." Cf. Seneca:—"larvarum nudis ossibus cohaerentium figuras." *Larvae*, King says, was the name given to the shades of the wicked; those of the good, on the

of a torch into a large vessel (crater), from which issue a skeleton and a laurel-branch (Fig. 97). This device may signify the driving out of an evil spirit (*i.e.* one of the Larvae) by Love, or it may have been meant to convey the "Epicurean" hint that gloomy thoughts might be expelled by the aid of the light of Love. On the other hand, the device may merely have been intended to typify life and its pleasures (Cupid) contrasted with death (the skeleton), suggesting that the pursuit of pleasure or the enjoyment of love was better than spending one's life in striving to obtain posthumous fame. With this subject

FIG. 97.—Cupid and a skeleton. (After King.)

may be compared the somewhat similar one of an antique intaglio formerly in the late Mr. M. P. W. Boulton's collection. The gem I refer to represents a Cupid holding a torch and raising the lid of an urn, from which a skeleton and a butterfly emerge. The butterfly is the symbol of Psyche (the human soul), whose release by love and death from the earthly connexion with the body (symbolized by the skeleton) is perhaps intended to be

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contrary, became *Lares*, or domestic deities. But even amongst the Romans themselves confusion arose in regard to the terms "Larvae," "Lemures," "Lares," and "Manes." I shall return to the subject further on.

meant by the device in question (Fig. 98). On the other hand, the piled up arms and armour show that the skeleton in the urn was that of a warrior; and perhaps an "Epicurean" hint was intended that he might have employed his life better by giving himself to love than by seeking for military fame and a hero's death. According to the latter interpretation the butterfly would merely represent Psyche accompanying Cupid, as she often does on Roman gems.

Various gem-designs of this period seem, indeed, to

FIG. 98.—Cupid, skeleton, and butterfly.

suggest the possibility of the survival of the soul (Psyche) after death. Certain terminal Hellenistic bearded heads (in the style of a so-called "Hermes" or "Terminus") engraved in profile with butterfly wings above the ear have often been described as portraits of Plato[518] (Fig. 99). This explanation was apparently due to Winckelmann,[519] who regarded the butterfly's wings as an allusion to Plato's argument for the immortality of the soul (Psyche

[518] C. W. King, *Handbook of Engraved Gems*, edition of 1885, Pl. lxix. No. 3; A. H. Smith's *Catalogue of Engraved Gems in the British Museum*, 1888, Pl. i. No. 1512.

[519] Winckelmann, quoted by A. H. Smith, *loc. cit.*, p. 170.

or "anima"). Furtwängler [520] speaks of all such heads as representing Hypnos, the Greek god or personification of sleep, who on a fine bronze head of the fourth century B.C. (from Civitella d'Arno, near Perugia), now in the British Museum, is represented beardless and youthful, with the wings of a night-hawk attached to his temples (the wing on the left side has been broken off).

Hermes-like (Terminus-like) bearded winged heads of the so-called "Plato" type are figured by A. Furtwängler amongst Hellenistic and early Roman intagli (see Furtwängler, *Die antiken Gemmen*, Leipzig,

Fig. 99.—So-called head of Plato. (After King.)

1900, vol. i. Pl. xxvi. Nos. 41, 42, and Pl. xxx. Nos. 24–26). Below the bust on one of those pictured on Pl. xxx. (No. 24) is a caduceus (*κηρύκειον* of Hermes), thus bringing the gem in question into connexion with the Greek Hermes-busts. On an antique gem at Paris, evidently representing portraits of Socrates and Plato facing, that of Plato is without the wings. (See King, *Handbook of Engraved Gems*, edition of 1885, Pl. xlix. No. 2.)

There is a marble statue of Hypnos at Madrid and a bronze statuette at Vienna. A youthful beardless figure of Sleep, with butterfly wings on his back, and with horns (containing balm?) in his hands, occurs also on gems, if C. W. King's interpretation is correct (*Antique Gems*, 1872, Pl. xxxvi. No. 1, and *Handbook*, 1885, Pl. lxxvi. No. 3). On an engraved gem, figured by A. Furtwängler (*loc. cit.*, vol. i. Pl. xxx. No. 53), Hypnos is represented as a bearded figure (King has described this figure as Death—cf. further on, in regard to the possible confusion of representations of Death with representations of Sleep) with wings on his back, coming to the relief of the tired Heracles; and on two other antique gems (Furtwängler, *loc. cit.*, vol. i. Pl. xviii. No. 28, and Pl. xxxvi. No. 20) he is represented in the same form, but behind the

[520] A. Furtwängler, *loc. cit.*, vol. iii. pp. 209, 292.

figure, not of Heracles, but of a sleepy or sleeping woman. The supposed thunderbolts on a gem of this type (King, *Handbook of Engraved Gems*, edition of 1885, Pl. lxxv. No. 4), which, according to Furtwängler, are really ants, made King describe it as representing "Jupiter descending in a shower of thunderbolts upon the dying Semele." At least one gem of this type has neither thunderbolts nor ants in the field (see F. de' Ficoroni, *Gemmae Antiquae Litteratae, &c.*, Rome, 1757, second part, Plate viii. Fig. 6). The early and archaistic representation of Hypnos with a beard may be compared with that of Hermes in the early and archaistic bearded types, so different from the figures of the Roman Mercury. It is, of course, quite natural that male figures should be more frequently represented with a beard in archaic (and therefore also archaistic) than in later art.

An almost certain and unmistakable allusion to the doctrine of the immortality of the soul is, however, furnished by an early Roman intaglio (Fig. 100) representing a bearded man (philosopher) seated, reading from a scroll;

FIG. 100.—Philosopher reading from a scroll, with a skull and butterfly on a scrinium before him. (After Furtwängler.)

on the *scrinium* (or *capsa*) before him is a human skull (emblem of the mortality of the body), and above it a butterfly, the symbol of Psyche, the human soul, or "anima." [521]

This type of engraved gem was more probably intended to represent Pythagoras than Plato. It might be fairly described as "a philosopher meditating on mortality (the skull) and immortality (the butterfly)," whereas the type of another small intaglio, described further on (a philosopher seated with a threatening skeleton standing in front of him), might be described as "a philosopher and mortality." (See Fig. 122.)

The butterfly was, indeed, as Furtwängler has pointed out, employed at a still earlier period to indicate the soul, and Furtwängler figures an Etruscan scarabaeus of the

[521] Furtwängler, *loc. cit.*, vol. i. Pl. xxx. No. 45.

fifth century B.C. (to which I shall again refer), on which Hermes, in his character of Ψυχαγωγός, is represented with a butterfly on his right shoulder.

For other early instances of the butterfly being used on engraved gems as a symbol of the soul, see Furtwängler, *loc. cit.*, vol. iii. pp. 202, 203.

I have not seen the following device, though mentioned by Isaac D'Israeli as being an antique allegorical representation of the transmigration of the human soul after death : "a butterfly on the extremity of an extinguished lamp, held up by the messenger of the gods [*i.e.* Hermes or Mercury] intently gazing above."

At any rate, Psyche herself is frequently accompanied or symbolized by a butterfly on Roman gems, and a butterfly as the symbol of Psyche is often associated with a figure of Cupid. Sometimes a Cupid is represented burning a butterfly with a torch or at a flaming altar, or the butterfly is represented burning itself over a torch or flaming altar.[522] On an intaglio, formerly in the late Mr. M. P. W. Boulton's collection, Cupid is represented holding a whip, in the act of whipping a butterfly, just as on another Roman intaglio, figured in Reinach's *Pierres Gravées* (1895), he is maltreating Psyche herself.

Vide S. Reinach, *loc. cit.*, Pl. 38, No. 79, 7. Conversely, on a remarkable Roman intaglio (*ibid.*, Pl. 38, No. 79, 5) Cupid is represented bound to a column, with a butterfly close by, as if the butterfly had something to do with the binding ; whilst on another gem the butterfly is replaced by Psyche, who is represented binding Cupid to a column (*ibid.*, Pl. 38, No. 79, 4). The Roman gem-engravers seem to have taken a special delight in Psyche and Cupid subjects, and the fanciful varieties they designed must have been almost countless. On one of the intagli figured by Reinach (*loc. cit.*, Pl. 39, No. 80, 8) Venus is holding a butterfly before Cupid, who stretches out his left hand towards it, and in his right hand holds a torch. On another (*ibid.*, Pl. 39, No. 81, 1) Cupid has one leg caught in a kind of "man-trap," on which there is a butterfly, and a second Cupid stands looking on. On yet another gem (*ibid.*, Pl. 38, No. 80, 1) Psyche herself is burning a butterfly. The famous sardonyx cameo representing the mystic marriage of Cupid and Psyche, a treasure of the former Marlborough

[522] *Catalogue of Gems in the British Museum*, 1888, Nos. 832, 833; also S. Reinach, *Pierres Gravées*, Paris, 1895, Pl. 38, No. 80, 5.

Collection, would still be one of the finest works of art of the kind in existence, even if (as has been suggested) the signature ΤΡΥΦΩΝ ΕΠΟΙΕΙ were not genuine, and it were not the work of Tryphon, a celebrated ancient gem-engraver referred to in the *Greek Anthology*. C. W. King is amongst those who, with H. Brunn, have doubted the antiquity of the whole cameo, as well as of the signature.

It seems as if the butterfly on Roman gems, though often symbolical of the immortality of the soul (freed from its chrysalis-like imprisonment in the body), yet may sometimes signify sexual love or the consuming passion of love, as if Psyche herself were consumed with love; and so indeed she was in the beautiful tale of Cupid and Psyche, as handed down to us in the Romance (*Asinus Aureus*) of Apuleius. Psyche may thus have been regarded as a kind of "female Cupid," that is to say, as personifying the more receptive, female element in love, whilst Cupid personified the more active, male element; Psyche would then be the passion of love ready to be ignited, and Cupid would be the flame which sets it on fire. Undoubtedly the Roman gem-device of a torch burning a butterfly is symbolical of Cupid and Psyche, in fact, the torch signifies Cupid (who burns with his torch after wounding with his arrows) igniting the passion of love in Psyche; sometimes the butterfly (Cupid's victim) is being burned not with a torch, but, as already mentioned, at a flaming (Hymenaeal?) altar. In the above-mentioned tale (included in the *Asinus Aureus* of Apuleius) Cupid's torch (as well as his bow and arrows) is referred to.

An amusing Roman conceit is that described by Georges Lafaye and others,[523] representing Cupid condemned as an

[523] The scene is figured in *Mélanges G. B. de Rossi*, Paris, 1892, p. 243; and by F. Cabrol, *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne*, Paris, 1907, vol. i. col. 443. Cabrol refers to an article entitled, "L'Amour incendiaire," by G. Lafaye, 1890.

incendiary to be given to the wild beasts. He is attached to a post in the circus, and spectators are present to watch his punishment, but out of the opened wild beasts' den, instead of savage animals, come only a couple of doves. This interesting scene bears the inscription: AMOR INCINDIARIVS.

It is remarkable what a luxuriant fancy regarding love (especially in representations of Cupid and Psyche) has been displayed by antique art, chiefly minor works of art (statuettes, pottery, and engraved gems), but, in beauty, variety, and half-serious, half-playful, charm, all such pretty conceits fall far behind the descriptions and theories put into the mouths of Phaedrus, Pausanias (an his-

FIG. 101.—Skull with butterfly above it. (After Furtwängler.)

torian), Eryximachus (a physician), Aristophanes, Agathon, Socrates, and Alcibiades, in Plato's famous dialogue, called the *Symposium*.

I am inclined to think that the latter of the two explanations given above of the Roman Psyche-symbols is generally the correct one, though in some cases both explanations are possible. Thus, on a gem figured by Furtwängler,[524] a skull is depicted with a butterfly above it (Fig. 101). This may be taken as an emblematical representation of mortality (the skull) and immortality (the butterfly), that is to say, of the survival of the soul (the butterfly) after death (the skull), or else as an Epicurean hint contrasting love (the butterfly) with death

[524] A. Furtwängler, *loc. cit.*, vol. i. Pl. xxix. No. 48.

(the skull), just as on the gems previously mentioned the wine-jar and the Cupid were contrasted with the skeleton.

Amongst excellent articles on Psyche in Greek and Roman art are: that by Otto Waser, in W. H. Roscher's *Ausführliches Lexikon der Griechischen und Römischen Mythologie*, Leipzig, 1902-1909, vol. iii. part ii. columns 3201–3256; and that by G. Nicole, in Daremberg, Saglio, and Pottier's *Dictionnaire des Antiquités*, Paris, 1905, vol. iv. part i. pp. 743–750. In regard to ancient works of art which have been supposed to represent Psyche *without wings*, see these two articles, and also Caetani Lovatelli, *Amore e Psiche*, Rome, 1889; the latter thinks that the artists may sometimes have preferred to represent Psyche, during her earthly pilgrimage, without wings. Psyche, and Psyche with Cupid, are of course also frequent subjects of Renaissance and modern art—there are the beautiful series of wall-paintings by Raphael

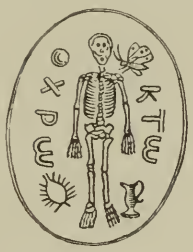

Fig. 102.—Intaglio engraved with skeleton and various emblems. (After Caetani Lovatelli.)

in the Farnese Palace (Rome), representing Psyche's story after the tale in the *Asinus Aureus* of Apuleius; Giulio Romanus likewise treated the subject; and there are the beautiful statues and engraved gems by excellent artists of more modern times. In regard to the whole subject of ancient ideas on the immortality of the soul from the literary point of view, see Erwin Rohde, *Psyche Seelencult und Unsterblichkeitsglaube der Griechen*, Tübingen, 1903, third edition.

On a sardonyx intaglio, first described and illustrated by Filippo Buonarroti,[525] is a human skeleton, stretched out at full length like a corpse, accompanied by the following symbols: a wine-jug, a wreath, a ball, and a butterfly (see

[525] Filippo Buonarroti, *Osservazioni sopra alcuni frammenti di vasi antichi di vetro ornati di figure trovati ne' cimiteri di Roma*, Florence, 1716, p. 193; quoted by several writers on the subject, and in J. A. Hild's article on "Larvae," in *Dict. des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines* (Daremberg, Saglio, and Pottier), Paris, 1904, vol. iii. p. 952.

Fig. 102, after Caetani Lovatelli, with permission). This device may be intended to represent the instability of human life (the ball), and to contrast temporary sensual enjoyment (the wine-jar and the wreath) with the immortality of the soul (the butterfly) after death (the skeleton), but is much more probably intended to convey the "Epicurean" advice that, since human life is uncertain and fleeting (the ball), and since after death (the skeleton) no pleasure is possible, it is better to lose no opportunity of enjoying wine and feasting (the wine-jar and wreath) and love (the butterfly). This latter explanation is decidedly favoured by the inscription which accompanies the device on the gem in question: ΚΤΩ ΧΡΩ ("hold and use"—in other words, "use and enjoy what you have whilst you possess it, and whilst you have the power to enjoy it"). The same inscription occurs on an amethyst intaglio, which I have already described (see back), and on a green-glazed antique cup (Fig. 94) with the figure of a skeleton, in the Berlin Antiquarium. A somewhat similar device is that in intaglio on the bezel of a silver ring figured by Edmond le Blant.[526] A skeleton is standing with the left hand on the hip, in an easy attitude, and the right arm resting on a staff, to which a small vessel is attached; on the right (the observer's right) of the skeleton is an amphora (for wine) crowned with a garland of flowers, and a butterfly above it. The inscription, POLIO, seems to have been the owner's name (see Fig. 103). The butterfly on these two gems may, however, have been really intended to symbolize the human soul, thus suggesting that those who like (whether enjoying the present life or not) may live in hope of an ethereal,

[526] Le Blant, *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire*, published by the "École Française de Rome," Rome, 1887, année vii. Pl. vii. Fig. 4.

though problematical existence after the death of the body. The meaning of the whole device on each of the two gems would thus become that of the already-quoted late epigram (by Palladas) in the *Greek Anthology*: Σκηνὴ πᾶς ὁ βίος καὶ παίγνιον: ἢ μάθε παίζειν τὴν σπουδὴν μεταθείς ἢ φέρε τὰς ὀδύνας ("All life is a stage and a game: either learn to play like a child, laying earnestness aside, or bear its griefs").

Furtwängler refers likewise to a gem representing a skeleton and a butterfly with a torch below the latter,

Fig. 103.—Bezel of an antique silver finger-ring, representing a skeleton, with wine-amphora, butterfly, &c. (After Le Blant and J. A. Hild.)

and thinks that this device is meant to signify that the soul is no more immortal than the body, that, as Lucretius in his great didactic poem, *De Rerum Naturâ*, endeavoured to teach, it perishes with the body. But I have already pointed out that the torch burning the butterfly on Roman gems signifies Cupid igniting the passion of love in Psyche; so that the whole device on the gem in question would possess an "Epicurean" meaning like other devices already referred to.

Furtwängler, *loc. cit.*, vol. iii. p. 297. This gem (a carnelian intaglio) is depicted in an absurdly magnified form by R. Venuti and Borioni (*Collect. Antiq. Roman*, Rome, 1736, Pl. lxxx.). The skeleton

is apparently seated on a wine-amphora, with the feet resting on a wheel-like object, which may have been intended by the gem-engraver to represent a loaf of bread (cf. the description of the intaglio, Fig. 91, in the present book). The complete meaning of complicated devices on gems is often by no means certain. Thus, F. de' Ficoroni (*Gemmae Antiquae Litteratae, &c.*, Rome, 1757, second part, Pl. viii. Fig. 1) has figured a sard intaglio with the following symbols on it: human skull, butterfly, lyre, wine-jug, festive garland, and (?) pincers. Another sard intaglio (*ibid.*, Pl. viii. Fig. 3) has a human skull, a pair of scales (balance), and a wheel-like object (cf. Fig. 91 in the present volume), possibly intended for a loaf of bread. Another intaglio (figured in *A. Gorlaei dactyliothecae pars secunda cum explicatione Jacobi Gronovii*, Leyden, 1695, No. 490) has a human skull, a butterfly, a wine-amphora, a wheel-like object, and an uncertain object, which Gronov apparently thought was intended for a flower.

It is, however, quite likely that amongst the Romans the idea of love (*i.e.* sexual love) was often blended with the idea of the human soul, whether the latter was regarded as mortal or immortal. It appears, then, natural that Psyche (or her butterfly) should be employed as a symbol both of sexual love and of the soul (see back), though the soul was doubtless regarded by some as mortal and by others as immortal.

The story of Cupid and Psyche was adopted by the early Christians as typifying the purification of the human soul by the trials and sufferings of life,[527] just as the myth of Orpheus charming the wild beasts was regarded as symbolical of the work of Christ. A sculptured stone sarcophagus (Fig. 104) in the British Museum, the front of which represents Cupid and Psyche, is, according to W. R. Lethaby, probably early Christian of the Constantinian age, though the account by A. H. Smith[528] does not point to any such special interpretation

[527] On the Platonic and early Christian aspects of Psyche in art, see E. Caetani Lovatelli, *Amore e Psiche*, Rome, 1889. Compare also the writings on Psyche already referred to.

[528] A. H. Smith, *Catalogue of Sculpture in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum*, 1904, vol. 3, p. 330, No. 2320.

of the design. The scene represented is thus described

Fig. 104.—Stone sarcophagus in the British Museum, with apparently early Christian representation of Cupid and Psyche.

by W. R. Lethaby:[529] "Cupid and Psyche recline at the

[529] W. R. Lethaby, *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, second series, 1911, vol. 23, p. 326.

banquet. The figures, contrary to wont, are almost fully draped, and Psyche looks intently into the face of Cupid. Cupid holds a wine-cup, and beneath his hand is a roll in a basket or 'capsa,' possibly the Gospel. In front is the table with the significant fish (the Christian emblem, ΙΧΘΥΣ); the ends of the couch also have the fish form as found on Christian ivories. The attendant (to the left of the couch), who plays a lute, sits in a high-backed wicker chair, such as are frequently seen on Christian ivories; the table which supports the fish is of the three-legged type which appears in the catacomb paintings. Beneath the reclining figures of Cupid and Psyche a boy plays with a bunch of grapes and a young goat or rabbit, whilst, above, another (winged) boy releases a bird—a well-known symbol of the flight of the spirit in death. At the head of the couch is Orpheus, or a Cupid in the attitude of Orpheus—I think the former; he holds his lyre in the traditional way on his upraised left knee, his left foot resting on a peacock, the well-known symbol of immortality (the peacock is frequently seen with Orpheus). Further to the left and right are two pairs of figures, possibly the Seasons, who frequently appear in the catacombs. At each end is a fruit tree."

An interesting fragment of figured gilded glass, of the early Christian period (3rd to 5th century A.D.), is illustrated by Filippo Buonorroti,[530] and may have formed the bottom of a marriage-present bowl. It represents Cupid and Psyche (with a little drapery in front of her) embracing; in a circle around them is a characteristic Latin inscription of the period: ANIMA DVLCIS

[530] Filippo Buonorroti, *Osservazioni sopra alcuni frammenti di vasi antichi di vetro ornati di figure trovati ne' cimiteri di Roma*, Florence, 1716, p. 193, Pl. xxviii. Fig. 3.

FRVAMVR NOS SINE BILE ZESES. The last word, taken from the Greek, is found on many vessels of the kind, and the meaning of the inscription is: "Sweet soul, let us enjoy ourselves; you shall live without bile [anger or discontent]."

In regard to the doctrines of metempsychosis and the question of a spiritual existence independent of bodily life, I shall for convenience here refer to a Graeco-Scythian gold finger-ring (about the first century B.C.) found in the tomb of a woman at Kertch (the ancient Panticapaeum), and presented by Dr. C. W. Siemens to the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford. According to the description exhibited in the Museum, the facing head engraved in intaglio on the bezel represents the Oriental moon-god (Deus Lunus of later Rome), and the figure of

FIG. 105.—From a Graeco-Scythian gold finger-ring.

the bee above the head is the symbol of the moon as the abode of spirits (Fig. 105). In the old Persian religion (according to the same account) the moon represents the cosmic bull from whose carcase bees, typical of the vital principle in souls, swarmed to earth. Thus, in Mithraism the moon itself came to be known as the Bee (cf. Porphyrius, *De Antro Nympharum*). For permission to illustrate the ring in question I am indebted to Mr. D. G. Hogarth, Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, who kindly sent me an impression.

In regard to the old idea of bees being generated from putrefying carcases, compare Virgil's description (*Georg.*, iv. lines 281 *et seq.*) of a method, said to have been practised in Egypt, of raising a stock of bees

from the putrefying carcase of a steer. Conington, in a note on Virgil's description, says that this notion of the generation of bees from putrid oxen was common among the ancients. Varro (*Res Rusticae*, ii. 5), in speaking of oxen, refers to the same belief: "Denique ex hoc putrefacto nasci dulcissimas apes, mellis matres, ex quo illas Graeci Βουγενεῖς appellant." Ovid, in the *Fasti*, narrates that Aristaeus, unhappy at the loss of his bees, learnt from Proteus that the carcase of a young ox, buried in the ground, would furnish him with a new supply of bees. See Ovid, *Fasti*, book i., lines 377–380:—

"Obrue mactati corpus tellure juvenci:
Quod petis a nobis, obrutus ille dabit.
Jussa facit pastor. Fervent examina putri
De bove: mille animas una necata dedit."

Compare also the story of Samson and the swarm of bees in the lion's carcase (Judges xiv. 8). In reference to Virgil's mistaken belief, Mr. S. G. Shattock has drawn attention to the striking resemblance to bees and wasps (mimicry) observed in certain species of the family Syrphidae, the maggots of which are found in decaying matter. J. H. and A. B. Comstock (*A Manual for the Study of Insects*, p. 471)

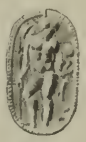

Fig. 106.—Hermes Psychopompos.
(After Furtwängler.)

say that a common representative of this family, *Eristalis tenax* (the "Drone-fly"), is often mistaken for a male honey-bee. The device of Samson and the lion, with the motto, *Ex forte dulcedo*, occurs on a Thaler (1676) commemorating the hundred-year jubilee of the Helmstedt University (Madai, *Vollst. Thaler-Cabinet*, No. 2374).

There are several antique gem-types to which we must still allude. In the first place, Hermes has sometimes been represented on early intagli in the exercise of his functions as Ψυχοπομπός (νεκραγωγός, ψυχαγωγός, &c.), the conductor of the shade (εἴδωλον) or soul (ψυχή) of the deceased from the upper to the lower world. Particularly interesting is an Etruscan sardonyx scarabaeus,[531] on which (Fig. 106) Hermes is seen standing

[531] Furtwängler, *Die antiken Gemmen*, vol. i. Pl. xviii. No. 12.

with petasos slung at the back of his neck, holding a diminutive human figure (evidently intended to signify a human soul or shade) on his left arm, whilst in his right hand is the kerykeion (caduceus); the Acheruntian water of the nether world is indicated at his feet on the right. A quite similar device occurs on a carnelian Etruscan scarabaeus of the older style,[532] but the water is not indicated as it is on the last-mentioned one. On an Etruscan scarabaeus [533] of the fifth century B.C., Hermes, holding his kerykeion, is represented with a butterfly on his right shoulder (Fig. 107); and Furtwängler points out how interesting it is to find that at that early period

FIG. 107.—Hermes with butterfly on right shoulder. (After Furtwängler.)

already the butterfly was employed as a symbol of the human soul, the "anima" or Psyche.[534]

In regard to the representation of the human soul on Greek painted terra-cotta vases of the "black-figure" and "red-figure" periods, there is a good deal of material at hand. Small winged figures represent souls which have escaped from the bodies of deceased persons, or indicate the souls of Achilles and Hector (*Iliad*, xxii. 209), or the souls of Achilles and Memnon being weighed in the balance—the "Psychostasia" (cf. *Iliad*, viii. 69).[535]

[532] Furtwängler, *loc. cit.*, vol. i. Pl. xvi. No. 54.

[533] Furtwängler, *loc. cit.*, vol. i. Pl. xviii. No. 22.

[534] For other early instances of the butterfly being used as a symbol of the soul, see Furtwängler, *loc. cit.*, vol. iii. pp. 202, 203.

[535] Cf. H. B. Walters, *History of Ancient Pottery*, London, 1905, vol. ii. p. 72.

The weighing is represented as being carried out by Hermes as "Psychostates" (generally the archaic bearded type of Hermes, and generally holding his kerykeion), in one instance at least in the presence of Zeus (who holds a thunderbolt).

The Ψυχοστασία, or "Weighing of the Souls," was the name of a lost tragedy by Aeschylus, in which Thetis and Eos weighed the souls of Achilles and Memnon against one another (following the passage in the *Iliad*, xxii. 209 *et seq.*, above referred to). It was parodied by Aristophanes in part of his *Frogs*. On this whole subject of the "Psychostasia" compare S. Reinach (*Peintures de Vases Antiques recueillies par Millin et Millingen*, Paris, 1891, pp. 15, 16, and Plates, Millin, i. 19), who gives references not only to the *Iliad*, but also to Quintus Smyrnaeus, Aeschylus, and the commentary of Servius on Virgil's *Aeneid*. O. Crusius, in his article on "Keres" in Roscher's *Lexikon* (W. H. Roscher's *Ausführliches Lexikon der Griechischen und Römischen Mythologie*, Leipzig, 1890–1894, vol. ii. part i. cols. 1135–1166), figures three "Psychostasia" scenes from Greek painted vases. His first figure (from the first edition of A. S. Murray's *History of Greek Sculpture*, 1883, vol. ii. p. 28) represents an archaic bearded Hermes standing, and as Psychostates, weighing the two κῆρες or εἴδωλα in the form of minute winged figures. His second figure (Reinach-Millin, *loc. cit.*) represents a beardless Hermes seated, weighing two minute winged figures in the scales of the balance. His third figure (taken from J. A. Overbeck, *Heroische Bildwerke*, Stuttgart, 1857, Atlas, Pl. xxii. Fig. 9) is that of the Luynes vase, on which the two κῆρες or εἴδωλα are personified as two minute fully-armed wingless figures (of the warriors in question) standing up in the scales. The weighing is being carried out by a bearded Hermes, standing, holding kerykeion, in the presence of Zeus, standing, holding thunderbolt and long staff. Another interesting "Psychostasia" scene, on a kylix in the Louvre Museum at Paris, forms the subject of one of the illustrations of Otto Waser's article on "Psyche," likewise in Roscher's *Lexikon*, *op. cit.*, vol. iii. part ii. col. 3225, Fig. 14, where a

bearded Hermes, as Psychostates, is weighing two minute wingless figures standing upright in the scales; on either side are Thetis and Eos. (This scene is likewise figured in *Monumenti Inediti dall' Instituto di Corrisp. Archeol.*, Rome, 1857, vol. vi. Pl. 5A.) A "Psychostasia" scene, where Hermes is as usual Psychostates, also constitutes the device on an Etruscan mirror, now in the Royal Library of Madrid (see S. Reinach, *op. cit.*, Plates, Millin, i. 72, Fig. 1, and Crusius, *loc. cit.*, Fig. 4). Hermes, beardless, is there represented seated and weighing, in the presence of Apollo, the εἴδωλα or κῆρες of Achilles and Memnon, symbolized by small clothed human figures (without wings), standing upright in the scales of the balance; the names (Etruscan versions) are inscribed on the metal beside the various figures pictured. In such representations there seems to be some confusion between the εἴδωλον (ghost or shade), and the κήρ ("doom") assigned to a man who was to die a violent death. In the "psychostasia" passages in Homer's *Iliad* it is the κῆρες (of Achilles and Hector) that are weighed in the balance. According to one passage (*Iliad*, ix. 411), Achilles had two κῆρες, between which he was permitted to choose.

The ghost or shade (εἴδωλον) of a hero is sometimes represented on black-figure vases floating in the air, fully armed, with large wings. On a black-figure vase illustrated by E. Gerhard,[536] a ghost of this kind floating above a prow, is apparently intended for that of Achilles hovering over the Greek ships before Troy. On a similar vase[537] the ghost, apparently of Patroclus, is represented in the same way, hovering over his tomb. On another black-figure vase[538] the inscribed names leave no doubt as to what the artist meant to represent. The body of

[536] E. Gerhard, *Auserlesene Griechische Vasenbilder*, Berlin, 1847, part iii. Pl. cxcviii. Fig. 1.

[537] E. Gerhard, *Auserlesene Griechische Vasenbilder*, Berlin, 1847, part iii. Pl. cxcviii. Fig. 2.

[538] *Ibid.*, Pl. cxcix. Fig. 1.

Hector is seen fastened by the feet to the chariot of Achilles, and the ghost of Patroclus floats over a tomb hard by, as a diminutive fully-armed figure (this time without wings).

In Homer's *Iliad*, after Achilles has killed Hector and dragged his body to his ships, the ghost of Patroclus appears to him in his sleep and says (translation by the fourteenth Earl of Derby):—

> "Sleep'st thou, Achilles, mindless of thy friend,
> Neglecting not the living, but the dead?
> Hasten my fun'ral rites, that I may pass
> Through Hades' gloomy gates; ere those be done,
> The spirits and spectres of departed men
> Drive me far from them, nor allow to cross
> Th' abhorred river; but forlorn and sad
> I wander through the widespread realms of night."

On an amphora in the National Museum at Naples, with a similar scene of the body of Hector fastened by the feet to the chariot of Achilles, the ghost of Patroclus, in the form of a diminutive armed and winged figure, floats close by.[539] So also on certain Greek vase-paintings (described further on) belonging to the picture-type of Sleep (Hypnos) and Death (Thanatos) lifting the corpse of a fallen hero, the εἴδωλον of the warrior is represented as a minute winged and fully-armed figure floating just above his dead body.

The relief on the front of the large archaic (sixth century B.C.) Etruscan terra-cotta sarcophagus from Caere (the modern Cervetri), now in the British Museum,[540] represents two warriors, who cannot be identified, fighting in single combat. Each of the two combatants is attended

[539] Figured by Raoul-Rochette, *Monuments inédits*, Paris, 1833, part i. Pl. xvii.; also in Otto Waser's article on "Psyche" in W. H. Roscher's *Lexikon* (*op. cit.*), vol. iii. part ii. col. 3223, Fig. 13.

[540] A. S. Murray, *Terracotta Sarcophagi, Greek and Etruscan, in the British Museum*, London, 1898, Pl. ix.

by one male and two female attendants, and at each end of the scene is a small youthful winged human figure. The warrior on the (spectator's) right hand, who is likewise being attacked by a lion, is wounded, and is falling; and the above-mentioned winged figure behind him is represented as flying away. Apparently, therefore, the winged figures in question (whether they be called Keres or not) represent the souls, or the εἴδωλα, of the fighting warriors.

In early (and up to late mediaeval) Christian sepulchral art, as is well known, the soul was often represented leaving the dying person (generally coming out of the mouth) in the form of a diminutive draped or nude human figure. On Greek painted vases, little winged figures are sometimes represented in the air near dead or dying persons (especially in "prothesis" or laying-out scenes), or near tombs (especially in scenes depicting persons making funeral offerings at a tomb), and there is a good deal of difficulty in interpreting their exact significance.

On a white, so-called Attic, sepulchral lecythus (figures on white ground) from Eretria, now in the British Museum,[541] a diminutive draped and winged figure is flitting in the air near a tomb (sepulchral *stele*), with one hand raised to its head and with the other pointing to the tomb. On a similar white lecythus figured by E. Pottier,[542] a little winged human figure is again pictured floating near a tomb. Similar little winged figures hovering about tombs (sepulchral *stelae*) are pictured on two Attic lecythi in the

[541] A. S. Murray and A. H. Smith, *White Athenian Vases in the British Museum*, London, 1896, Pl. v.

[542] E. Pottier, *Études sur les Lécythes blancs Attiques à Représentations Funéraires*, Paris, 1883, Pl. iv.

Ashmolean Museum at Oxford.[543] These might all be supposed to represent the εἴδωλα of the deceased persons whose tombs are pictured, but on another vase [544] several little winged figures of the same kind are seen on a tomb; and on yet another vase [545] three little winged figures of the same type are hovering over the stretched-out body of the deceased in a "prothesis" (laying-out) scene. Otto Waser [546] refers to various "Charon scenes," in which one or more minute winged figures, similar to the above-mentioned ones, are pictured as hovering in the air near the dead persons, who are being received by Charon (standing in his boat as ferryman of the rivers of the nether world). Waser figures two such scenes: [547] the first, from a lecythus in the Louvre Museum at Paris,[548] represents a dead man and a dead woman being received by Charon, with three of the little winged figures hovering about them; on the second one, from a lecythus in the Polytechneion at Athens,[549] only one little winged figure is seen. Waser refers likewise to an Attic lecythus in the Ashmolean Museum,[550] on which apparently the dead person himself, who is being received by Charon, is represented in the form of a similar minute winged figure.

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[543] Described and figured by Percy Gardner, in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1905, vol. xxv. pp. 73–76, Figs. 544 and 546A.

[544] *Monumenti Inediti pub. dall' Instit. di Corrisp. Archeol.*, Rome, 1864–1868, vol. viii. Pl. 5, Fig. 1*h*.

[545] Otto Benndorf, *Griechische und Sicilische Vasenbilder*, Berlin, 1868, Pl. xxxiii.; and Fig. 6 in O. Crusius's article on "Keres" in Roscher's *Ausführliches Lexikon*.

[546] Otto Waser, in his article on "Psyche," in Roscher's *Lexikon*, *op. cit.*, vol. iii. part ii. cols. 3201–3256.

[547] Otto Waser, *loc cit.*, Figs. 15, 16.

[548] Stackelberg, *Die Graeber der Hellenen*, Berlin, 1837, Pl. xlviii.

[549] *Antike Denkmaeler*, Berlin, 1891, vol. i. Pl. 23, Fig. 1.

[550] Described and figured by Percy Gardner, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, London, 1905, vol. xxv. p. 75, Fig. 547.

Charon is in his boat, amidst reeds, holding a boat-pole in his right hand, and extending his left hand towards the little winged figure that flies, with both arms outstretched, to him.

A white sepulchral leeythus, figured by Miss J. E. Harrison, in her article on "Pandora's Box,"[551] represents a bearded Hermes standing, holding a kerykeion in one hand and a wand in the other, apparently letting out a whole swarm of similar little winged figures from the mouth of a huge jar or "pithos," which is buried almost up to its neck in the ground. Miss Harrison holds that on this vase Hermes Psychopompos is letting loose the κῆρες "which give grievous diseases to men," and that Pandora's "box" (really a pithos in old Greek descriptions) contained similar imprisoned κῆρες, which Pandora set free to men's undoing.

The question is whether all such little winged figures, which are pictured on Greek vases as hovering near the dead or dying, or about tombs, do not represent κῆρες rather than εἴδωλα (*animae*, spirits, souls, or ghosts). In the *Jahrbuch des Kais. Deut. Archäol. Instituts*,[552] a scene on a (red-figure) Greek vase is pictured, showing Heracles driving back a little nude winged human-like figure with his club. This little figure apparently represents a "Ker," and, as Miss Harrison says, shows what manner of pests some such little winged Keres were supposed to be.

Mrs. Arthur Strong[553] draws special attention to the decoration of the elaborately painted terra-cotta sarcophagus

[551] Miss J. E. Harrison, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, London, 1900, vol. xx. p. 101, Fig. 1, after Paul Schadow's dissertation, "Eine Attische Grablekythos," Jena, 1897.

[552] Berlin, 1895, vol. x., *Archäol. Anzeiger, Beiblatt*, p. 37, Fig. 11.

[553] Mrs. Arthur Strong, *Apotheosis and After Life*, London, 1915, p. 145 and Pl. xix.

of the sixth century B.C., in the British Museum, from Clazomenae in Lydia.[554] She points out that it seems like a pictorial commentary on the noble pastimes and exercises of Pindar's description of the ultramundane life of the Blessed. She regards the little winged figures (some of them hold branches) hovering above the chariots on the cover[555] of the sarcophagus as Keres; but might they not be largely of decorative character? They seem to be male analogues of the flying figures of Nike, as represented above the chariots on the reverse of the tetradrachms and dekadrachms of Syracuse of the fifth century B.C. Like some of the archaic figures of the "running Gorgon" type, it is worth mentioning that they have small wings on their heels as well as the ordinary large shoulder-wings.

Intimately allied to the subject of Keres is that of the significance of the small human-headed or human faced birds—winged sirens—frequently represented on ancient Greek vase-paintings, in connexion with the dead or dying.

On an interesting red-figure vase in the British Museum,[556] the scene is the death of Procris; she is wounded, Cephalus stands sorrowful by her side, and a human-faced bird is flitting in the neighbourhood, looking towards her. On a fragment of another red-figure vase, now at Palermo,[557] above the face of a fallen warrior is a

[554] Described and illustrated by A. S. Murray, *Terracotta Sarcophagi, Greek and Etruscan, in the British Museum*, London, 1898, pp. 1–13, Plates i–viii.

[555] A. S. Murray, *op. cit.*, Pl. i.

[556] James Millingen, *Ancient Unedited Monuments: Painted Greek Vases*, London, 1822, Pl. xiv.

[557] P. Hartwig, *Journ. of Hellen. Studies*, London, 1891, vol. xii. p. 340.

little winged human-like figure with hand outstretched to the mouth of the prostrate hero, as if to grasp his soul escaping from the body. In this case the little winged figure of the *κήρ* seems to be a kind of "Angel of Death," but the human-headed bird on the Procris vase has been supposed to symbolize the departing *εἴδωλον*, psyche, or soul. In this connexion one should also allude to some famous painted slabs in the Louvre Museum at Paris. They formed part of the wall-decoration of an Etruscan tomb at Cervetri, and are figured in the *Monumenti Inediti dall' Instit. di Corr. Archeolog.*[558] The subject is an Etruscan funeral procession, and the body of the deceased is being carried to the funeral pyre. On one of the slabs two old bearded men are seated facing each other, and above one of them, in the upper right corner of the slab, a small human-headed bird is represented.[559]

Human-headed bird-like (harpy-like, or siren-like) figures sometimes occur on Greek vases in association with tombs.[560] In regard to the archaic Greek tombs and sepulchral monuments of Lycia, &c., the problem of the sepulchral significance of their lions, lion-griffons, sphinxes, and siren-like or harpy-like figures is very interesting. On the gable-end of one of the Lycian tombs in the British Museum there is a sculptured relief of a winged siren on a column. On the so-called "Harpy tomb" (sixth century B.C.) from Xanthos (Lycia), in the British Museum, the reliefs, which were formerly supposed to represent the Harpies in the act of carrying off the daughters of

[558] Rome, vol. vi. Pl. xxx.

[559] See description in the *Annali dall' Instit. Archeol.*, Rome, 1859, vol. xxxi. p. 333.

[560] See O. Waser's article on "Psyche" in Roscher's *Lexikon*, *op. cit.*

Pandareus, really represent winged Sirens, in the character of "Angels of Death," flying away with the souls (pictured in the form of minute human figures) of the dead.

In regard to "functional" relations between the Keres and the Sirens, the black-figured terra-cotta Cyrenaeic wine-cup (kylix)[561] of the sixth century B.C., in the Louvre Museum at Paris, is especially to be noted. Around the interior or upper surface is a scene representing a symposium of five diners, each one reclining on a separate couch. One only of these five appears to be mortal, and he is being attended by a nude boy, who in one hand holds a wine-jug (oenochoë) and in the other a festive garland. Two of the other feasters are being waited on by Sirens holding in one hand a festive garland and in the other a flower or lotus-branch, whilst the remaining two of the festive party are being similarly attended by flying Ker-like figures. The scene seems to be a kind of "Banquet of the Blessed," or perhaps rather it depicts a kind of religious rite, a ceremonial ("communion") feast, given by and partaken of by a mortal in honour of, and in the imaginary company of, his dead friends, relatives, or ancestors. Perhaps the kylix in question was specially

[561] Described and figured by E. Pottier, *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique, École Française d'Athènes*, Paris, 1893, Année xvii. p. 237. See also Mrs. Arthur Strong, *Apotheosis and After Life*, London, 1915, p. 146. A difficulty in the interpretation of such scenes on painted vases is that flying figures, like those I speak of in the description, may be largely of decorative character, and may have no very deep meaning, whether they most resemble a Ker-type, an Eros-type, a Nike-type, or a Siren-type, &c. On the whole subject of the representation of genii and various winged figures in ancient classical art, see Franz Studniczka, *Die Siegesgöttin*, Leipzig, 1898; the article on Psyche, by Otto Waser, and the article on Eros, by A. Furtwängler, in W. H. Roscher's *Ausführliches Lexikon der Griech. u. Röm. Mythologie*, Leipzig, 1884, &c.

made and painted for such a ritual observance. To the subject of Ker and Keres I shall return further on.

On soul-birds, Keres, &c., see Georg Weicker, *Der Seelenvogel in der alten Litteratur und Kunst*, Leipzig, 1902; and O. Crusius's article (see back) on Keres in Roscher's *Lexikon*.

In this connexion one may also remember that in the Egyptian papyrus (see the facsimile—second edition, 1894—of the Papyrus of Ani in the British Museum), inscribed with the hieroglyphic text of the "Book of the Dead" for the scribe Ani (about 1500 B.C.), the soul of Ani is repeatedly symbolized as a human-headed hawk. In that form, for instance, his soul is pictured as revisiting his mummified body in the tomb, to illustrate the chapter on the "reuniting of the soul to the dead body." Another chapter in the "Book of the Dead," according to the Papyrus of Ani, is on "letting a (dead) man come back to see his home on earth."

C. W. King, in his essay on "Death, as depicted in Ancient Art," [562] writes: "The idea of death is ingeniously and curiously expressed in a fresco decorating the lately discovered vault of Vincentius and Vibia in the Catacombs of Praetextatus, Rome. In the scene labelled 'abreptio Vibie et Discensio,' the messenger of Fate, 'Mercurius,' appears placing one foot, and leading the way, into a huge urn laid sideways on the ground. The allusion to Orcus in the name of such a vessel, *orca*, is sufficiently obvious." [563]

According to King, in the Roman gem-device of a winged foot crushing a butterfly, the butterfly is an

[562] C. W. King, *The Gnostics and their Remains*, second edition, London, 1887, p. 182.

[563] For an account of the inscriptions in this vault, see the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (Berlin), vol. vi. No. 142.

emblem of life, and the winged foot the symbol of departure with the winged messenger, Mercury (Hermes Psychopompos). The winged foot is not always represented as crushing the butterfly. Thus, on an antique gem figured in P. J. Mariette's *Traité des pierres gravées*,[564] the device is a winged foot with the caduceus of Mercury below it and a butterfly in front of it. King compares the winged foot as an emblem of death to the horse on sarcophagi and mortuary reliefs, that is to say, the horse significant of departure, looking through the window or door upon a party feasting and enjoying themselves. In his edition of Horace's works illustrated from antique gems, he has chosen "a winged foot and butterfly" gem from his own collection to illustrate No. 4 of the first book of *Odes*, as it fits the famous passage—

> "Pallida mors aequo pulsat pede pauperum tabernas
> Regumque turres."

Cf. *Horatii Opera*, edited by C. W. King and H. A. J. Munro, London, 1869, p. 9. See also C. W. King, *The Gnostics and their Remains*, second edition, London, 1887, p. 185, where he adds: "On this account the *foot* became the peculiar attribute of the infernal deities; and the figure of one carved in stone was often dedicated in the temple of Serapis—apparently as an *ex voto* commemorating the donor's escape from the very threshold of his dark domain." He likewise notes: "A colossal example of the finest workmanship was exhumed at Alexandria a few years ago. It may have been contemporary with the coin of Commodus from that mint, which has for reverse a head of Serapis placed upon a foot for pedestal, with the date of his seventh year." This idea has no connexion with the phrase, "one foot in the grave."

It is noteworthy that the Etruscan "Charun," armed with his long hammer or mall, seems never to occur on Etruscan gems, nor (it is supposed) on Etruscan mirrors. From the representations on the mural paintings of Etruscan tombs, on Etruscan sarcophagi, on painted

[564] P. J. Mariette, *Traité des pierres gravées*, Paris, 1750, vol. ii. p. 62.

vases, &c., we know that he was imagined as the inflexible and brutal-looking messenger of Death, who conducted the soul or shade (εἴδωλον of the Greeks, probably the "hinthial" of the Etruscans) of the deceased to the lower world. He corresponds more to the Hermes Psychopompos than to the Charon of the Greeks, and was evidently supposed to be in attendance in order to separate the soul from the body (this is probably why he holds the long formidable-looking hammer or hammer-like instrument) at the moment of death, like Azrael, the Jewish and Mohammedan "Angel of Death." In an Etruscan sculpture,[565] referred to by C. W. King, Charun, "armed as usual with his ponderous mall," leads a horse (emblem of departure and death), "upon which sits the deceased with head muffled up, *capite obnupto*—the established form in sentencing a criminal to execution." The winged bearded deity appearing to fatigued Heracles, on an early antique intaglio, which was supposed by C. W. King to be a Charun-like representation of Death, is regarded by Furtwängler as Hypnos, the personification of Sleep.

See Furtwängler, *loc. cit.*, vol. i. Pl. xxx. No. 53. It is hardly surprising that in the interpretation of symbolic representations in ancient art there should be occasional confusion between Death and Sleep, "twin-brothers" as Homer calls them, when they carry off the body of Sarpedon, slain by Patroclus, to Lycia—*Iliad*, book xvi. 671–683: Πέμπε δέ μιν πομποῖσιν ἅμα κραιπνοῖσι φέρεσθαι, Ὕπνῳ καὶ Θανάτῳ διδυμάοσιν. Sleeping is, in a sense, "living without life," and dying during sleep might be poetically alluded to in the words of the poet-laureate, Thomas Warton the younger, as dying without death—"sic sine morte mori." See Part II. Heading iv., on Death compared to a Peaceful Sleep; and see also further back in this part (Part IV.) concerning representations of Death and Sleep.

[565] Figured in the *Revue Archéologique*, Paris, 1844, vol. i. Pl. 17, Fig. 1.

In Etruscan death-scenes the Etruscan Charun is occasionally represented (see Fig. 108) accompanied by various Gorgon-like or Fury-like demons, sometimes holding snakes in their hands, including "Vanth," probably the Greek Thanatos (Θάνατος).[566] It is the sharp contrast between the fancied demons connected with death and the sweet domestic delights of earthly life that makes Etruscan "parting scenes" so horrible. A

FIG. 108.—An Etruscan "parting scene," with the Etruscan "Charun" holding hammer, and a winged demon holding snakes. The Etruscan inscription shows that the scene was intended to represent the parting of Admetus and Alcestis. From an Etruscan painted vase (crater) obtained from Vulci, described by A. de Ridder, *Catalogue des Vases Peints de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, 1902, part ii. pp. 546, 547. (After Dennis.)

somewhat similar winged Gorgon or Fury (but with four wings), holding a serpent in each hand, is represented on an antique gem figured by C. W. King.[567] Here we may refer to a carnelian scarab (in Berlin), figured by Furtwängler,[568] representing a winged figure bending

[566] See G. Dennis, *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, London, third edition, 1883.

[567] C. W. King, *Handbook of Engraved Gems*, second edition, 1885 Pl. xlv. No. 6.

[568] Furtwängler, *loc. cit.*, vol. i. Pl. xix. No. 68.

forwards, holding an urn in both hands and apparently about to lay it down (Fig. 109). Furtwängler suggests that this winged figure may represent the demon "Thanatos." Representations possibly intended to suggest the idea of a death-genius carrying off one or two souls sometimes occur on archaic Greek or Etruscan gold ornaments, &c.[569]

With regard to representations of "Thanatos," compare Carl Robert, *Thanatos*, Berlin, 1879, with illustrations; Julius Lessing, *De Mortis apud Veteres Figurâ*, Berlin, 1866; also Comtessa E. Caetani Lovatelli's monograph on *Thanatos* (Rome, 1888); and C. W. King's essay on "Death, as depicted in Ancient Art" (in his book, *The Gnostics and their Remains*, second edition, London, 1887, pp. 179–194). See also H. B. Walters, *History of Ancient Pottery*, London, 1905, vol. ii., section on the Nether World, pp. 66–72. The latest work is that of Kurt Heinemann, *Thanatos in Poesie und Kunst der Griechen*, München, 1913.

Fig. 109.—Winged figure holding urn. (After Furtwängler.)

From the fine period of Greek art certain painted terra-cotta vases are preserved on which the body of a man (or woman) is being lifted by two winged male figures, one, usually beardless, representing Hypnos (Sleep), the other, usually bearded, apparently representing Thanatos (Death), the prototype of the idea being the legend of Sarpedon, whose body, according to the Homeric account (*Iliad*, xvi. 671 to 683), was carried off by Death and Sleep to Lycia. One of the two white Attic (of the fifth century B.C.) sepulchral lecythi with this subject in the British Museum collection (specimen D. 59) is still labelled, however, as

[569] See F. H. Marshall, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, London, 1911, vol. xxxi. p. 264.

representing "Boreas and Zephyros carrying Memnon to his tomb." (See also further on.)

This lecythus is pictured in *White Athenian Vases in the British Museum*, by A. S. Murray and A. H. Smith, London, 1896, Pl. ix.; the other one is presented on Pl. xi. It is Quintus Smyrnacus, in his epic poem after Homer (book ii. lines 549 *et seq.*), who speaks of Memnon's body being carried off by the winds.

A large white Attic lecythus with the Hypnos and Thanatos subject for its design, is figured by E. Pottier, *Études sur les Lécythes blancs Attiques à Représentations funéraires*, Paris, 1883, Pl. ii.; but perhaps it is a forgery (see Kurt Heinemann, *op. cit.*, p. 70).

On the exterior of the fine red-figure kylix bearing the signature of Pamphaios, now in the British Museum,[570] two winged, beardless, armed and helmeted youths (Hypnos and Thanatos ?) are pictured lifting the body of a bearded man under the guidance of a draped female messenger (Iris) holding a herald's staff (kerykeion or caduceus) like Hermes. At the feet of the corpse stands another draped female figure. (In regard to this kylix and for the same type of subject, as depicted on vases of both the archaic and fine periods, see also further on.)

On part of the archaic so-called "Coffer of Cypselus" (a chest of cedar-wood with figures on it in cedar-wood, ivory, and gold), which was preserved at Olympia when Pausanias travelled there in the second century A.D., Death and Sleep were represented. The description of Pausanias runs as follows: "A woman is represented carrying a white boy asleep on her right arm; on her other arm she has a black boy who is like one that sleeps: the feet of both boys are turned different ways [that is to say, I suppose, 'are folded' or crossed]. The inscriptions show, what it is easy to see without them, that the boys are Death and Sleep, and that Night is

[570] Figured in the *Guide to the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, fourth edition, 1912, p. 233, Fig. 113.

nurse to both." [571] In favour of the view that the idea of the design on the "Coffer of Cypselus" was largely derived from the Hesiodic *Theogony*, H. S. Jones, in his elaborate article on the subject,[572] quotes the following passage from the poem (Hesiod, *Theog.*, 211):—

> Νὺξ δ' ἔτεκε στυγερόν τε Μόρον καὶ Κήρα μέλαιναν
> καὶ Θάνατον, τέκε δ' Ὕπνον, ἔτικτε δὲ φῦλον Ὀνείρων.

("Night indeed brought forth hateful Fate and black Doom and Death, and brought forth Sleep and gave birth to the race of Dreams.") He also quotes another passage (*Theog.*, 756, which, according to August Fick, has been embedded in the poem at a somewhat later date):—

> ἡ δ' Ὕπνον μετὰ χερσὶ, κασίγνητον Θανάτοιο
> Νὺξ ὀλοὴ, νεφέλῃ κεκαλυμμένη ἠεροειδεῖ.

("The other one, destructive Night, veiled in murky mist, [holding] in her hands Sleep, the brother of Death.")

It was, I suppose, after the Hesiodic account that Samuel Daniel (*Delia*, 1592) spoke of:—

> "Care-charmer Sleep, son of the sable Night,
> Brother to Death, in silent darkness born."

Nothing is known about the figures of Hypnos and Thanatos which the same Pausanias, in the second century A.D., saw on the Acropolis of Sparta. He wrote, "There are also images of Sleep and Death, whom, in harmony with the lines in the *Iliad*, they believe to be brothers." [573] Sleep and Death are of course alluded to

[571] Pausanias's *Description of Greece*, book v. chap. xviii. 1 (J. G. Frazer's translation, London, 1898, vol. i. p. 263).

[572] H. S. Jones, "The Chest of Kypselos," *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, London, 1894, vol. xiv. pp. 30–80, see especially p. 52.

[573] Pausanias's *Description of Greece*, book iii. chap. xviii. 1 (J. G. Frazer's translation, London, 1898, vol. i.).

as twin brothers in the famous passage of the *Iliad*, already quoted (book xvi. lines 671–683):—

> πέμπε δέ μιν πομποῖσιν ἅμα κραιπνοῖσι φέρεσθαι,
> Ὕπνῳ καὶ Θανάτῳ διδυμάοσιν, &c.—

and as brothers in an earlier passage (*Iliad*, book xiv. lines 231 *et seq.*):—

> ἔνθ' Ὕπνῳ ξύμβλητο, κασιγνήτῳ Θανάτοιο,
> ἔν τ' ἄρα οἱ φῦ χειρὶ, ἔπος τ' ἔφατ' ἔκ τ' ὀνόμαζεν, &c.

In his above-mentioned work, entitled, *Thanatos in Poesie und Kunst der Griechen*,[574] Kurt Heinemann has described or referred to all the known Greek vase-paintings of the picture-type of Hypnos and Thanatos lifting or carrying a dead body. They include the following representations:—

On the "Piot amphora," a black-figure vase from Capua, in the Louvre Museum at Paris,[575] two winged fully-armed beardless figures (Hypnos and Thanatos?) are lifting a beardless dead body (Sarpedon?) between them. The ghost (εἴδωλον) of the fallen hero is depicted as a minute fully-armed beardless winged warrior hovering just over his dead body. By the figures are imitation inscriptions, but there are no real inscriptions on this vase.

The "Bourguignon amphora," a black-figure vase formerly in a collection at Naples,[576] has on one side an almost exactly similar scene, but the corpse is bearded, and the two armed figures (one of whom, at the feet of the dead body, is bearded) are without wings. The εἴδωλον of the fallen warrior is represented, as on the "Piot amphora," just above the corpse. The

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[574] Kurt Heinemann, *Thanatos in Poesie und Kunst der Griechen*, München, 1913.

[575] Figured by E. Pottier, *Vases Antiques du Louvre*, Paris, 1906, Pl. 87, F. 388; Heinemann, *op. cit.*, Pl. 1.

[576] S. Reinach, *Répertoire des Vases Peints Grecs et Étrusques* Paris, 1899, vol. i. p. 347, No. 1; Heinemann, *op. cit.*, Pl. 5.

dead hero on the Bourguignon vase is probably meant to be Memnon, because on the other side of the vase a winged female figure (evidently Memnon's mother, Eos) is represented carrying a bearded corpse.

A red-figure lecythus from Eretria, now in Berlin.[577] Two fully-armed, winged, bearded nude figures are lifting a young male beardless corpse apparently to lay it down at a tomb (indicated by the dead man's shield, helmet, and weapons).

The "Pamphaios" red-figure kylix, from Vulci, now in the British Museum, which I have above referred to.[578] The bearded corpse was probably meant to be that of Memnon. The female figure with kerykeion (caduceus), on the spectator's left, is, as already stated, Iris, and that on the right is probably Eos, the mother of Memnon.

A black-figure Attic lecythus in the Furtwängler collection at Frankfurt-am-Main.[579] Two winged male figures, wearing short chitons, are lifting up a bearded corpse. This is probably that of Memnon, and the draped female at the side of the corpse is probably his mother, Eos.

The red-figure krater from Caere, in the Louvre Museum at Paris,[580] represents a youthful beardless male corpse being lifted by two nude winged male figures. The one at the head of the corpse is beardless, and was meant to be Hypnos, as the accompanying inscription shows. Owing to a restoration of the vase, it is uncertain whether the other one (Thanatos), at the feet of the corpse, was originally depicted with or without a beard, and was or was not accompanied by an inscription.

The black-figure kylix of the commencement of the fifth century B.C., found at Velanidesa (Attica), and now at Athens.[581] Two bearded winged figures, dressed in short chitons, carry the corpse of a bearded man (Memnon); by the side of the dead body, and tenderly bending over it, walks a

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[577] Heinemann, *op. cit.*, Pl. 2.

[578] Heinemann, *op. cit.*, Pl. 3 and Pl. 4.

[579] Heinemann, *op. cit.*, Pl. 1.

[580] *Monumenti Inediti dall' Instituto di Corrisp. Archeol.*, Rome, 1858, vol. vi. Pl. xxi.; Heinemann, *op. cit.*, Pl. 5.

[581] Heinemann, *op. cit.*, Pl. 5.

draped winged female (Eos, the mother of Memnon); in front of the procession is Hermes, looking backwards, and a woman and youth follow behind.

The black-figure lecythus of the Navarra (Terranova) collection, a good example of antique over-painting,[582] represents a variation of the usual scene, for the bearded corpse (Memnon) is being lifted by two negroes (Aethiopians) instead of by Hypnos and Thanatos (or Boreas and Zephyros).

In the above-mentioned vase-paintings of most archaic style, the winged demons, that may almost certainly be regarded as Hypnos and Thanatos, were represented (cf. the "Piot amphora") quite similar to each other (like twin-brothers, as in the Homeric account) and fully armed; in the designs of rather later style they were represented dressed in short chitons, or (as on the Caere crater in the Louvre) entirely nude. It is interesting to note that the vase-painters allowed themselves great latitude in their renderings of this artistic *motif*. Thus, on the "Bourguignon amphora" (of the same period as, if not by the same artist as, the "Piot amphora") the two armed, winged demons carrying the corpse are replaced by similarly armed figures without wings, and on the "Navarra lecythos" the winged figures are replaced by Aethiopians.

We may now pass on to the white-ground Attic lecythi bearing designs of the Hypnos and Thanatos *motif*. On these Thanatos, usually bearded, and Hypnos beardless, are depicted lifting the body of a man or woman to deposit it in the grave at the foot of a sepulchral stele. Heinemann divides these vases into an earlier group, on which Thanatos has a somewhat savage or gloomy aspect,

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[582] O. Benndorf, *Griech. und Sicil. Vasenbilder*, Berlin, 1868, Pl. 42, No. 2; Heinemann, *op. cit.*, Pl. 6.

and is always represented at the feet of the corpse; and a later group, on which the respective positions of Hypnos and Thanatos have been changed, Thanatos having a milder or even a sorrowful and tender aspect, and being at the head of the corpse instead of at the feet.

In the first group he places the two white lecythi in the British Museum above referred to,[583] on one of which[584] the nude Hypnos is painted brown, reminding one of Death and Sleep being represented, the one as a white boy and the other as a black boy, according to Pausanias's account, on the previously mentioned archaic "Coffer of Cypselus." On both these lecythi the armour shows the corpse to be that of a warrior.

In the later group he places a lecythus in the vase-collection at Berlin,[585] a lecythus in the National Museum at Athens,[586] and the following two others.

A second one in the National Museum at Athens[587] has a variety of the usual scene, for the burial of a woman is represented. The draped life-like body of the young woman is being lifted to her tomb by two winged male figures, Thanatos (bearded) being at her head and Hypnos (beardless) being at her feet. To the right of the stele stands a young man looking on; he is dressed in chlamys and petasos, and might, I believe, though he is beardless, represent Hermes (compare the beardless heads of Hermes on the silver coins of Aenus in Thrace, 450 to 400 B.C.), but Heinemann prefers to suggest that he represents a brother or some relative of the deceased.

On another lecythus (or rather the fragment of one) in the vase-collection at Berlin[588] the Hypnos and Thanatos scene is represented in a peculiar way, namely, as an "architectural" ornamental design on the top of a sepulchral stele;

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[583] Heinemann, *op. cit.*, Pl. 7 and Pl. 8.
[584] Murray and Smith, *op. cit.*, Pl. xi.
[585] Heinemann, *op. cit.*, Pl. 9.
[586] Heinemann, *op. cit.*, Pl. 10.
[587] Heinemann, *op. cit.*, Pl. 6.
[588] Heinemann, *op. cit.*, Pl. 11.

around this stele stand the usual relatives or mourners, bringing funereal ribbons, &c. The deceased in this instance again is a woman. She is draped and diademed. She is held almost entirely by Hypnos (beardless), and turns her sorrowful face towards (the bearded) Thanatos, who is about to assist Hypnos in lifting her.

Heinemann likewise gives references to many other objects on which a corpse is represented being carried by two winged or wingless figures. On some of them the design is evidently the Hypnos and Thanatos subject, or has been suggested by it, but on others the explanation may be a different one. Thus Pausanias, in his description of the painting by Polygnotus at Delphi, representing the "Sack of Ilium," says that at one part of that picture "Sinon, a comrade of Ulysses, and Anchialus, are bringing out the corpse of Laomedon."[589] The body of Meleager was also represented on ancient art being carried by two bearers, and at one part of the *Tabula Iliaca* illustrated in Otto Jahn's *Griech. Bilderchroniken* (Pl. 1) Hector's body is being carried in the same way.

Besides other painted vases with designs of this kind, Heinemann[590] refers to a small (portable) terra-cotta altar, to bronze handles from the lids of "Etruscan" cistae, to the "Colonna" marble relief,[591] to a small ivory relief in Naples,[592] to a bronze Etruscan mirror,[593] and to some engraved gems. On the bronze handles from the lids of cistae (above referred to) the bearers of the dead

[589] Pausanias's *Description of Greece*, book x. chap. xxvii. 1; J. G. Frazer's translation, London, 1898.

[590] Heinemann, *op. cit.*, pp. 57–68.

[591] Emil Braun, *Antike Marmorwerke.*

[592] Hans Graeven's *Antike Schnitzerein aus Elfenbein*, Hannover, 1903, first series, No. 28.

[593] E. Gerhard's *Etruskische Spiegel*, Berlin, 1840–1897, vol. iv. Pl. 397, 1.

body are sometimes men in armour, sometimes nude, and the corpse is mostly that of a young man (armed or nude), but in at least one instance is that of a woman (nude). On the above-mentioned portable terra-cotta altar [594] the winged male bearers probably represent Hypnos and Thanatos; in some instances the bearers (male or female) are winged and in others wingless; on a bronze in the Museo Kircheriano at Rome the bearers are a young man and a young woman.

A very remarkable late use of the Hypnos and Thanatos device is that on the leaf of an ivory diptych [595] in the British Museum, representing the apotheosis of a Roman Emperor, possibly Constantius Chlorus (A.D. 305–306), the father of Constantine the Great. The Emperor is being carried up by winged figures of Hypnos (unbearded) and Thanatos (bearded) to a group of five deities that await him in the clouds (Fig. 110).

I have still shortly to refer to certain gem-devices related to the same subject. A. Furtwängler [596] figures two carnelian Etruscan scarabaei of early style bearing an intaglio representation of two winged figures carrying a dead body. In his description [597] he says that on the first (see Fig. 111, after Furtwängler) the corpse is being carried by a nude winged youth and a draped winged woman [? derived from the Thanatos, Eos, and Hypnos idea, though without Hypnos], but that on the second (see Fig. 112, after Furtwängler) the corpse is being

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[594] *Monumenti Ined. dall' Instit. di Corr. Arch.*, vol. xi. Pl. x. 3.

[595] Described and figured by Hans Graeven, "Heidnische Diptychen," *Mitteilungen des Kaiserl. deutsch. Archäolog. Instituts Roemische Abteilung*, Rome, 1913, vol. xxviii. p. 271, Pl. vii.

[596] A. Furtwängler, *op. cit.*, vol. i. Nos. 22 and 23.

[597] A. Furtwängler, *op. cit.*, vol. ii. p. 77.

Fig. 110.—Ivory diptych in the British Museum, representing the Apotheosis of a Roman Emperor. He is being carried by winged figures of Hypnos and Thanatos to Heaven. A group of five deities in the clouds receive him.

carried by two female figures in long chitons. He likewise refers to an early sard "Etruscan" scarabaeus

Fig. 111.—Two winged figures carrying dead body. From an Etruscan scarabaeus. (After Furtwängler.)

from Chiusi in the British Museum collection[598] representing a corpse being carried by two draped and winged

Fig. 112.—Two winged figures carrying dead body. From an Etruscan scarabaeus. (After Furtwängler.)

female figures (see Fig. 113); and also to a similar device on an antique paste in the Fol collection.

Fig. 113.—Two winged figures carrying dead body. (After an Etruscan scarabaeus in the British Museum.)

Formerly two such winged female figures were regarded by E. Gerhard as Victories carrying the body of a fallen hero.[599] They might represent the idea of Eos, with the

[598] *Catalogue of Engraved Gems in the British Museum*, by A. H. Smith, London, 1888, p. 69, No. 346, Pl. E.

[599] Gerhard's *Ges. academ. Abhandlungen*, Berlin, 1866, vol. i. p. 167; compare his Pl. xi. Nos. 1 and 2.

help of Iris, carrying off the body of Memnon. In favour of such a supposition I would refer to the above-mentioned bronze Etruscan mirror, figured by E. Gerhard,[600] on which two draped females are carrying the corpse of a bearded man. Gerhard believed that the scene represented Eos and Iris carrying off the body of the fallen Memnon. Neither of the bearers has wings on the shoulders, but one of them (Eos ?) has wings on the ankles, and has a kind of *nimbus* around the head : a *nimbus* or halo seems fitting enough as an attribute either of Eos (Dawn) or of Iris (the rainbow idea). It is interesting, by the way, to note that in the ornamental border surrounding the device (below the centre of it) a winged bearded figure is represented with a ray-crown on his head. This figure, according to Gerhard, was perhaps intended to represent Thanatos or Hades.

In all probability, in the play *Alcestis*, by Euripides, "Thanatos" was represented as a winged male figure. The dialogue shows that he was robed in black, and carried a sword to cut off a lock from his destined victims. The relief on a sculptured drum (Fig. 114), now in the British Museum, from a column of the later temple of Artemis at Ephesus, apparently represents Alcestis between Hermes (with his kerykeion or caduceus) and Thanatos. If that be the correct explanation of the three figures in question, as W. R. Lethaby seems to be right in claiming,[601] Thanatos is pictured as a winged nude youth with a sword girded on by his side. The

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[600] E. Gerhard, *Etruskische Spiegel*, Berlin, 1840–1897, vol. iv. Pl. 397, 1.

[601] W. R. Lethaby, "The Sculptures of the Later Temple of Artemis at Ephesus," *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, London, 1913, vol. xxxiii. p. 87.

first temple of Artemis at Ephesus was burnt down in B.C. 356 (in the night on which Alexander the Great was born), and this relief would therefore probably date from the latter part of the fourth century B.C.

FIG. 114.—Alcestis between Hermes and Thanatos. Relief on a drum (now in the British Museum) from the later temple of Artemis at Ephesus.

On a vase (stamnos), of Etruscan make,[602] a winged youthful figure, probably meant to represent Thanatos, is standing behind the Telamonian Ajax, apparently urging

[602] S. Reinach, *Répertoire des Vases Peints Grecs et Étrusques*, Paris, 1899, vol. i. p. 278.

him to commit suicide by throwing himself on a sword which projects, point upwards, from the ground in front of him. On an alabaster urn with a scene of the combat between the brothers Polynices and Eteocles,[603] Ker (Doom) is apparently personified, in much the same way as Thanatos, by a winged (but female) figure seated beside the brothers, who have both fallen mortally wounded. To Ker, and the Keres, I shall refer again, however, further on.

In describing the painting by Polygnotus at Delphi, representing Ulysses in Hades, Pausanias writes: "Higher up than the figures I have enumerated is Eurynomus; the Delphian guides say that he is one of the demons in hell, and that he eats the flesh of the corpses, leaving only the bones. But Homer's *Odyssey*, and the poem called the *Minyad*, and the one called *The Returns*, though they all speak of hell and its terrors, know of no demon Eurynomus. However, I will describe his appearance and attitude in the painting. His colour is between blue and black, like that of the flies that settle on meat: he is showing his teeth, and is seated on a vulture's skin." [604] This description shows that even the celebrated Greek painter Polygnotus (fifth century B.C.) sometimes in his pictures introduced loathsome objects relating to the idea of death, reminding one of other primitive conceptions of horrible monsters and guardians of the nether world, such as the fierce dog-like monster Cerberus (with its three, or fifty, or even a hundred heads), the Etruscan "Charun," already alluded to, with his hideous face and his terrible-looking hammer, and the Etruscan male and

[603] *Gazette Archéologique*, Paris, 1881–1882, année vii. Pl. viii.

[604] Pausanias's *Description of Greece*, book x. chap. xxviii. 4; J. G. Frazer's translation, vol. i. p. 542.

female winged demons and Gorgon-like or Fury-like figures, holding hissing or biting serpents.

Medusa or Gorgon-head masks, as wall-paintings, as minute terra-cotta antefixes, &c., were common objects of Etruscan sepulchral ornamentation. An archaic type of such masks showed a horrible mouth with tongue protruding between two pairs of tusk-like teeth. On an early Greek painted vase in the Louvre Museum at Paris, with a representation of Thetis and her sister Nereides mourning over the death of Achilles, the dead body of the hero is laid out on a funeral couch and a large Gorgon-mask by the side of the couch is apparently only the front of his shield. The Gorgon's mask was, indeed, pictured at early periods of Greek art as a terror-inspiring emblem on the shields of the warriors, as it afterwards was universally represented on the aegis of Zeus and Athene. In Roman times, in cameo form, it decorated the breastplate of the emperors. In sepulchral decoration running Gorgon-like figures, Gorgon heads, and other terrifying objects of infernal significance were doubtless introduced partly for the ("apotropaeic") purpose of frightening away intruders, especially evil spirits.

Virgil ("Dante's master"), in his description in the *Aeneid* of the visit of Aeneas to Hades, evidently having the traditional archaic "Etruscan" type of "Charun" in his mind, pictures Charon thus:—

> "Grim, squalid, foul, with aspect dire,
> His eyeballs each a globe of fire."

King points out that this traditional Etruscan image of "Charun" was handed down in Italy through Mediaeval times, for Dante speaks of "Charon, demonio con occhi di bragia" ("Charon, a demon with live-coals for eyes").

Etruria was, as King explains, the early school of art for Rome, and she supplied the figures of the Roman deities. Pluto, he says, must have been personified, like the Etruscan "Charun," in the shows of the Roman amphitheatre, as late as the third century A.D.; for Tertullian, in his *Apologia* (xxv.), remarks that "amongst the other scenic cruelties of the afternoon, the spectators laughed at the sight of Mercury raising the dead with his red-hot wand (applied, doubtless, to the feet of the slaughtered gladiators, to ascertain if life still lingered); whilst the 'Brother of Jupiter,' *armed with his mall,* escorted the dead bodies of the combatants.

A horrible monster was the Egyptian Am-mit (the "Eater of the Dead"), in part crocodile, in part lion, and in part hippopotamus, who ate up the heart of the deceased when in the balance its weight was found wrong (to this subject I shall return further on). E. A. Wallis Budge[605] writes: "According to some, those who were condemned in the Judgment were devoured by the monster Am-mit, the 'Eater of the Dead'; but others held that they were dragged to the divine 'block of doom,' where they were beheaded by the headsman of Osiris, called Shesmu. Sometimes their bodies were hacked limb from limb by him, and sometimes they were seized upon by the 'Watchers,' who 'carry slaughtering knives, and have cruel fingers,' and cut the dead into pieces, which were thrown down into pits of fire, or into the great 'Lake of Fire.' Here, at one corner, sat a monster who swallowed hearts and ate up the dead, himself remaining invisible; his name was 'Devourer for Millions of Years.'"

Kali, in the Hindu mythology, the bloody consort of Siva, or Shiva, is depicted with black body, red palms, and long dishevelled hair, wearing a necklace of human heads and a girdle of bloody hands, her tongue protruding from her blood-stained mouth.

Ker—Κήρ—the goddess of death or doom (sometimes the plural is used, Κῆρες *θανάτοιο*), was a dark and awful figure frequently mentioned in the Homeric poems. On the archaic so-called "Coffer of Cypselus," according to the description of Pausanias, who examined it at Olympia

[605] E. A. Wallis Budge, *A Guide to the Egyptian Collection in the British Museum*, London, 1909, p. 144.

in the second century A.D., Ker was represented in the scene of the combat between the brothers Polynices and Eteocles. The passage,[606] translated by J. G. Frazer, runs as follows: "Behind Polynices stands a female figure with teeth as cruel as a wild beast's, and the nails of her fingers are hooked: an inscription beside her declares that she is Doom (Κήρ)." In his annotation on this passage Frazer refers to an alabaster urn[607] representing the combat of Polynices and Eteocles; beside the brothers sits a winged female figure with drawn sword. In the Hesiodic poem, *The Shield of Heracles*, the Keres are described as hideous creatures with white teeth and great claws, who drank the blood of those slain in battle. Mimnermus, the Greek elegiac poet, who flourished in the second half of the seventh century B.C., spoke of the "black Keres": Κῆρες δὲ παρεστήκασι μέλαιναι, &c. In some respects the Keres are analogous to the "Valkyrs" of Norse mythology; the latter chose those who were to be slain in battle, but, on the other hand, after death conducted them in triumph to everlasting enjoyment in Valhalla, the warriors' paradise and the abode of Odin.

In Greek art, as I have already stated, there is some confusion between the representations of the εἴδωλον, the shade or ghost of a hero, and the Κήρ, or Doom of a man who was to die a violent death. In the "psychostasia" passages in Homer's *Iliad* it is the Κῆρες (of Achilles and Hector) that are weighed in the balance. According to one passage *Iliad*, ix. 411) Achilles had two Κῆρες, between which he was permitted to choose. In regard to the representation of more than one, or several, Κῆρες in "prothesis" (laying-out) scenes, or in scenes representing funeral offerings being made at a tomb, or in scenes representing Hermes bringing the dead to Charon, the ferryman of the lower world—see back.

[606] Pausanias's *Description of Greece*, book v. chap. xix. 6.

[607] See illustration in the *Gazette Archéologique*, Paris, 1881–1882, année vii. Pl. 8. I have already alluded to this urn.

The reason why snakes are so frequently represented on tombs or in connexion with tombs on Greek painted vases of the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. does not seem very clear, unless they were regarded as underground creatures, and fitting symbols of the nether world.

For a consideration of many Greek painted vases on which snakes are figured, see Miss J. E. Harrison's article "Delphika," in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, London, 1899, vol. xix. pp. 203-251. In discussing the characteristic archaic Spartan stele from Chrysapha, near Sparta (now at Berlin), Mrs. Arthur Strong [608] adds a note that the great snake which rears itself up behind the throne-like chair on which the deceased is represented sitting, is the dead man's "spirit in another form," as Percy Gardner puts it—what Gilbert Murray regards as the regular symbol throughout ancient Greece of the "underworld powers, especially the hero or dead ancestor." See also Percy Gardner, *Sculptured Tombs of Hellas*, London, 1896, p. 76, Plate ii. (illustration of the above-mentioned stele from Chrysapha).

The harmless snakes, which at the present time abound in the hot caverns and natural or artificial galleries where thermal springs arise in the Pyrenees, are probably the same as those connected with the worship of Asclepios (Aesculapius) in ancient Greece and Rome. They were found about hot springs and wells and natural thermal baths (having or supposed to possess healing virtues), and they probably also often frequented sepulchral chambers and caverns. A Greek painted kylix in the British Museum [609] represents the story of Polyidos and Glaukos, a favourite subject with the ancient poets and artists. Polyidos and Glaukos are pictured inside a vaulted tomb; the latter wrapped or muffled up in the squatting position in which a corpse was probably usually buried in such tombs. Two snakes are seen on the stony floor of the vault. The vase bears the signature of the

[608] Mrs. Arthur Strong, *op. cit.*, pp. 130, 257, Pl. xvi. Fig. 1.

[609] A. S. Murray and A. H. Smith, *White Athenian Vases in the British Museum*, London, 1896, Pl. xvi.

artist Sotades, and the figures of Polyidos and Glaukos are both "labelled" with their names, painted in minute letters beside them. The tale, as told by Apollodorus (*Bibliotheca*, iii. 3), was that Glaukos, one of the sons of the Cretan king, Minos, was suffocated when a boy by falling into a cask full of honey. Minos searched in vain for his son until the body was discovered by the soothsayer Polyidos, of Argos. Minos then required Polyidos to restore Glaukos to life, but as he could not accomplish that, he was entombed alive by order of Minos with the body of Glaukos. When Polyidos was thus shut up in the vault, he saw a snake approaching the dead body of the boy, and killed the reptile. Soon afterwards another snake came, and placed a herb upon the dead snake, which was thereby restored to life. Polyidos then covered the body of Glaukos with the same herb, and the boy at once came to life again.

Reference has been made (Fig. 93) to the implements of navigation on a clay (*terra sigillata*) drinking-vessel in the Museum of Orleans (ornamented with reliefs of skeleton-like figures and an altar, on which are a rudder and an oar) as possible symbols of the voyage of the dead to Hades or to the *μακάρων νῆσοι*, the "Isles of the Blessed," of Hesiod and Pindar (The Fortunate Islands, the Elysian Fields, the "realms of bliss"). Caetani Lovatelli alludes to gems and other objects, which may perhaps have a similar significance, notably to a gem figured by Venuti and Borioni, representing Psyche (the human soul, or "anima") on a boat drawn by two dolphins. C. W. King[610] speaks of the hippocampus (a

[610] See C. W. King's essay on "Death as depicted in Ancient Art," in *The Gnostics and their Remains*, London, second edition, 1887, pp. 182-183.

fantastic figure, like a winged sea-serpent, which later became the Roman Capricornus) as an emblem of the voyage after death to the happy land. He says the original monster is often engraved on Phœnician scarabs, and refers to a vase figured by Caylus,[611] on which the monster in question is painted "joyously careering over the sea," whilst on the other side of the vase stands the mourner (*praefica*), "chaunting the funeral hymn over the corpse laid out upon its bier of bronze." A muffled-up figure seated on a hippocamp is sculptured on a monument figured in the *Revue Archéologique* for 1844.[612]

Mrs. Arthur Strong,[613] in regard to the different ways in which the deceased was represented making his way to the ultramundane abode of bliss, writes: "Already on the sarcophagus of Haghia Triada—dating from a pre- or proto-Hellenic civilisation—we beheld the dead borne, like Elijah, on a winged chariot through the flaming aether; chariots winged and unwinged (*ad superos* and *ad inferos*), winged steeds, boats, Harpies, Sirens, eagles, sea-monsters of every description, are only a few of the many vehicles of the soul's transit."

With the above-mentioned emblems of the sea-voyage, King compares the horse, symbol of departure from life, on sarcophagi and tablets, on which that animal, ready for the supreme journey, is represented looking in through the window upon a party feasting and merry-making. On an Etruscan sculpture, already referred to, "Charun," the rough Etruscan messenger of death, "armed as usual with his ponderous mall, actually leads the horse upon

[611] Comte de Caylus, *Recueil d'Antiquités*, Paris, 1761, vol. i. Pl. xxxii.

[612] Paris, vol. i. Pl. 17, Fig. 2.

[613] Mrs. Arthur Strong, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

which sits the deceased with head muffled up." "The same reason," says King, "probably made the horse's head so popular a subject for signet-gems; it served there for a *memento mori*, like the death's-heads so much in vogue amongst the jewels of the cinque-cento time, although the antique symbol carried with it a widely different admonition."

Certain representations of Hermes on antique gems are thought by Furtwängler[614] to relate to Pythagorean and Orphic doctrines of a transmigration of souls (metempsychosis), doctrines probably originally derived from India and the East.

FIG. 115.—Hermes summoning a soul from the lower world. (After Furtwängler.)

In regard to the Orphic doctrines of an existence after death, see the account of Orphic inscribed tablets of thin gold, found in tombs of Lower Italy, &c., in Miss J. E. Harrison's *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, 2nd edition, Cambridge, 1908, pp. 572 *et seq.*, and the Critical Appendix by Mr. G. Murray; see also Miss J. E. Harrison's *Themis—a study of the Social Origins of Greek Religion*, Cambridge, 1912; the various writings of Robert Eisler (especially his *Weltenmantel und Himmelzelt*, Munich, 1910) and S. Reinach; the article on Orpheus by O. Gruppe, in W. H. Roscher's *Ausführl. Lexikon d. Griech. und Röm. Mythologie*, Leipzig, 1884, &c. Mrs. Arthur Strong (*op. cit.*, p. 274) gives many other bibliographical references on the subject. Numerous representations of the Orpheus legend occur in antique and later art; in Christian symbolism Orpheus became a type of Christ (see back).

On a carnelian Etruscan scarabaeus[615] (Fig. 115), Hermes with his kerykeion (caduceus) seems to be summoning a soul from the earth (or rather, from the lower world). On another Etruscan scarabaeus (of

[614] Furtwängler, *op. cit.*, vol. iii. pp. 202, 255 *et. seq.*
[615] Furtwängler, *op. cit.*, vol. i. Pl. xviii. No. 55.

chalcedony),[616] Hermes seems to be calling up a soul from a large jar (pithos); a bearded head is seen emerging from the jar, which is perhaps intended to represent an exit from the lower world (Fig. 116). Furtwängler likewise

Fig. 116.—Hermes calling up a soul. (After Furtwängler.)

Fig. 117.—Hermes raising a soul. (After Furtwängler.)

figures several early Italian intagli,[617] on which Hermes (mostly with his kerykeion) is represented "raising" souls or spirits out of the earth, the soul or spirit being indicated by a human head (Fig. 117), or by a head and upper portion of the body. C. W. King[618] describes a similar gem-type as: "Mercury, by the magic power of his caduceus, drawing up a soul from the Shades." On two Etruscan scarabs,[619] Hermes appears to be placing a human head on the body of a swan or bird of some kind

Fig. 118.—Hermes placing a human head on the body of a bird. (After Furtwängler.)

Fig. 119.—Hermes placing a human head on the body of a bird. (After Furtwängler.)

(Figs. 118, 119). Furtwängler thinks that these gems do not refer to mere magic or so-called "necromancy" (*νεκρομαντεία*), that is to say, the magical invocation or

[616] Furtwängler, *op. cit.*, vol. i. Pl. xx. No. 32.

[617] Furtwängler, *op. cit.*, vol. i. Pl. xxi. Nos. 64–72.

[618] C. W. King, *Handbook of Engraved Gems*, edition of 1885, Pl. lxxv. No. 1.

[619] Furtwängler, *op. cit.*, vol. i. Pl. xix. Nos. 49, 50.

"raising" of ghosts or shades of the dead (for the purpose of obtaining information about the future), as believed in by the credulous of many ages and many countries. He supposes that the idea of metempsychosis is indicated,[620] and that Hermes is represented calling up souls from Hades that they may live again on earth.

A peacock, employed in modern times as a symbol of vanity, occurs not rarely on Roman intagli; and, according to Furtwängler, was intended by the Roman gem-engravers to signify everlasting life. It is represented alone or together with other birds; sometimes at a fountain or basin of water, or with a thyrsus.[621] It may be accompanied by a butterfly,[622] or may be apparently standing on a butterfly;[623] and in one case a peacock, a "hermes" of Priapus, and a butterfly are all represented on the same gem.[624]

I have already pointed out that on some Roman gems the butterfly, especially the burning butterfly, appears rather to be an emblem of sexual love than an emblem of the soul. It seems, indeed, as if in many Roman minds ideas of love (sexual love), the human soul, and immortality, were closely united. [Was this not a kind of chance foreshadowing of the modern "plasmal" doctrine of immortality—the immortality of germ-plasm —— August Weismann, &c.?] And this is not surprising when one remembers that, even nowadays, youthful, ecstatic love, jealous of time and space, in poetry and real life, often believes itself immortal and fondly refuses to acknowledge any bounds but those of eternity. It seems, like the circle of the wedding-ring, "to have no end." The following "posy" is engraved on a sun-dial finger-ring (a so-called "ring-dial"):—

"Like to this sirkell round
No end to love is found."

"How near to good is what is fair,
Which we no sooner see,
Than with its form and outward air
Our senses taken be."
(Ben Jonson.)

[620] Furtwängler, *op. cit.*, vol. iii. pp. 254, 262.
[621] Furtwängler, *op. cit.*, vol. i. Pl. xxix. Nos. 57 (with thyrsus), 60; Pl. lxiv. Nos. 51, 52.
[622] Furtwängler, *op. cit.*, vol. i. Pl. xxix. No. 55.
[623] Furtwängler, *op. cit.*, vol. i. Pl. xxix. No. 61.
[624] Furtwängler, *op. cit.*, vol. i. Pl. xxiv. No. 59.

In Imperial Roman times the peacock, as the special "bird of Juno," was sometimes placed on the reverse of coins of the "consecratio" kind, commemorating the "deification," "apotheosis," or "immortality" of an Empress, just as the eagle, the special bird of Jupiter, was placed on similar ("consecratio") coins commemorating the deification of an Emperor. The eagle, however, also appears on "consecratio" coins of Empresses. Thus on the reverse of coins commemorating the deification of Sabina and Faustina senior, these Empresses are sometimes represented as being carried up to the skies on an eagle or by a figure of Victory. By the early Christians the peacock was adopted as a symbol of immortality, because it renews its tail-feathers every year, or for some imaginary reason.[625]

Amongst other "consecratio" types on Roman Imperial coins are: a large funeral pile or mausoleum, and a funeral carpentum drawn by mules or elephants.[626] Of antique gems representing the apotheosis of Roman Emperors or members of the Imperial family, the most remarkable is the large cameo (in the National collection of coins, medals, and gems, at Paris) engraved with an apotheosis-scene, showing the Emperor Tiberius enthroned in the centre, wearing the aegis of Jupiter, and other deified members of the Imperial house around him.

We may here for convenience mention the numerous Roman Imperial coins with reverse types symbolic of "aeternitas." Eternity was represented in various ways:

[625] For examples of this and other devices of ancient Christian symbolism, see Fernand Cabrol's great *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne* (Paris, 1907 and following years).

[626] On the whole subject of the Roman Apotheosis and the symbols connected with it, see Mrs. Arthur Strong's *Apotheosis and After Life*, London, 1915.

often by a veiled figure, standing, holding the heads of the Sun and the Moon in her hands, with an altar at her feet; by a figure of Ceres in a chariot; &c. The phoenix, as a symbol of eternity, appears on pieces of Constantine the Great and his children; and, needless to say, this fabulous bird has been much employed in Christian countries (notably by Tertullian, the most ancient of the Latin fathers of the Christian Church whose works are still extant) as an emblem of the resurrection.

The phoenix ("the Arabian bird"), as, according to the Oriental myth, there was only one in existence at a time, came to be an emblematic device for a man or woman excelling all others in some noble quality—a paragon. It is thus referred to in Shakespeare's *Cymbeline*: "She is alone the Arabian bird." It is represented in this sense on the reverse of an Italian late fifteenth-century medal (described in Part III.) of Giulia Astallia, with the inscription: "Unicum for(titudinis) et pud(icitiae) exemplum." The phoenix was said to visit Egypt from time to time, and, according to the historian, Tacitus (*Annals*, book vi. chap. 28), appeared there in the year A.D. 34. A phoenix rising from the flames with the motto, *Resurgam*, is placed in the pediment over the southern portico of St. Paul's Cathedral, as an emblem of the Cathedral having risen again after the "great fire" of London (1666). At the commencement of the rebuilding a labourer, when asked to bring a stone (from a rubbish-heap of debris from the old Cathedral) to mark a certain spot, happened to bring the fragment of a tombstone with the word, *Resurgam*, on it; the architect, Sir Christopher Wren, seems to have accepted this word (at least, so the story runs) as a motto and a favourable omen for the work in hand.

A. F. Gori [627] figures an antique gem (see Fig. 120), on which is engraved a man in rough dress (countryman, peasant, or, as sometimes described, Silenus?) seated on a stone, with his right foot resting on a globe; he is piping on a double flute, and before him a skeleton dances grotesquely. Perhaps the skeleton was meant to

[627] Gori, *Museum Florentinum*, Florence, 1731, vol. i. Pl. 91, No. 3. Salomon Reinach (*Pierres Gravées*, Paris, 1895, Pl. 43, No. 91. 3) figures the same intaglio, and describes it simply as representing Silenus making a skeleton dance.

represent a malevolent ghost or spirit (one of the "larvae," an "ossea larva" of Ovid), and the device of the piping man was intended to show that any one leading a natural life with innocent pleasures had no occasion to fear the apparition or malignant interference of ghosts or evil spirits, or could charm them with his piping. On the other hand, a contrast was possibly intended, the man being represented unaware or unmindful of some

FIG. 120.—Skeleton in dancing attitude before a man seated piping. (Enlarged from an antique gem, after Gori.)

threatening danger or disaster, connected with the appearance of the skeleton, the gem being used as an amulet supposed by some apotropaeic virtue to protect the bearer. Kastner[628] refers to a very similar engraved gem (Fig. 121, after Kastner) which at one time was in the Badeigts de Laborde collection. In favour of the view that the skeleton on these two gems is meant really to

[628] G. Kastner, *Les Danses des Morts*, Paris, 1852, Pl. ii. Fig. 10.

represent a danger to life, is an intaglio formerly in the late M. P. W. Boulton's collection (see Fig. 122). On the Boulton gem a man is seated, reading from a scroll; resting against his chair is a lyre; in front of him is a

FIG. 121.—Skeleton in dancing attitude before a man seated piping. (Enlarged from an antique gem, after Kastner.)

skeleton standing holding a dagger or knife in upraised hand; but he seems to disregard, or not to be aware of, the threatening skeleton.

This brings us back to the subject of the representation of "larvae," and to the significance of skeletons and

FIG. 122.—Roman intaglio (enlarged), representing a man seated, reading from a scroll, with a threatening skeleton in front of him.

shrivelled mummy-like figures of skin and bone (in Greek σκελετόν, understanding σῶμα, in Latin *sceletus*, understanding *homo, i.e.* the *Hautskelett* of Mediaeval art) in Roman and Graeco-Roman art. The skeletons and "skin-

and-bone figures" not rarely represented "larvae," the ghosts or shades of wicked persons, apparitions of evil omen, but sometimes doubtless they (though called "larvae") merely represented the dead as a class. Ovid uses the expression "ossea larva" for a skeleton-like apparition: "Insequar atque oculos ossea larva tuos" ("And as a bony spectre I will haunt your sight"). Seneca (*Epist. ad Lucilium*, xxiv. 18) writes, "Nemo tam puer est, ut Cerberum timeat et tenebros et larvarum habitum nudis ossibus cohaerentium." Similarly, Lucian, in his *Philopseudes*, speaks of the Greek Mormo and Lamia as bogies or bugbears to frighten children with.

The Empusae were monstrous spectres sent by Hecate to frighten travellers. Amongst the Empusae were the Lamiae and Mormolyccia, who assumed the form of handsome women for the purpose of attracting young men, and then sucked their blood and ate their flesh. They represented the Vampire and Willi ideas of Eastern Europe in mediaeval and modern times.

Apuleius, in his *Apologia* (p. 315, Elmenh.), speaking of a "sceletus" which he had been accused of possessing and using as a magical object, groups "sceleti," "larvae," and "demons" all together: "Hiccine est sceletus? Haeccine est larva? Hoccine est quod appellitabatis daemonium." A sceletus, according to him, is "eviscerata forma diri cadaveris."

On the whole subject of "larvae," see the article by J. A. Hild, in the *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines* (Daremberg, Saglio, and Pottier), Paris, 1904, vol. iii. pp. 950–953. I am much indebted to this article.

As an instance of the terror inspired by the apparition of a larva or σκελετόν in a dream, the following story from Pausanias may be quoted: "Scarcely, it is said, had he [Phaylus] entered on the command when he saw a vision in a dream. Amongst Apollo's votive offerings [at

Delphi] was a bronze effigy of a mouldering corpse, the flesh all wasted away, nothing left but the bones. It was said by the Delphians to be an offering of Hippocrates, the Physician. Now, in his dream, Phaylus thought that he resembled this effigy; and immediately he was attacked by a wasting sickness that fulfilled the augury of the dream."[629] There can hardly be a doubt that the bronze figure referred to was that of a man wasted by disease, almost to a skeleton, a votive or thank-offering (*ἀνάθημα*, or "donarium") from some emaciated sick man after, or in hopes of, recovery. Baron de Witte, who takes this view,[630] refers to a votive bronze figure found near Soissons (Aisne, France) representing an emaciated man sitting on a stool and inscribed: ΕΤΔΑΜΙΔΑC ΠΕΡΔΙΚ (*κου ἀνέθηκε*).[631] That Greek physicians did, however, sometimes place medical or surgical objects in the temple of Apollo at Delphi is shown by the leaden tooth-extractor placed there by Erasistratus, according to the passage (kindly pointed out to me by Professor Karl Sudhoff) in the work of Caelius Aurelianus, *De Morbis Chronicis* (lib. ii. cap. iv. 84): "Nam Erasistratus plumbeum inquit odontagogum, quod nos dentiducum dicere poterimus, apud Delphum in Apollinis templo ostentationis causâ propositum," &c. Phaylus's dream does not appear to have attracted the attention of modern interpreters of dreams (Sigmund Freud, &c.), who have dealt with the subject historically. But the dream may possibly have been partly the cause of the death of the dreamer, for one

[629] Pausanias's *Description of Greece*, book x.—Phocis—ch. ii. 4; J. G. Frazer's translation, London, 1898, vol. i. p. 501.

[630] Baron de Witte, *Mémoires de la Soc. des Antiquaires de France*, 1869, vol. 31, p. 168.

[631] It was figured by A. de Longpérier in *Revue Archéologique*, Paris, first series, 1844, vol. i. Pl. 13.

hears that occasionally credulous persons, such as superstitious savages (nowadays), when they fancy themselves bewitched or under some evil supernatural influence, will give themselves up as lost, or doomed, refuse food and pine away.

From Pausanias's description of the demon Eurynomus, in the painting by Polygnotus representing Ulysses in Hades, it seems as if the Delphian guides in the second century A.D. (when Pausanias made his Baedeker-like

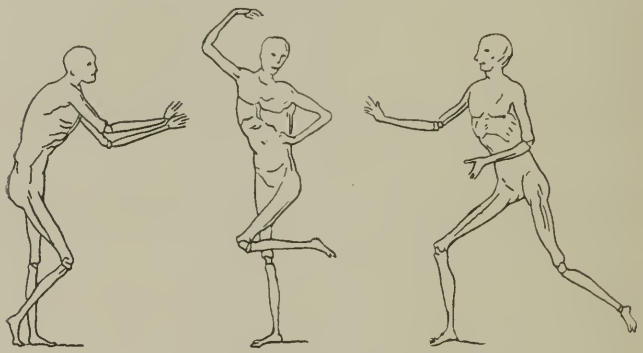

FIG. 123.—Dance of the Dead, the so-called "Cumaean Skeletons." (From a tomb at Cumae, after Olfers and J. A. Hild.)

notes of the "sights" of the antique world) tried to stir up the emotions of travellers and sight-seers by all kinds of dreadful tales.[632]

In 1810 three curious representations in relief, discovered in a tomb at Cumae, were described by A. de Jorio [633] and attracted great attention. Two of the reliefs seem to show the happiness of the dead in the Elysian Fields, whilst the third relief is a caricature (see Fig. 123), representing three shrivelled-up human "skin-and-bone"

[632] See Pausanias, *op. cit.*, book x. chap. xxviii. 4.
[633] "Scheletri Cumani dilucidati," Naples, 1810.

figures (such an object is a σκελετόν, or *Hautskelett*, but is not strictly speaking a skeleton)[634] in the attitude of dancing.[635] The bas-relief on the front of a marble sarcophagus (Fig. 124),[636] of the first century A.D., at Candia (Crete), shows a skeleton, or dried-up "skin-and-bone" (mummified) figure, by the side of a dining table. On the lid of the sarcophagus there was originally doubtless a sculptured figure of the deceased, reclining, as if at a meal.

FIG. 124.—Front and back of a marble sarcophagus at Candia, of the first century A.D., with a bas-relief on the front, representing a skeleton or mummified figure by the side of a dining-table. (After W. Altmann.)

Olfer's, who wrote on the Cumaean reliefs in 1831, also figured a bas-relief[637] from a cippus in the museum at Naples. A shrivelled skeleton-like body is reclining

[634] Such a figure, being "all skin and bones," might truly say: "Ossa atque pellis sum miserâ macritudine" (Plautus, *Captivi*, i. 2).

[635] J. Fr. M. von Olfers, "Ueber ein Grab bei Kumae und die in demselben enthaltenen merkwürdigen Bildwerke, mit Rücksicht auf das Vorkommen von Skeleten unter den Antiken," Berlin, 1831, Pl. 3.

[636] It is figured in W. Altmann's *Dissertatio de Architecturâ et Ornamentis Sarcophagorum*, Pars prior, Berlin, 1902, Plate i.

[637] Olfers, *op. cit.*, Pl. 5, Fig. 2.

on rocky ground. The soul, as a butterfly, is represented escaping from the body, which, under the form of a chrysalis-case or cocoon, is about to be swallowed by a lizard, as an emblem of the earth. A stucco bas-relief belonging to the tomb of Calventius Quietus at Pompeii represents [638] a rather small (evidently a child's) skeleton, stretched with folded feet (as in sleep) on rocky ground, to which a draped woman (? the surviving mother) is presenting a funeral ribbon or fillet. The significance of such figures is fairly obvious, and on the relief from a sepulchral "cippus" (probably of the third century A.D.) in the British Museum, which has already been referred to (see Part II. Heading viii.), the skeleton, stretched out at full length, has quite the ordinary modern meaning, for the inscription above it asks the passer-by whether from the bare skeleton he can tell if the living person had been beautiful like Hylas or ugly like Thersites. This inscription may be compared to a sepulchral epigram attributed to Leonidas of Tarentum (third century B.C.), evidently meant to be inscribed below a similar figure of a skeleton. It is in the Greek Anthology (vii. 472) and commences thus: [639] "O man, infinite was the time ere thou camest to the light, and infinite will be the time to come in Hades. What is the portion of life that remains to thee, but a pin-prick, or if there be ought tinier than a pin-prick? A little life and a sorrowful is thine; for even that little is not sweet, but more odious than death the enemy. . . ."

Hylas was said to have been so beautiful that the Naiads loved him, and once when he went to get water, drew him down into the well;

[638] F. Mazois, *Les Ruines de Pompéi*, Paris, 1824, part i. Pl. xxix. Fig. iv.

[639] Translation by W. R. Paton, in the Loeb Classical Library.

he was never seen by mortal eyes again. Thersites was, according to Homer's *Iliad*, "The ugliest man amongst the Greeks who came to Troy." He had a clubfoot (at all events a distorted foot of some kind), a hunchback, a squint, and a narrow head with scanty hair. He was regarded as an impudent demagogue, and Ulysses chastised him for speaking ill of Agamemnon, whom he advised the Greeks to desert and leave to take Troy by himself. In regard to the analogy between the reference to Hylas and Thersites on the British Museum cippus and one of Lucian's "Dialogues of the Dead" (in which Nireus and Thersites figure) see ADDENDUM.

There can likewise be no difficulty in explaining the skeleton on the famous gem-type (see Fig. 125) of a male figure engaged in modelling a skeleton, doubtless Pro-

FIG. 125.—Prometheus modelling his man.
(From an antique sard intaglio, after King.)

metheus in the first stage of making his man, *i.e.* before he has covered the skeleton with the soft parts.[640] There are several varieties of this gem-type. Sometimes the skeleton is relatively large, sometimes relatively small. On an apparently antique brown sard intaglio (from the Whitehead collection), now in the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum (see Fig. 126), the upper portion of the skeleton is already covered with flesh, and one arm

[640] C. W. King, *Handbook of Engraved Gems*, second edition, London, 1885, Pl. lxxviii. Fig. 1—an antique sard intaglio.

is being raised up by the modeller during the process of modelling the thorax.

From the devices on the Boscoreale wine-cups and from other vessels and antique objects (gems, &c.) to which I have referred, it is quite clear that skeletons and skeleton-like figures (even if all called "larvae") in late Roman and Graeco-Roman art did not necessarily mean the ghosts of bad persons, the malignant spectres or "larvae," in the old sense of the latter word. They might simply represent the dead, good or bad, famous or unknown; but they never stood for the idea of the personification of death itself till Mediaeval times.[641] Even in the tenth and eleventh centuries A.D., Death was not repre-

FIG. 126.—Prometheus modelling his man. The upper part of the skeleton is being covered with flesh.

sented by a skeleton or a *Hautskelett*. Thus, on a Saxon manuscript of the tenth or eleventh century in the British Museum, Death is represented by a strange human-like winged figure, with scorpions or snakes behind the wings, and accompanied by the inscription MORS, whilst above is a figure of Christ, with the word VITA. On a German manuscript of the eleventh century, Death is represented by a human figure lying chained at the feet of Christ.[642]

Several Roman lamps or fragments of lamps much

[641] Cf. G. E. Lessing's famous essay, *Wie die Alten den Tod gebildet*, Berlin, 1769.

[642] See L. Twining, *Symbols and Emblems of Early and Mediaeval Christian Art*, London, new edition, 1885, Pl. 68, Fig. 1 and Fig. 2.

connected with our present subject have been discovered, and they have been described, especially by Edmond Le Blant and other French authors.[643] The upper surface of these lamps (that is, the part of a Roman pottery lamp which usually bears the device) is ornamented with skeletons in relief. The device on one lamp (Le Blant, Fig. 2) is particularly interesting. A philosopher, seated with a scroll under his left hand, appears to be meditating or lecturing on the mystery of life (or birth) and death, for before him there is a skeleton (towards which he is pointing with the right hand), and below him a baby is lying in swaddling-clothes. An undoubtedly genuine lamp, with exactly the same device, probably from the same mould, but in more perfect preservation, is in the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum in London (the potter's sign is Q.P.), and I have been kindly allowed to illustrate it (see Fig. 127, and also frontispiece). In the same Museum is likewise a cast from another lamp (in Rome) showing a skeleton standing facing, apparently holding a skull in each hand (see Fig. 128). This is evidently a cast of the lamp described by Le Blant, Fig. 6.

Another lamp (Le Blant, Fig. 1) represents two skeletons dancing or engaged in an interesting debate or heated argument.[644] Another (Le Blant, Fig. 3) shows two

[643] On these lamps see especially Edmond Le Blant, "De quelques Objets antiques représentant des Squelettes," *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire*, published by the "École Française de Rome," 1887, année vii. pp. 251–257 and Pl. vii. (excellent illustrations); see also Baron J. J. A. M. de Witte, *Bull. de la Soc. des Antiq. de France*, 1870, p. 107; and J. A. Hild's article on "Larvae," in the *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines* (Daremberg, Saglio, and Pottier), Paris, 1904, vol. iii. pp. 950–953.

[644] On this type, see F. Wieseler's account of H. Kestner's collection of antique lamps, *Nachrichten von der K. Gesellsch. der Wissensch, Göttingen*, 1870, p. 186, No. 182.

skeletons, and a clothed man in conversation with one of them. On another (a fragment) (Le Blant, Fig. 5) two skeletons are wrestling, and behind one of them is a thyrsus. It has been supposed that the last scene suggests

Fig. 127.—The upper surface of a Roman terra-cotta lamp, representing a philosopher lecturing on the mystery of life and death. Cf. frontispiece.

a satirical representation of the athletic exercises and other (posthumous) delights awaiting the dead in the Elysian Fields, for which compare Virgil's *Aeneid*, book vi. line 642 :—

"Pars in gramineis exercunt membra palaestris,
Contendunt ludo et fulva luctantur harena."

("Some in a grassy wrestling-ring disport
Their limbs, or in the lists at various games
Contend and struggle on the yellow sand."
Alfred Schuster.)

FIG. 128.—The upper surface of a Roman terra-cotta lamp, representing a skeleton, apparently holding a skull in each hand.

With Virgil's account may be compared the earlier Greek description by Pindar of the ultramundane delights of the Blessed. Part of one of his fragments (Fragment 94, Boeckh's edition) is translated by Andrew Lang, as follows:—

"Green is their garden and orchard, with rare fruits golden it glows,
And the souls of the Blessed are glad in the pleasures on Earth that they knew,
And in chariots these have delight, and in dice and in minstrelsy those."

This reminds one somewhat of the Mediaeval idea of the Christian paradise, with its music and minstrelsy, its choirs of saints and angels, and its golden radiancy, as represented in the portion of Bernard of Morlaix's Latin poem *De Contemptu Mundi*, which is still familiar to us in the form of J. M. Neale's English hymn, "Jerusalem the Golden."

The reason why such skeleton-designs were selected for these lamps does not appear quite obvious. Some of the lamps in question may have been made for actual sepulchral use, namely, for illuminating tombs on certain occasions; sometimes, doubtless, mere grotesqueness was the object, as in many Chinese and Japanese skeleton-designs; but in other instances probably an "Epicurean" motive was present. I believe myself that some of these skeleton-designs were almost certainly "Epicurean" in significance, and, like the representations on the Boscoreale wine-cups (see Part I. A.) and on several other cups and engraved gems (see Part IV., back), they were practically equivalent to caricatures of the sensual and other delights to be expected after death by the blessed in Elysium. The designs of some such representations may, indeed, have been suggested by the custom of the ancients of offering gifts at the tombs of the departed (by the Romans to their "Manes")—food, wine, garlands, ribbons (funeral fillets), &c.

In regard to the lamp (Fig. 127) with the representation of the philosopher lecturing on life and death, I believe that many Romans of the period would have interpreted the meaning of the scene somewhat as follows: "There sits a learned man trying to expound the riddle of life and death, but however learned he may be, and however wise his discourse, what does all his teaching amount to? There is only one practical conclusion to be derived from it all, namely, the one which the skeleton tells us: *Edite! bibite! post mortem nulla voluptas!*" By early Christianity,

which was then commencing, this precept was (incorrectly) held up as the essence of Pagan philosophy; by Mediaeval Christianity it was pointed to as a devil's maxim; in Calderon's allegorical play on the "Matrimonial Dispute" between the Body and the Soul it was (together with the gratification of desires) what the Body claimed during its brief and flower-like term of life.

Some Roman lamps bear devices likewise relating to death, but of quite a different character, including representations of tombs. See Bernard de Montfaucon's famous work, *L'Antiquité expliquée*, Paris, vol. v. (1719). On a Roman lamp illustrated in part 2 of that volume

Fig. 129.—Intaglio representing a draped man and a skeleton; by the man is a scrinium containing rolled-up manuscripts.

(Plate 204, fig. 1) a deceased person is represented being conducted by Mercury to the nether world, and in the act of giving a fee to Charon, who stands upright in his boat, ready to ferry his passenger over the Stygian waters. Another lamp (Plate 203, in the same volume) has a complicated scene, crowded with figures; the deceased man is represented on a couch with many figures about him, including some Fury-like figures with dishevelled hair (possibly professional mourners); at another part of the lamp his shade, under the guidance of Mercury, is about to enter Charon's boat; and, at yet another part, the same person appears to be represented in the form of a terminal figure, suggesting a kind of apotheosis scene. I do not know, however, whether the genuineness of the lamp in question can be relied on, or in what collection it now is.

The device of the philosopher lecturing on life and death (Fig. 127) may be compared with that of a plaster-impression in the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum

(Fig. 129) of an (apparently) antique intaglio (I do not know where the engraved gem itself is) representing a draped man (philosopher?) standing, holding a rolled-up scroll in his left hand; on his right side is a skeleton which he is apparently studying or demonstrating; at his feet is a scrinium containing rolled-up manuscripts. The significance is probably the old advise, *γνῶθι σεαυτόν* ("nosce teipsum," "Know thyself"), and this brings us to a supposed antique gem described by P. D. Lippert[645] and by R. E. Raspe.[646] The gem in question is a carnelian intaglio of the Praun collection, representing a skeleton, with the inscription: ΓΝΩΘΙ · CЄAYTON.

Γνῶθι σεαυτόν ("Nosce teipsum," "Know thyself"), the "Heaven-sent words" (cf. Juvenal, *Sat.* 11, 27) inscribed in golden letters over the portico of the great temple of Apollo, at Delphi, were by some of the ancients attributed to Chilon, the Lacedaemonian (by others variously ascribed to Pythagoras, Thales of Miletus, and other philosophers), and included amongst the wise sayings of the seven wise men of Greece. Though they have not actually a *memento mori* significance, they are frequently associated with *memento mori* sentences, the idea being that those who learn to know themselves are ready for death whenever death comes. The Greek saying has been enlarged in the Arabian: "Who knows himself knows his God."[647] In one of the fragments of Menander (B.C. 342–291) it is suggested that the precept—"know thyself"—is not sufficient and that it is more advantageous to know other men. In a short poem on the same Greek motto, the first Earl of Lytton ("Owen Meredith") suggested that the adviee—"Forget thyself"—would be preferable. Carlyle (*Past and Present*) thought that a better Gospel in this world is: "Know thy work and do it."

"Nosce teipsum" perhaps suggested the "See yourself as you are" on Solario's painting (dated 1505) of Giov. Cristoforo Longono, of Milan, now in the London National Gallery:—

> "Ignorans qualis fueris, qualisque futurus,
> Sis qualis, studeas posse videre diu."

A medal, dated 1534, with an unknown portrait and the words, "Nosce te ipsum," is given amongst the German medals of the *Trésor de Numismatique* (Paris), and is likewise figured in the Lanna sale catalogue, 1911, Part iii., No. 343.

ΓNΩƟI · CAYTON is inscribed on a mosaic representation of a skeleton (or rather a *Hautskelett*) from an antique tomb on the Appian

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[645] P. D. Lippert, in his *Dactyliothec*, Dresden, 1767–1776, second supplement, p. 165, No. 473.

[646] R. E. Raspe, *Descriptive Catalogue of Pastes, &c., by James Tassie*, London, 1791, No. 8228.

[647] See *Abhandlung über die Siegel der Araber, &c.*, by Freiherr Hammer-Purgstall, 1848, p. 49, note.

Way, which I shall presently (Fig. 130) refer to. This motto lends itself to purposes of satire and jokes. I have heard that a famous London physician of the nineteenth century said that the best way to "know oneself" was to examine one's urine (for the presence of albumin or sugar). "Know thyself," in the sense of "Know the structure of your own body," has been used as a motto for modern "popular," and often disgusting, so-called anatomical museums, attached to cheap "panopticons" and "dime museums."

On certain seventeenth and eighteenth century satirical medalets by Christian Wermuth (1661–1723), the inscription on one side, *Nosce te ipsum*, accompanies the curious device of a stork with a human face in front of its body tweaking the nose of this human face with its bill. Various devices occur on the other side of these medalets. One type (dated 1687) represents a flowering tree with an inscription referring to the "pietist movement" of the seventeenth century in Germany: "Voll Blüthen ist der Pietist" (cf. "By their fruits ye shall know them," St. Matthew vii. 16 and 20). Another type (not dated) represents a queer-looking man engaged in catching grasshoppers, with the inscription: *O Gryllicapiens!* ("O grasshopper-catcher!"). On another (likewise not dated) is the following inscription in mixed languages (one kind of "macaronic" verses): "Vom Hahnrey rednet *scoptice;* Dann dieses ist *verissime*, Dass mancher Stümpf *per cornua* [that is to say, by wearing the cuckold's horns] Erlangt hat höhe *Officia*." This *Hahnrei* (cuckoldry) reverse occurs likewise with the appropriate obverse type of a great horned stag.[648] On one of the *Hahnrei* pieces the obverse and reverse inscriptions are: "Um manchen ist es ewig Schade—Das er komt in die Hahnrey-Lade.—Die Lade hat die gröste Zunfft auf Erden:—Wer keiner ist, der kan noch einer werden."

The so-called "Eye-glass Thaler" or "Brillen-Thaler" (1586-1589) of Julius, Duke of Brunswick (Middle Wolfenbüttel line) are described elsewhere (see Part III.). They bear the letters: W·H·D·A·L·V·B·D·S·S·N·H·V·K·W·, signifying: *Was hilft dem Armen* (or *dem Alten*) *Licht und Brill, der sich selbst nicht hören* (or *helfen*) *und kennen will?* Why are not the words, "Know thyself," more often followed by the maxim, "Rule thyself," or, "Be master of thyself"? *Vince te ipsum* does indeed appear as the motto of Dr. John Weyer (Wierus), author of *De Prestigiis Dæmonum* (1564), the courageous opponent of the "witch mania," on his printed portrait at the age of 60 years (1576).

A mosaic skeleton-like figure illustrated by the Contessa E. Caetani Lovatelli[649] has doubtless a definite

[648] Cf. *Blätter für Münzfreunde*, Leipzig, 1885, vol. 5, Pl. 75; cf. also contemporary trade-catalogues of medals by Wermuth (? and his assistants) in regard to the satirical medals and medalets issued by (to be bought from) Wermuth's establishment.

[649] Contessa E. Caetani Lovatelli, in her monograph on *Thanatos*, Rome, 1888.

memento mori significance. This mosaic (pavement) was discovered in a tomb on the Appian Way, and was described by Prof. Ettore De Ruggiero in 1878.[650] The shrivelled mummified body or skeleton-like figure is lying on its side, with its legs in the usual crossed position (associated by the ancients with sleep and death) and pointing to the inscription below it: ΓΝΩΘΙ · CAYTON (*γνῶθι σεαυτόν*). My illustration is from a photograph of the original mosaic now in the Museo Nazionale

FIG. 130.—Mosaic pavement from a tomb on the Via Appia.

at Rome (Fig. 130), kindly sent me by Dr. Pietro Capparoni.

In the National Museum at Naples there are apparently some antique passes, checks, or tesserae of Roman times, carved in bone or ivory in the shape of a death's-head. My attention was kindly drawn to them by Dr. E. Holländer. They seem to have been used like counters or like draughtsmen in some game similar to checkers (draughts), or else as admission tickets to the theatre or some other public or private establishment.

[650] E. De Ruggiero, *Catal. del Mus. Kircheriano*, Rome, 1878, part i. pp. 272, 273.

A fragment of a relief representing a skeleton playing the double flute, was figured in 1887 by Edmond Le Blant.[651] An object of uncertain significance (possibly not even antique?), in the British Museum, is a large human skull in marble, found at the ruins of the Villa of Tiberius on the Island of Capri.

Corpses or skeletons sometimes figure on Mithraic or Gnostic talismans, for instance, a corpse or skeleton bestridden by the Solar lion. Gori[652] published a Gnostic gem on which a skeleton is represented holding a whip and driving his lion-drawn biga over another skeleton lying prostrate on the ground; another skeleton is standing by. Such representations may have been connected with initiation ceremonies. Certainly corpses and sham murders had something to do with Mithraic initiation, for, as C. W. King[653] points out, "Limpridius puts down, amongst the other mad freaks of the Emperor Commodus, that during the Mithraic ceremonies, 'when a certain thing had to be done for the purpose of inspiring terror, he polluted the rites by a *real murder*': an expression clearly showing that a scenic representation of such an act did really form a part of the proceedings." The meaning of such skeletons on talismans or amulets may, however, be quite different.

Furtwängler[654] figures some early "Italian"[655] and

[651] Edmond Le Blant, *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire*, published by the "École Française de Rome," 1887, année vii. p. 251 and Pl. viii. Le Blant (*loc. cit.*, p. 252) seems to think that it may not be antique.

[652] Gori, quoted by G. Kastner, *Les Danses des Morts*, Paris, 1852, p. 43; see Kastner's Pl. ii. Fig. 9.

[653] C. W. King, *The Gnostics and their Remains*, second edition, London, 1887, p. 129.

[654] Furtwängler, *op. cit.*, vol. iii. p. 252; and vol. i. Pl. xxii. Nos. 12, 15; and Pl. xxx. Nos. 46–48.

[655] The word "Italian" is as yet not usually employed in England in the sense in which Furtwängler uses it in his description of antique gems.

Roman intagli representing one or two peasants (rustics) standing by a skull, on which there is sometimes a butterfly. It is possible that this type refers to the calm meditation supposed to be associated with a country life.

In this connexion one should, however, note the existence of many gems representing one or more persons looking at a human head. Superficially some of them resemble those already mentioned (representing a man standing by a human skull), but on several of them the head is evidently speaking or prophesying (sometimes the mouth is open), and a man is writing down the (prophetic?) words uttered. Furtwängler [656] figures several such gems, one of them an Etruscan scarabaeus of the finest style, the others early "Italian" intagli of the kind immediately succeeding the Etruscan scarabaeus. He thinks that the type may relate to Orpheus legends. C. W. King described a gem of the kind as representing an Etruscan sorcerer raising a ghost in order to give responses to those consulting him. On the gems on which two or more persons are looking at (and listening to) the head, one of them has a stick or wand in his hand, and either points out the head to the others and explains what it is saying, or else is a magician who has "raised" the head from the infernal regions so that it may reveal the future to his clients (ordinary necromancy, *νεκρομαντεία*).

In regard to superstitions connected with death and the idea of a future existence, we may here mention that

[656] Furtwängler, *op. cit.*, vol. iii. pp. 245–252; and vol. i. Pl. xxii. Nos. 1–9, 13, 14 (all in early "Italian" style immediately succeeding the Etruscan scarabaeus); and Pl. lxi. No. 51 (an Etruscan scarabaeus of the finest style).

there are several antique gems which have been supposed to represent human sacrifices, but it is generally difficult to be sure that such gems are not merely representations of mythological incidents.[657]

One may here also refer to the numerous ancient Egyptian amulets, not rarely cut in gem-stones, that have been found with mummies. They were placed either on the mummified body itself or between the mummy swathings, and were intended to help the deceased in his future existence. Amongst the amulets (dating from early Egyptian civilization to Ptolemaic times) of this class exhibited in the British Museum are: scarabs, or beetles, representing new life and resurrection; heart-amulets to protect the heart (to formulas for the protection of which six chapters in the Book of the Dead are devoted); the serpent's head, protecting its wearer against the attacks of worms and snakes in the tomb; the human-headed hawk, assuring to the deceased the power of uniting his body, soul and spirit, at will; the ladder, representing the ladder by which Osiris ascended from earth to heaven; the two-finger amulet representing the fingers (index and middle fingers) which Horus used when he helped his father Osiris up the ladder which reached from earth to heaven; the steps, symbolic of the throne of Osiris, and obtaining for the wearer exaltation to and in heaven; the buckle or "girdle of Isis"; the pillow or head-rest (usually made of haematite); the papyrus sceptre; &c.

On the lid of an Egyptian sarcophagus in the British Museum (about 1300 B.C.) is a figure of the sky-goddess Nut, represented with outstretched wings, emblematic of her care of the mummy of the deceased.

[657] See Furtwängler, *op. cit.*, vol. iii. pp. 229, 260.

Amongst other objects which relate to death, to be seen in collections of Egyptian antiquities, are the interesting "sepulchral boats," the sepulchral stelae, and the various kinds of sarcophagi. The ancient Egyptians certainly believed in another world, with future life and rewards for the righteous. In existing papyri there are representations of the judgment of Osiris (the "King of Eternity," the god of the resurrection, and the great judge of the dead), and also of the weighing of the heart of the deceased in the presence of Osiris and others. The heart was the symbol of the soul, and if it failed to counterbalance the feather, which was the emblem of righteousness, it was cast to the monster called Am-Mit, or the "Eater of the Dead." The souls of all those who had died during the day were judged at midnight; eternal happiness was decreed for the blessed, and annihilation, not everlasting punishment, for the wicked. In late times a kind of purgatory seems to have been believed in for those souls who for some reason or other (such as, insufficiency of the amulets buried with their bodies) failed to reach the kingdom of Osiris. There was to be recognition of relatives and friends in the other world, and in the papyrus of Anhai (about 1040 B.C.) this lady is seen meeting her father and mother in the Sekhethetep (or "Elysian Fields") and sailing with her husband in a boat on one of the canals; in the papyrus of the scribe Ani (about 1500 B.C.) the deceased is seen seated with his wife Thuthu, playing draughts.[658]

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[658] See E. A. Wallis Budge, *A Guide to the Egyptian Collections in the British Museum*, London, 1909, pp. 137–151; also *The Book of the Dead*, 1901; *Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection*, 1911, &c., by the same author.

In this connexion also the subject of "Charon's money" may be alluded to. In ancient Greece a small coin, such as an obolus or "danacé," was placed between the teeth of a corpse; it was intended to serve as a charm or as a kind of Charon's fee for ferrying the shade of the departed across the rivers of the lower world. Certain very thin circular embossed plates of gold ("gold bracteates"[659] of modern numismatists) were likewise buried with corpses, and, though they were probably often used as dress-ornaments, they probably also sometimes served the purpose of "Charon's money" or were intended in some way to help the deceased in his future life in the world below. I had two such gold "bracteates" in my collection, one with a simple rosette pattern, the other with a figure of Triptolemos seated in his winged car ("dragon-chariot") drawn by serpents. The latter was apparently made by pressing a thin sheet of gold over the obverse of a bronze coin of Eleusis in Attica of the type which I have already described in Part III. (see Fig. 44).

The use of Charon's obolus or "danacé" is alluded to by several ancient authors (*e.g.* Pollux, ix. 82), and Lucian (*De Luctu*, 10) ridiculed the custom, asking how people knew whether Attic, Macedonian, or Aeginetan

[659] The word "bracteate" is now generally applied to certain Mediaeval and later coins of Europe, which are formed of a thin plate of silver, struck up or embossed with a device, which of course is in relief on one side and in incuse on the other side. The term would really be more descriptive for the numerous class of "plated" contemporary forgeries of ancient gold and silver coins. For making such plated pieces a "flan" or core of bronze or other inferior metal was coated with thin plates of silver or gold; it was then placed between the dies to receive its obverse and reverse impressions by the process of "striking." Seneca (*Epist.*, 115) spoke of *bracteata felicitas* ("plated" happiness).

obols passed as current coin in the infernal world. In spite, however, of Lucian's ridicule, the custom of placing coins in the mouth of the dead survived from ancient Greece, through Roman and Byzantine ages, to modern times in Roumelia and Anatolia. The worthless nature of the coins or coin-like objects employed in this way is apparently indicated by certain passages of Pherecrates and Hesychius, and reminds one of the tinsel-like character of jewellery and ornaments manufactured exclusively for sepulchral purposes. It has occurred to me that some of the numerous plated and other spurious specimens, now regarded as contemporary forgeries of antique coins, may have at the time been regularly utilized, even if not expressly manufactured for, funeral and sepulchral purposes, or for votive offerings at shrines, in sacred wells, &c.

For a notice on the subject of the "danacé," and "gold bracteates," see especially E. Babelon's *Traité des Monnaies Grecques*, vol. i. part i. (1901), pp. 514–519 and pp. 629–633. See also A. Sortin-Dorigny, "Obole funéraire en or de Cyzique," *Revue Numismatique*, Paris, 3rd series, 1888, vol. vi. p. 1. For these references I am indebted to the kindness of the late Mr. W. Wroth.

If J. C. Lawson[660] is right in supposing that the coin or coin-like object placed between the teeth or in the mouth of a corpse was ever intended to serve as an amulet to prevent an evil spirit from entering, or the soul of the deceased from re-entering, the dead body, then of course the ancient custom of providing the dead with "Charon's money" may indeed be regarded as to some extent connected with the Eastern European belief in "vampires."

[660] J. C. Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion*, Cambridge, 1910, pp. 111 *et seq.*

The very old (Egyptian,[661] Greek,[662] &c.) idea of the spirit of a dead person revisiting its mummified (or decayed) body, its tomb, or the localities which it frequented during earthly life, is probably connected with Mediaeval and later superstitions regarding the existence of vampires, werwolves (werewolves) and "willis" ("wilis"). Socrates (according to Plato's *Phaedo*) thought that impure human souls after death lingered for a time on earth, fearing to go down to Hades. The spirits or "astral bodies" (or *lemures*? or *larvae*?) of those who died "before their time," especially in some violent or tragic manner, were supposed to haunt the scenes of their earthly life, and for some time (in the case of violent deaths, until the end of what would have been "the natural term of life") to retain their earthly desires and passions (revenge, love, &c., and their preferences and dislikes in regard to particular living individuals), which they therefore still endeavoured to satisfy. A werwolf (French, *loup-garou*) would, according to such a view, have been the spirit of an individual with evil passions, which he perhaps had not had sufficient opportunity of satisfying during his earthly life (but this explanation of the werwolf is not that which was usually accepted). The "willis" were supposed to be the spirits of brides who had died just before their expected marriage; after death they haunted forests and—apparently in order to satisfy their as yet unsatisfied earthly love—they would lure passing youths to join them in a fatal dance. The ghastly warrior in G. A. Bürger's ballad, *Lenore*, was in a kind of way the male analogue of such a female spirit. Here in a distant kind of way one may compare a mystic stanza by Edmond G. A. Holmes (*The Quest*):—

> "Call me not back, O Love, when I am dead:
> Call me not back with witchcraft of thy will:
> Far beyond thought my spirit will have fled:
> Call it not back lest it obey thee still."

[661] A chapter in the Egyptian "Book of the Dead," as it appears in the Papyrus of Ani (probably about B.C. 1500) in the British Museum, is "on letting a (dead) man come back to see his home on earth." The chapter "on the reuniting of the soul to the dead body" is illustrated by a picture of the soul of Ani, symbolized as a human-headed hawk, revisiting his mummified body in the tomb. Cf. the facsimile of the Papyrus of Ani, published by the British Museum, London; also E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Book of the Dead: The Papyrus of Ani*, London and New York, new edition, 1913.

[662] See back in regard to Greek vase-paintings representing such scenes as the ghost of Patroclus hovering over his tomb.

II. Finger-Rings, Jewels, Ivories, &c.

For information concerning memorial, mourning, and *memento mori* rings that I have not seen myself, I am greatly indebted to Sir John Evans's pamphlet on *Posy Rings* (London, 1892), to the chapter on "Memorial and Mortuary Rings" in W. Jones's *Finger-Ring Lore* (London, edition of 1898), to the section entitled "Facts about Finger-Rings," in F. W. Fairholt's *Rambles of an Archaeologist* (London, 1871), and to the chapter on *memento mori* jewels in H. Clifford Smith's *Jewellery* (Methuen & Co., London, 1908). There are many memorial and mourning rings in our great London Museums, and Sir John Evans kindly showed me those in his collection. A good many *memento mori* and mourning rings are described in the *Catalogue of the Finger Rings in the British Museum — Early Christian, Byzantine, Teutonic, Mediaeval, and Later*, by O. M. Dalton, British Museum Publications, London, 1912 (see especially pp. 125–128). In regard to a few rings I am indebted to G. F. Kunz's *Rings for the Finger*, 1917.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when *memento mori* inscriptions and devices met the eye almost everywhere in towns, sometimes even as exterior or interior decorations of dwelling-houses, it is not surprising that jewels bearing analogous devices or inscriptions were not rarely worn for personal adornment.

Amongst inscriptions still to be seen on old Edinburgh houses, occurs the following: "Hodie mihi, cras tibi. Cur igitur curas?" This iuscription is accompanied by the date 1570. On certain other old houses in the same city is the motto, "Spes alterae vitae."

A death's-head occasionally formed the bezel of a so-called "decade ring," that is to say, a finger-ring with ten projections to serve the devotional purpose of a rosary. In some of these decade rings, like one in the British Museum (seventeenth century?), the death's-head is enamelled white and attached to the ring by a swivel mounting. Rings decorated with death's-heads, skeletons, and such-like, used not rarely to be worn by persons who were,

or affected to be, of a serious turn of mind, in the same way as in Holbein's picture, already referred to, known as "The Ambassadors," Jean de Dinteville, Lord of Polisy, is represented wearing a *memento mori* jewel (a death's-head of silver or white enamel set in gold) as a cap-piece. A lady, named Agnes Hals, in a will dated 1554, bequeathed to her niece her gold ring "with the wepinge eie," and to her son her ring "with the dead manes head" (Clifford Smith). Dr. Martin Luther is said to have worn a gold finger-ring with a small death's-head in enamel, and the words, "Mori saepe cogita" ("Think often of death"); round the setting was engraved: "O mors, ero mors tua" ("O death, I will be thy death").

The inscription round the setting forms part of an antiphon used in the Roman Catholic Church for Holy Saturday at Lauds: "O mors, ero mors tua: morsus tuus ero, inferne" ("O death, I will be thy death: O hell, I will be thy ruin"). Compare St. Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians xv. 54, 55: "Death is swallowed up in victory. O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory?"—and verse 26: "The last enemy that shall be destroyed is death." Compare also St. John xi. 25, 26 (a passage which has been adopted for the Church of England Burial Service): "I am the resurrection and the life: he that believeth in Me, though he were dead, yet shall he live: and whosoever liveth and believeth in Me shall never die." From this are derived the mottoes: "Mors Christi, mors mortis mihi"; and, "Mors vincit mortem." With the fierce antiphon mentioned above may be compared the passage in Dante's *Inferno* (canto vii.), where Virgil, accompanying Dante, thus addresses Plutus: "Be silent, accursed wolf! thy fury inward on thyself prey, and consume thee!"

A very remarkable German *memento mori* finger-ring of the sixteenth century (Fig. 131), in the Waddesdon Bequest at the British Museum, is thus described[663]: "Large finger-ring of gold, enamelled and set with jewels. The bezel is in the form of a clasped book, having on the upper side a skull in the centre between four stones

[663] Sir C. H. Read, *Catalogue of the Waddesdon Bequest*, London, 1902, p. 94, No. 199.

(sapphire, ruby, emerald, and diamond) and two toads and two snakes in enamel; the under side of the book is engraved and enamelled red and blue. Inside the book, on a loose plate of gold, is a recumbent figure with skull and hour-glass, all enamelled; and on the under side of the cover (which opens on a hinge) is inscribed in black enamel: "SIVE VIVIM(VS) SIVE MORIMVR DOMINI SVM(VS) COMMENDA DOMINO · VIAM TVAM · ET · SPERA IN · EVM · ET · IPSE · FACIET." (St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, xiv. 8; and Psalm xxxvii. 5.) On the shoulder of the ring, supporting the bezel, are two

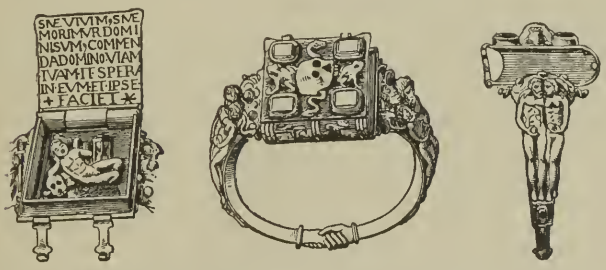

FIG. 131.—*Memento mori* finger-ring of the sixteenth century, in the British Museum.

groups in enamel, representing respectively the Fall and the Expulsion from Eden. The back of the hoop of the ring is in the form of hands clasping a heart, enamelled."

A ring said to have belonged to Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots, now in the possession of the Earl of Ilchester, has as its bezel a large ruby cut in the shape of a death's-head and with diamond eyes inserted; the bezel is supported by cross bones in enamel (Clifford Smith). In the collection of the Rev. W. B. Hawkins was a gold official ring of the Grand Master of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem (Malta), with skeleton, scythe, and hour-glass in enamel, on the bezel, and with death's-head and

crossed bones on the shoulders. Rings with a death's-head are said to have been in favour amongst the English Puritans. A gold ring engraved with a death's-head, the words, "Memento mori," and the initials J.B., was found in 1765 amongst the ruins of the North Gate House on Bedford Bridge, and has been supposed to have belonged to John Bunyan (1628–1688), who was imprisoned there.

According to Fairholt,[664] skull and skeleton decorations for rings and similar *memento mori* devices on jewellery came into regular fashion at the Court of France when Diane de Poitiers, who was then in widow's mourning, became mistress of King Henry II.

W. Jones[665] says: "By a strange inconsistency the procuresses of Queen Elizabeth's time usually wore a ring with a death's-head upon it, and probably with the common motto, 'Memento mori.'" He quotes John Marston, who, in *The Dutch Courtezan* (1605), says: "As for their (loose women's) death, how can it be bad, since their wickedness is always before their eyes, and a death's-head most commonly on their middle finger?" E. C. Brewer,[666] in support of a similar statement, quotes a passage in Massinger's play, *The Old Law* (act iv., scene 1): "Sell some of my cloaths to buy thee a death's head, and put upon thy middle finger. Your least considering bawds do so much." However, as Sir C. H. Read tells me, it seems *primâ facie* improbable that such a custom should really have existed. Is the true explanation to be found in the probable fact that some procuresses, &c., of the time wore death's-head rings in order to give themselves the appearance of leading a religious and meditative life, just as some criminals of modern times have been notorious church-goers, and just as persons connected with the modern "white slave traffic" have sometimes assumed the garb of medical or surgical nurses?

Shakespeare, in his *Love's Labour's Lost* (act v., scene 2), makes Biron compare the countenace of Holofernes to "a death's face in a ring"; and death's-head rings (with inscriptions such as "Memento mori," or "Respice finem")

[664] F. W. Fairholt, *Rambles of an Archaeologist*, 1871, p. 148.

[665] W. Jones, *loc. cit.*, p. 551.

[666] E. C. Brewer, *Dictionary of Phrase and Fable*, 1904 edition, p. 338.

are likewise alluded to by Beaumont and Fletcher in *The Chances:* "I'll keep it as they keep death's heads in rings, to cry *Memento* to me." Shakespeare may have been thinking of a similar kind of *memento mori* ring, when in the First Part of *Henry IV* (act iii., scene 3) he makes Falstaff say to Bardolph, "I make as good use of it (Bardolph's face) as many a man doth of a death's head or a *memento mori*"; and again in the Second Part of *Henry IV* (act ii., scene 4) when Falstaff says to Doll Tear-sheet, "Peace, good Doll! do not speak like a death's head; do not bid me remember mine end." In regard to the use of *memento mori* images in England in the sixteenth century, a poem by the unfortunate Jesuit poet, Robert Southwell (executed in 1595), may also be cited:—

"Before my face the picture hangs,
That daily should put me in mind
Of these cold names and bitter pangs
That shortly I am like to find;
But yet, alas! full little I
Do think hereon, that I must die."

Memento mori devices and inscriptions were frequently adopted for memorial rings and mourning rings, bequeathed or given away at funerals. Many such memorial rings were designed to serve the double purpose of a memorial of the dead and a *memento mori* for the living. Many of them have a death's-head enamelled or engraved on the bezel; in some rings of more elaborate and delicate workmanship, the bezel itself is in the form of a minute skull, enamelled white, and occasionally having diamond (or ruby ?) eyes inserted; in others again the skull is engraved in cameo on a gem-stone mounted in the bezel; in the less expensive

rings the death's-head was occasionally of mother-of-pearl, &c. Some have the shank or whole ring enamelled or chiselled with figures of skeletons, skulls, and crossed bones, &c.

Memento mori rings of this kind, especially the earlier ones (like some of those already described), are naturally not always to be regarded as memorial or mourning rings. A late seventeenth-century gold ring in the British Museum has a bezel (formerly enamelled in white), representing on one side a woman's head, and on the other side a grinning skull (reminding one of the *memento mori* ivories of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries described further on); at the top of the bezel is a small diamond. In the British Museum likewise is a Caucasian (?) silver ring of the seventeenth century, with niello ornamentation; in the oval bezel is an Oriental garnet engraved in intaglio with a skeleton standing, holding a scythe or mattock. In the same collection there is an English gold enamelled ring of the seventeenth century, the bezel of which consists of a small case, made to open on a hinge, and containing a minute death's-head in white enamel. Fairholt illustrates a gold enamelled ring now in the British Museum, formed by two figures of skeletons supporting a miniature sarcophagus, the lid of which was made to slide off so as to show a tiny skeleton in the interior.[667] In another ring the bezel carried a coffin-shaped crystal engraved with the figure of a skeleton. "Skull-decorations" were also sometimes used for the chiselled or enamelled backs of small seals or "signets," and for other small objects.[668] In some memorial rings

[667] F. W. Fairholt, *Miscellanea Graphica*, London, 1856, pl. x. Fig. 2.

[668] See Paul Lacroix's *Arts in the Middle Ages*, English edition by Sir W. Armstrong, p. 135, Fig. 139; also Mr. H. Clifford Smith's *Jewellery*, Methuen & Co., London, 1908, Pl. 40.

an actual piece of bone (presumably human bone) has been inserted in the gold, behind the bezel or elsewhere. The late Sir John Evans possessed such a one.

English memorial and mourning finger-rings of the *memento mori* class bear such inscriptions as: "Memento mori"; "Remember death"; "Live to die"; "Dye to live"; "Breath paine, Death gaine" (in the collection of the late Sir John Evans); "Mors bonis grata" (on an English sixteenth-century gold ring in the British Museum); "As I am, you must bee" ("Quod es fui, quod sum eris"); "Hodie mihi, cras tibi"[669] (on a seventeenth-century specimen in the British Museum); "Death sy myn eritag," that is to say, "Death is my heritage" (on a sixteenth-century gold ring in the British Museum); "Nosse te ypsum";[670] "Prepare for death"; "Prudenter aspice finem" (cf. Part II. i.); "Behold the ende"; "Oritur non moritur"; "Prepare to follow R. J."; "I am gone before"; "Prepared be to follow me" (on two memorial rings of King Charles I of England, in the British Museum); "Eram non sum" (cf. Part I. A. and C.); "Heaven is my happyness"; "I restless live, yet hope to

[669] The words are the Vulgate version of Ecclesiasticus xxxviii. 22; "Yesterday for me, and to-day for thee." Lady Jane Grey (beheaded in 1554) is said to have iuscribed the following lines with a piu:—

"Nou aliena putes homini quae obtingere possunt,
Sors hodierna mihi, cras erit illa tibi."

An inscriptiou (with the date 1570), still to be seen on one of the old Edinburgh houses, is, "Hodie mihi, cras tibi. Cur igitur curas?" On the same house (the famous "speaking house") are also the following inscriptions: "Ut tu linguae tuae, sic ego mearum aurium dominus sum" (cf. the Mediaeval "Leonine" hexameter, "Audi, vide, tace, si tu vis vivere pace"); "Coustanti pectori res mortalium umbra" (this is accompanied by an emblem of the resurrection, namely, ears of corn springing up out of boues).

[670] Γνῶθι σεαυτόν, "Nosce teipsum," "Know thyself." See Part IV. i.

see That day of Christ, and then see thee"; "Fallen to rise" (eighteenth century); "Omnia vanitas" (eighteenth century); "Not lost, but gone before" (eighteenth century).

Cf. the Hon. C. E. S. Norton, Lady Maxwell (1808-1877):—

"For death and life, in ceaseless strife,
Beat wild on this world's shore,
And all our calm is in that balm—
Not lost but gone before."

The last line, a favourite English consolatory saying of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, is similar to the ending of one of Seneca's letters to Lucilius: "Et fortasse, si modo vera sapientium fama est recipitque nos locus aliquis, quem putamus perisse, praemissus est."[671] *Not lost, but gone before*, occurs in the Commentaries (to the gospel according to St. Matthew) of Matthew Henry (1662–1714), and (according to Benham's *Book of Quotations*) formed the title of a song, published in Smith's *Edinburgh Harmony*, 1829. The words, *Not dead, but gone before*, occur in Samuel Rogers's poem, "Human Life" (1819). The equally popular saying, *Though lost to sight, to memory dear*, is found in a song (about 1830) by George Linley, but (according to Benham's *Book of Quotations*) is probably of much earlier date. It is given as an "axiom" in the *Monthly Magazine* for January, 1827, and is included in a song by Thomas Moore (1779–1852)—of which song it constitutes the title. It is sometimes seen, I think, as a posy on finger-rings (so-called "posy rings") and on little boxes (made of Battersea enamel, &c.) and on various trinkets made to be carried about the person as keepsakes or to serve as ornaments for a study or lady's boudoir.

Mr. W. T. Ready told me of a finely made old German *memento mori* ring, which he had seen, bearing a Latin inscription signifying, "Death opens the gate of life." A sixteenth-century gold ring exhibited in the Victoria and Albert Museum has a hexagonal bezel with a death's-head enamelled on it and the inscription, "Nosse te ypsum" ("Know thyself"); on the edge of the bezel is a second inscription, DYE TO LYVE. Another sixteenth-century gold ring to be seen in the same Museum has a death's-head in enamel on its hexagonal bezel surrounded by the inscription, "Behold the ende"; on the edge of

[671] Senec., *Epist.*, 63, in O. Hense's edition of Seneca's works, Teubner, 1898, vol. iii. p. 187.

the bezel is another inscription, "Rather death than fals fayth."

This ring, like several others in various collections, was said to have been given by King Charles I of England on the day of his execution to Bishop Juxon. But the ring itself is of earlier workmanship.

A large gold ring found in 1780 by the sexton of Southwell Church, and supposed to have belonged to one of the Knights Hospitallers of Winckbourne, bore the following motto deeply cut on the inside: + MIEV + MORI + QVE + CHANGE + MA + FOI + ("Better to die than change my faith"—cf. family motto, "Mutare fidem nescio"). A memorial ring of the notorious Simon Fraser, Lord Lovat, who was executed for high treason in 1747, bears the well-known motto from Horace (*Od.*, iii. 2. 14), *Dulce et decorum est pro patriâ mori*.[672]

I have already alluded (Part II. Heading xi.) to an Italian niello finger-ring of the fifteenth century[673] from the Londesborough collection. It bears a representation apparently of the Roman legendary Lucretia, holding a dagger to her breast, doubtless emblematic of chastity and female virtue. Thomas Wright,[674] speaking of this Londesborough ring, notes an allusion by Shakespeare (*Twelfth Night*, act ii., scene 5) to the use of a signet representing Lucretia. Malvolio, opening a letter which he thinks is from his mistress, says, "By your leave, wax—Soft!—and the impressure her Lucrece, with which she uses to seal." I have seen Italian silver finger-rings and pendants of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, ornamented with a conventional female portrait in niello almost exactly

[672] *Notes and Queries*, December 11th, 1915, p. 469; quoted by G. F. Kunz, *Rings for the Finger*, 1917, p. 44.

[673] Figured in Thomas Wright's introduction to Fairholt's *Miscellanea Graphica*, London, 1856, p. 75.

[674] Thomas Wright, *loc. cit.*

like that on the above-described Londesborough ring, but without the dagger. In all probability these conventional portraits, though without the dagger, and often of careless workmanship, were accepted at the time as "Lucretias" (cf. the above-quoted passage from Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night*), that is to say, as emblems of chastity and honour. In some of these niello portraits the place of the hand and dagger is taken by a floral ornament.

Some of the memorial rings of King Charles I of England are of curious workmanship and design. One that belonged to Horace Walpole has the King's head in miniature, with a death's-head between the initials C. R. in front, and the motto, "Prepared be to follow me." Another has a death's-head, with an earthly crown below it, and the word VANITAS (on one side); above the death's-head is a celestial crown with the word GLORIA (on the other side). The device in question is similar to that on the reverse of a memorial medal (described in Part III.) on the King's death, and is illustrated by a passage in the *Icon Basilike*, commencing: "I shall not want the heavy and envyed crownes of this world." This ring contains the miniature portrait of the King, and is inscribed, "Gloria Angl. Emigravit," with the date (old style) of the King's execution. Two other rings bear the King's portrait and the inscription, "Sic transit gloria mundi." Another gold ring had the King's portrait in a little case (forming the bezel), on the outside of which the four cardinal virtues were represented in enamel; on the inner side of the lid, a skull and crossed bones were enamelled. Besides finger-rings, various little jewels exist commemorating the execution of Charles I. A heart-shaped silver locket in the Southampton Corporation Museum is inscribed: "Prepared bee to follow

mee," with the device of a death's-head and the initials C. R.

G. F. Kunz[675] describes a French gold finger-ring, on which a minute gold and enamel coffin is set; on pressing a spring at the side of the ring part of the circlet becomes raised up, disclosing a minute figure of the Emperor Napoleon I executed in enamel. The ring is said to have been worn as a token of attachment to the Napoleonic cause.

Izaak Walton, in a codicil to his will (1683), fixed both the value of his memorial rings and the legend they were to bear. The value was to be 13*s.* 4*d.*, and on those given to his family the words or mottoes were to be, "Love my Memory, I.W., obiit"; and on one for the Bishop of Winchester, "A mite for a million, I.W., obiit"; and on those for other friends, "A friend's farewell, I.W., obiit." In all he bequeathed about forty rings. "Speaker" W. Lenthall (1591–1662) directed by will that "Oritur non moritur" should be inscribed on fifty gold rings to be given away in his family at his death; and Sir Henry Wotton (1568–1639) left to each of the Fellows of Eton College a gold black-enamelled ring with the motto within: "Amor unit omnia." At the funeral of Samuel Pepys, the diarist, in 1703, as many as 123 mourning rings were given away, and John Evelyn (the almost equally famous diarist of the same period), on the occasion of the funeral of a son in 1658, had rings distributed, bearing the words: "Dominus abstulit."

Shakespeare, in his will (1616), mentioned several persons to whom he bequeathed twenty-six shillings and eightpence a-piece, for them to purchase rings with, doubtless memorial rings like some of those already

[675] G. F. Kunz, *Rings*, 1917, p. 48—after Szendrei, *Catalogue de la collection de bagues de Madame de Tarnoczy*, Paris, 1889, pp. 142, 143.

referred to. W. Jones quotes the following clause from a will dated 1648: "Also I do will and appoint ten rings of gold to be made of the value of twenty shillings a piece sterling with a death's-head upon some of them." It is probable that jewellers kept memorial rings of this kind in stock ready for inscriptions to be engraved on them as required.

In certain finger-rings with a bezel representing a death's-head (or a death's-head and crossed bones) the bezel has been made hollow and to open like a minute box. Some have supposed that these boxes were made to contain poison (such as arsenic), but it appears extremely unlikely that any genuine secret "poison-ring" should ever have been made in a form likely to attract special attention. It is far more likely that such boxes contained supposed holy relics, or other amulets or "charms," or *mementos* (such as hair) of a dead relative or friend. G. F. Kunz[676] mentions and figures a German eighteenth century finger-ring, with its bezel formed in the shape of a coffin; on this are skull and cross-bones, and on its sides is the inscription, *Hir ist Ruhe* ("Here is rest"); when the lid of the coffin is lifted, a compartment is disclosed, containing a minute heart.

Memento mori devices have occasionally been adopted for seals, and the backs of small seals or "signets," just as the shanks and other parts of finger-rings were sometimes chiselled in *memento mori* fashion ("skull-decorations," &c.).[677] I have already alluded to the seal of Erasmus (a man's head, facing, on a boundary stone or

[676] G. F. Kunz, *Rings*, 1917, p. 45.

[677] One such signet is figured in Paul Lacroix's *Arts in the Middle Ages*, English edition, by Sir W. Armstrong, p. 135, Fig. 139. See also H. Clifford Smith, *Jewellery*, Methuen & Co., London, 1908, Plate 40.

terminus, with the inscription: CEDO NVLLI) with which he sealed his last will, dated at Basel, 1536; and I now picture it (Fig. 132) from the figure in Jortin's *Life of Erasmus*, together with an antique intaglio which belonged to Erasmus. The latter forms part of a finger-ring, and

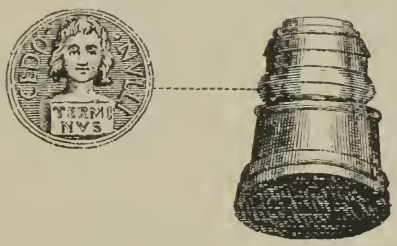

FIG. 132.—Seal of Erasmus with his "terminus" device. (After Jortin.)

represents a bearded terminal head, or "Hermes," possibly the Indian Bacchus, in Hellenistic style, without any inscription; from this Erasmus apparently derived his idea of taking a terminal figure as a *memento mori*

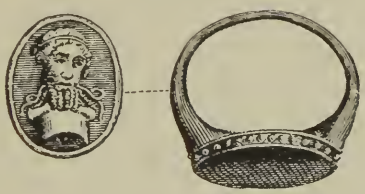

FIG. 133.—Finger-ring with an antique intaglio, from which apparently Erasmus derived the idea of his "terminus" device. (After Jortin.)

device (Fig. 133). The seal of the Guild of Physicians and Surgeons at Delft was a skull with crossed bones, and the inscription: MEMENTO MORI. On the seal of Jean Coeur, Archbishop of Bourges (1479), the shield of arms is surmounted by a skeleton with bat's wings; out

of the skeleton's mouth comes a ribbon, inscribed: MEMENTO MORI.[678]

Inscriptions referring to death occur on a few Oriental seals.[679] Thus on a seal of Chosroës I, the Great, of Persia, called Nushirvan or "the Generous Mind" (531–579 A.D.), the builder of the splendid palace (the ruins of which still remain) at Ctesiphon, there is said to have been a pessimistic inscription (such as might have been derived from Ecclesiastes) signifying: "The way is very dark, what can I see? One lives once only, what can I desire? Behind me is Death, what can delight me?" It must, however, be remembered that Chosroës was a man of great general learning, and caused many Greek, Roman, and Indian classics to be translated into Persian. At the conclusion of his first war with the Romans (532 or 533 A.D.) one of the conditions of peace imposed on the Emperor Justinian was that seven Greek, but pagan, philosophers who had resided some time at the Persian court, should be allowed to live in the Roman Empire (Byzantine Empire) without being subject to the imperial laws against pagans.

[678] Joseph Roman, *Manuel de Sigillographie Française*, Paris, 1912, p. 201. The Archbishop of Bourges (who died in 1483) was the eldest son of Jacques Coeur (1400–1456), the great merchant-financier, whose house is still a monument of interest and curiosity for all visitors to Bourges, and who was falsely accused of having poisoned Agnes Sorel, mistress of King Charles VII of France.

[679] There is some confusion between Oriental seals and Oriental talismans. A talisman may be a gem-stone engraved with an incuse Arabic inscription like a seal, but in a talisman the inscription should not be reversed as in a seal. Carnelians are favourite stones for Oriental seals, and are likewise used for talismans; in the latter case the incuse inscription is sometimes filled in with white enamel. Such carnelian seals, owing to the red colour of the stone, have been likened by poets to red wine and red lips, and kissing has therefore been playfully likened to sealing, and a kiss to the device known as "Solomon's seal." In this footnote I have used the word "talisman" somewhat loosely for both talismans proper and protective "charms" (*i.e.* "amulets").

Chosroës was a philosopher as well as a man of action and a great leader. Compare the words of another moody or dreamy man of action, the Emperor Napoleon I, who, when a young lieutenant in the artillery at Valence, wrote: "Whither do my thoughts turn to-day? To death. Yet is my life only at its dawn, and I may expect to live a long time. . . . Since I must die some day, why not now? . . . My life is a burden to me."[680] A table remark of the poet, Samuel Rogers, was: "I sometimes wonder how a man can ever be cheerful, when he knows that he must die." Henry Luttrell[681] versified it as follows:—

"O death, thy certainty is such
And thou'rt a thing so fearful,
That, musing, I have wondered much
How men were ever cheerful."

On the seal of Moawiyah II (683 A.D.), the third Caliph of Arabia of the Ommiad dynasty, there are said to have been words meaning, "The world is vanity." On the seal of Walid I (705–715 A.D.), the sixth Caliph of the same dynasty: "O Walid, thou art dead and shalt be brought to account." On the seal of Walid II (743–744 A.D.), the eleventh Caliph of the same dynasty: "O Walid, take heed of death."[682] An Arab seal of the Blacas Collection[683] bears an inscription signifying: "O Khalil, remember death, and put thy trust in God. That will be sufficient."

For contrast with these seal-inscriptions a rather different *memento mori* idea may be quoted from one of the tales of Haroun-al-Raschid (Caliph of Bagdad, A.D. 786–809).[684] Abu'l Kasim shows the Caliph his treasures, amongst which, on a throne of gold, the embalmed figure of their first owner is seated, with an inscription stating: "Whosoever shall see me in the condition I now am in, let him open his eyes; let him reflect that I once was living like himself, and that he will one day die like me. . . . Let him make use of it (the treasure) to acquire

[680] From a document still preserved, quoted by T. P. O'Connor, in an article on "The Insanity of Napoleon's Genius," 1911.

[681] See H. P. Dodd, *The Epigrammatists*, London, 1870, p. 113.

[682] See *Abhandlung über die Siegel der Araber, &c.*, by Freiherr Hammer-Purgstall, 1848, pp. 6, 8, 9. I am indebted to Dr. Oliver Codrington for reference to this paper.

[683] J. T. Reinaud, *Description des Monuments Musulmans du Cabinet de M. le Duc de Blacas*, Paris, 1828, vol. ii. p. 292, and Pl. iv. No. 128. For this reference I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. J. Allan.

[684] Claud Field, *Tales of the Caliphs*, London, 1909, p. 81.

friends and to lead an agreeable life; for when the hour appointed for him is come, all these riches will not save him from the common destiny of men." Compare Longfellow's poem, Haroun al Raschid:—

> "'O thou who choosest for thy share
> The world, and what the world calls fair,
> Take all that it can give or lend,
> But know that death is at the end!'
> Haroun al Raschid bowed his head:
> Tears fell upon the page he read."

In regard to Alp Arslan (1029–1072), the powerful sultan of the Seljukian Turks, Edward Gibbon[685] writes: "The remains of the sultan were deposited in the tomb of the Seljukian dynasty; and the passenger might read and meditate this useful inscription: *O ye who have seen the glory of Alp Arslan exalted to the heavens, repair to Maronı, and you will behold it buried in the dust!*" Gibbon adds: "The annihilation of the inscription and the tomb itself more forcibly proclaims the instability of human greatness."

In this connexion it may be noted that Nourredin, the powerful Sultan of Damascus (died 1174), regarded all his possessions as "treasure held for the faithful"—as he once explained to his wife when she complained of his gifts to her being of trivial value. The death (in 1193) of Nourredin's successor, Saladin, the opponent in arms of Richard Cœur de Lion in the Third Crusade, is characteristic of the man. At Damascus, to which he had retired, about a year after the peace with the Crusaders, "feeling the approach of the last enemy, and realizing that a greater than Richard was upon him, he ordered that his burial shroud, instead of his usual standard, should be carried through all the streets of Damascus, while his herald cried: 'This—this is all that remains of the glory of Saladin, who conquered the East.'"[686] This reminds one of the ideas of the orthodox Mediæval Church in Europe, which sometimes made sovereigns, statesmen and prelates prefer to breathe their last lying on a bare plank, a mean pallet of straw, or a bed of ashes, like King Louis IX of France (Saint Louis) (died 1270) and Saint Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln (died 1200), or stripped naked, "in the arms of Poverty," like Saint Francis of Assisi (died 1226).

An ("Epicurean") answer of another kind to the above-mentioned seal of Chosroës is furnished by some apparently newly-discovered verses of Omar Khayyam[687]:—

> "And wherefore then should you and I be sad
> Because to life no minute we can add? . . .
> So drink! For this blue sullen vault of sky
> Hates our white souls and waits to watch us die.
> Rest on the soft green grass, my love, for soon
> We shall be dust together, you and I."

[685] Edward Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, chap. lvii.

[686] J. M. Ludlow, *The Age of the Crusades*, Edinburgh, 1897, pp. 178, 235.

[687] Miss J. Kilmer's translation, from the *New York Evening Times*.

Fig. 134.—"Dance of Death" designed by Holbein for the sheath of a dagger.

In regard to passive fatalistic ("Kismet") attitudes towards death and the events of life (see Part II. Heading xvi.), another Oriental seal of the Blacas Collection[688] may be instanced, the inscription on which signifies that it is "of no avail to defend one's self against destiny."

One would expect that swords and daggers and their handles and sheaths would sometimes have been decorated (by way of grim allusion to their use) with *memento mori* emblems or devices. It is not therefore astonishing that a Holbein design (see Fig. 134) for the sheath of a dagger (the Museum at Basel and the Beuth-Schinkel Museum at Charlottenburg, Berlin) represents a spirited "Dance of Death" subject, Death fetching a king, a queen, a soldier, a young woman, a monk, and an infant.[689] Part of the handle of a Moorish dagger of the fifteenth century[690] is in the fearsome form of a human skeleton, about which is a large snake (see Fig. 135).

Memento mori death's-heads (generally pierced for use as rosary beads or for suspension in various ways) are met with in ivory, rock-crystal, amber, silver, &c. In the British Museum is an Ancient Mexican rock-crystal death's-head, that is to say, a mass of rock-crystal cut and polished in the shape of a human skull. It is nearly if not quite as large as an average adult skull, and is referred to by G. F. Kunz in his *Gems and Precious Stones of North America*,[691] who says that similar skulls exist in the Blake Collection (United States National Museum), the Douglas Collection (New York), and the

[688] J. T. Reinaud, *op. cit.*, vol. ii. p. 28, Pl. i. No. 8.

[689] See A. Goette, *Holbeins Totentanz*, Strassburg, 1897, plate i.; and E. Hiss, *Dessins d'ornements de Hans Holbein*, Paris, 1886, plate xxi. No. 3; and Francis Douce, *op. cit.*

[690] Figured by J. F. Riano, *The Industrial Arts in Spain*, South Kensington Museum Art Handbooks, London, 1879, p. 89.

[691] G. F. Kunz, *Gems and Precious Stones of North America*, 2nd edition, 1892, p. 285.

Trocadéro Museum (Paris). A much larger rock-crystal skull is in the possession of G. H. Sisson of New York, measuring $18\frac{3}{16}$ inches in length, $15\frac{3}{8}$ inches in width, and $15\frac{11}{16}$ inches in height. Kunz [692] adds that the making

Fig. 135.—Moorish dagger of the fifteenth century.
(After J. F. Riano.)

of these rock-crystal skulls may have been suggested by the real skulls, incrusted with turquoise, &c., such as the Christy specimen now in the British Museum. The actual purpose, however, for which the Mexican rock-crystal

[692] G. F. Kunz, *op. cit.*, p. 286.

skulls were made appears to be unknown. It seems to me quite possible that they were in some way connected with Aztec religious observances. One may recall the descriptions of the "teocallis" or temples of Ancient Mexico, and the gruesome rites practised by the priests, as they appeared to the Spanish conquerors. Cortes and his companions, on their arrival in the city of Mexico, found that human sacrifices to the Aztec idols were of very frequent occurrence, and saw human hearts which had evidently quite recently been torn out of the bodies of unfortunate victims. From the terraces of a lofty teocalli on to which the Aztec "Emperor," Montezuma II, conducted them, they could enjoy the fine view over the surrounding country, but at the shrines the loathsome smears of blood and nauseous odour contrasted most unpleasantly with a dazzling display of gold and gems or precious stones. In this connexion one may remember that death-masks or mummy-masks are occasionally represented on ancient Peruvian pottery of the time of the Incas.

Here one should mention that in Japanese "netsukes" (a kind of toggles) and other Japanese carvings of ivory, bone, boxwood, &c., human skulls and skeletons are often represented, possibly not with any *memento mori* intention, but merely as grotesque ornaments, like the cleverly modelled fierce-looking masks which are used as netsukes, &c. Perhaps there may originally have been an idea of their power to ward off evil spirits and ghosts, like the various and numerous European "charms," or "protective amulets," employed by the ignorant and superstitious against the "evil eye." The skulls and skeletons are sometimes being "eaten by worms," or associated with snakes, frogs, toads, &c., as if the Japanese designers had

obtained their ideas from old European *memento mori* ivories. One Japanese ivory which I have seen represents a human skeleton fighting with toads, as if the artist had got the curious grotesque idea of a dead body resenting his "heritage" of "creeping things, beasts, and worms."

In some Japanese coloured drawings and prints ghosts or skeletons are represented, probably as "grotesque horrors," like (if I may mention an analogy at hand) the skeleton's head with one enormous eye, depicted as appearing to frightened sailors during a storm at sea, in one of Alfred Kubin's designs of 1907.[693] As to the significance of skulls and skeletons in Japanese and Chinese art, I would again quote the story of the Chinese mystic, Chuang Tzŭ.[694] One day the Chinese philosopher came upon a bleached human skull, and [Hamlet-wise] mused as to what kind of a man it had once formed part of. In the night he dreamt that the skull appeared to him and told him that after death there were no troubles, that existence was bounded only by eternity, and that the happiness of a king among men did not exceed that enjoyed by the dead. I have, however, seen one Japanese design at least in which living men are represented as being "haunted" by the ghosts of those whose deaths had been caused by them.

Jean de Dinteville, Lord of Polisy, as represented in Holbein's picture (1533) known as "The Ambassadors," wore a hat-jewel formed of a silver (or white enamel) skull set in gold. The enamelled gold hat-medallion (sixteenth century) in the British Museum, with the

[693] Reproduced in S. Seligmann's *Der böse Blick*, Berlin, 1910, vol. 2, p. 436.

[694] *Musings of a Chinese Mystic*, London, 1906, p. 84.

original owner's name, Carolus von Sternsee, bears an elaborate allegorical device (relating to the fickleness of fortune and the uncertainty of human life, and to the world, the flesh, the devil, life, death, &c.), in which both death (a skeleton) and the devil figure. Skulls, skeletons, and decaying bodies, as *memento mori* devices in jewellery, just as in paintings and engravings, were frequently represented with long worms, snakes, toads, &c., that is to say, being "eaten by worms," the idea having been doubtless chiefly suggested by the well-known passage in Ecclesiasticus (x. 11): "For when a man is dead he shall inherit creeping things, beasts, and worms." The artists seem to have preferred snakes to worms, in order to increase the horror of their subjects (cf. Part II. xix. xx.).

In the British Museum are several *memento mori* carved ivories mostly of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (possibly certain ivories of the kind are earlier *i.e.* of the fifteenth century), and mostly made as beads or for suspension.

It is probable that *memento mori* ivory skulls, &c., at last became such familiar objects as to lose their horror-inspiring quality. I have seen a carved ivory (of the seventeenth century ?) representing a human skull being "eaten by worms"; the worms (or rather snakes) and some flowers are *arranged in a symmetrical ornamental pattern*, about the orbits, &c.; the whole device is thus transformed into a mere ornamental design and has lost its power of striking terror, just as phonetic alphabetical letters have lost the original hieroglyphic or picture-writing significance of primitive times. The carved ivory skull in question may possibly, however, be of Japanese workmanship—produced as a "grotesque horror" or "quaint ornament" (see back).

Some of the above-mentioned *memento mori* ivories are quite analogous in their significance to the sepulchral monuments of the *gisant* type of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries referred to in Part I. A., and to certain *memento mori* or admonitory medals described in Part III.,

such as those portraying a beautiful woman on the obverse and a skeleton on the reverse. One of these ivories (Fig. 136) represents a corpse's head and a human skull back to back; the face of the former is "eaten by worms"; in the mouth of the latter a toad is visible; on the forehead of the face is the inscription, in black letters, "à la saint..." on the frontal bone of the skull is: "point de devant à la mort."[695] Another of these ivories represents

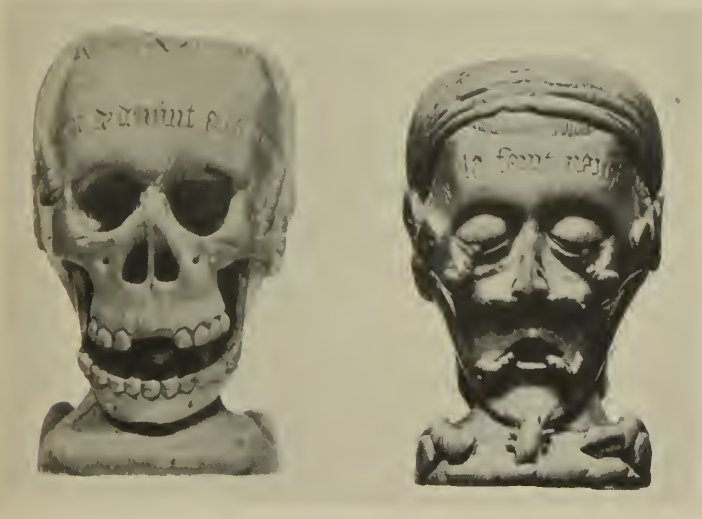

Fig. 136.—*Memento mori* ivory in the British Museum.

on one half a lady's head and on the other her skull, below which is a pair of scales.[696] Another has on one side the head of a woman (head-dress of the early sixteenth century), with the inscription: ELLAS NEST(?)

[695] *Catalogue of the Ivory Carvings of the Christian Era in the British Museum*, London, 1909, p. 148, No. 441.

[696] *Catalogue of the Ivory Carvings of the Christian Era in the British Museum*, London, 1909, p. 148, No. 442.

IL POINT POSSIBLE TAN ECHAPER; below: MEMENTO; on the other side are the head and shoulders of a skeleton.[697] An elaborate one (Fig. 137) has on one side the head of a moribund person, on whose forehead is a band inscribed, "dura et aspera"; on the other side is a skull with worms; below are two gold labels enamelled with INRI and MARIA; from the base hangs a small gold enamelled pendant representing two hearts crowned;

FIG. 137.—*Memento mori* ivory in the British Museum.

at the top a small chain is attached for suspension.[698] This ivory carving has been regarded as the work of Christoph Harrich (who died in 1630), but is probably of earlier work.

In the Victoria and Albert Museum (Mr. J. Pierpont

[697] *Catalogue of the Ivory Carvings of the Christian Era in the British Museum*, p. 149, No. 443.

[698] *Ibid.*, p. 149, No. 444.

Morgan's collection in the Loan Court) were exhibited some similar carved ivories of the sixteenth century. Two have on one half the head of a man, and on the other half his bare skull. Another has on one side the head of a youth (sixteenth-century dress), and on the other side the upper part of a skeleton, with the inscription: COGITA MORI. Another has on one side the portrait of a woman, and on the other side the upper portion of a skeleton, with the inscription: V. QVOT (?) ERIS ("See what you will be"). Mr. Henry Oppenheimer has kindly shown me a similar rock-crystal bead in his collection, representing on one side a human face, and on the other side a skull.

Another ivory of the same class (Marlay Bequest, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge), of doubtful authenticity, represents the mask of a moribund man, and on the other side, a skull with lizard-like reptiles; below are the inscriptions: COGITA MORI and RESPICE FINE(M).

A larger ivory of the same kind in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford is eight inches high, and has on one side the figure of a woman slightly draped, and on the other side the figure of a skeleton in a shroud. This is referred to by Mr. Alfred Maskell, who, in his book on *Ivories*, likewise describes a remarkable terminating rosary-bead ("boss") in the Victoria and Albert Museum.[699] The bead in question (Fig. 138), of old German work, is large—two inches in diameter—and consists of four half-figures placed back to back. One is a man in the costume of the time with a cup in his hand, and beneath is inscribed: "Amor mundi." The next represents the man dying, the mouth open, gasping for

[699] A. Maskell, *Ivories*, Methuen & Co., London, 1905, p. 188. See also the account by W. Maskell, *A Description of the Ivories, Ancient and Mediaeval, in the South Kensington Museum*, London, 1872, p. 6.

breath, and under him is the inscription: "Vado mori." The third shows him in a shroud, with staring eyes and swollen tongue; the abdomen is occupied by a hideous head, supposed to signify punishment; under him is the inscription: "Sequere me." The fourth is a skeleton with an hour-glass, and with worms crawling in and out of the sockets of his eyes: the inscription below is: "Ego sum." In regards to the old *Vado Mori* poems, and

FIG. 138.—Large rosary-bead ("or boss") of *memento mori* design.

the early prints and literature of admonitory significance analogous to all such ivories, &c., see Part I. B.

Large ivory rosary-beads of the same *memento mori* class sometimes portray three conjoined heads, namely, of a man and woman in the prime of life, and of a skeleton. There is a good specimen of this variety in the Victoria and Albert Museum; and a similar one in the Pierpont Morgan collection, formerly exhibited at the Victoria and Albert Museum, represented figures of a man and woman (husband and wife?) on one side,

and on the other side (back to back with them) a skeleton with worms. In the Victoria and Albert Museum there is likewise a rosary of sixteenth-century German work, consisting of twelve carved ivory beads, the two terminating beads, or "bosses," being larger than the others. The larger of the two bosses has three heads carved upon it: a man's, bearing a laurel-wreath; a woman's, with hair plaited in the form of a diadem; and a skull, also crowned with laurel, out of the jaws of which worms creep. The other beads are carved with representations of a king, an emperor, and a pope, and with the heads of princes, princesses, gentlemen, ladies, bishops and ecclesiastical dignitaries, monks and nuns. The whole rosary is designed to show the power of death, whilst the tablet at the top represents the Virgin Mary and St. John, by whose intercession (cf. Part I. B.—the death-bed scenes of the *Ars Moriendi*, &c.) doubtless the owner hoped to obtain salvation.[700]

A larger carving in wood, eighteen inches in height, illustrated by Julius von Schlosser,[701] under the description "Allegorie der Vergänglichkeit," is obviously meant to have the same significance, although death is not actually presented. It is of very fine German work of about the end of the fifteenth century, and consists of three full-length nude figures standing with their backs to each other, namely, a young man, a young woman, and a very aged emaciated woman with a distorted face. With this may be compared a German painting of the sixteenth century, in the Museo del Prado at Madrid, representing

[700] See W. Maskell, *Description of the Ivories, Ancient and Mediaeval, in the South Kensington Museum*, London, 1872, p. 115.

[701] Julius von Schlosser, *Werke der Kleinplastik*, Vienna, 1910, vol. ii. Pl. 1.

"the three ages of mankind." Death, a shrivelled mummy-like figure of "skin and bones," has come to fetch an aged woman, and links his arm in hers to conduct her away. She, evidently unwilling to accompany him, takes hold of the shoulder and scanty drapery of a younger woman, standing by her; but the latter turns away to avoid the disagreeable sight. At their feet lies a child in an attitude of peaceful sleep.[702]

I have seen modern (nineteenth-century) coloured wax statuettes, intended to convey much the same idea. One side of each standing figure is modelled after a richly dressed man or woman in the prime of life, whilst the other side represents a skeleton with fragments of decaying flesh and skin still adherent to it. Mr. C. J. S. Thompson tells me that the two wax figures of this class in the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum (1913) are certainly the work of the late Richard Cockle Lucas (1800–1883). Lucas is supposed by many to have modelled the wax bust of "Flora," now in the Berlin Royal Museum, which was claimed by W. Bode as a genuine work of Leonardo da Vinci, and gave rise to so keen a newspaper correspondence about the beginning of 1910.

Symbolically quite analogous to the ivories and other objects just described, are a couple of prints (representing Vanity) by Math. Greuter, of Lyon, dated 1596. One of these shows a lady in the costume of the period, with farthingale and broad skirts. On the other, the lady's skirts are opened so as to expose what is beneath them, namely, a skeleton, a coffin, and a skull (encircled with a wreath). The inscription on both prints is: "Omnis caro

[702] See illustration in Paul Richer's *L'Art et la Médecine*, Paris, 1902, p. 523, Fig. 328.

foenum, et gloria ejus sicut flos agri," which means: "All flesh is grass, and all the goodliness thereof is as the flower of the field" (Isaiah xl. 6). With these may also be compared a German "memento mori" woodcut of the first decade of the sixteenth century, representing a richly dressed woman (holding a mirror) in the prime of life, but with the head of a skeleton (with an insect crawling over it) instead of the beautiful face which one would expect. It bears wishes for the New Year and inscriptions relating to inevitable death and the folly of human vanity.[703] R. Dagley[704] mentions two prints, representing respectively male and female figures. Each of the two figures is made up of a skeleton half, joined to a fleshly and richly dressed half. Certain modern paintings in various European galleries exhibit a similar striking contrast. One such picture shows a beautiful semi-nude woman standing in front of, and looking at, a mounted human skeleton, which might have been used for anatomical demonstrations.

Here one may mention various jewels, small bronzes, &c., bearing devices referring in one way or another to the subject of death. Mr. W. T. Ready has kindly given me an illustration (Fig. 139) of an early sixteenth-century German shell-cameo, which is circular, 1·1 inch in diameter, and mounted in a silver-gilt setting of the time. It represents a nude man and a nude woman seated facing, with a figure of Death, holding a scythe, standing between them in the background. The woman has two infants in her arms, one of whom is being seized by

[703] See the description in the *Catalogue of Early German and Flemish Woodcuts in the British Museum*, by Campbell Dodgson, vol. i. London, 1903, p. 117.

[704] R. Dagley, *Death's Doings*, second edition, London, 1827, p. 9.

Death. Before the man is an anvil, on which he is hammering a child, whilst he grasps another child tightly between his knees. This device (the arrangement of which may have been suggested by some group representing Venus in the workshop of Vulcan) appears to me emblematic of a somewhat pessimistic view of life (man, woman, and children) and death. The child is thrust naked into the world to take part in the trials and penalties and pains of life, whether he wishes or not; death stands by, awaiting him, and often seizes him, not

FIG. 139.—German shell-cameo of the sixteenth century.

during his troubles, when he is being hammered on the anvil, but when he is happy and contented with life and does not wish to die. I would further explain the device by the help of the type on the medals (dated respectively 1458 and 1466), already described and figured (Figs. 47 and 48) in Part III., by Giovanni Boldu of Venice, representing a young man seated, hiding his face with his hands, with a winged child (probably meant to represent a kind of "genius" of his life, the flame or torch of which he holds) and a skull before him. Compare the passage in Goethe's *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* (part i. cap. xiii.),

of which an English version is given in Longfellow's *Hyperion*:—

"Wer nie sein Brod mit Thränen ass,
Wer nie die kummervollen Nächte
Auf seinem Bette weinend sass,
Der kennt euch nicht, ihr himmlischen Mächte.

"Ihr führt ins Leben uns hinein,
Ihr lasst den Armen schuldig werden,
Dann überlasst ihr ihn der Pein,
Denn alle Schuld rächt sich auf Erden."

FIG. 140.—Reverse (reduced) of a medal by Giovanni Boldu of Venice. (After Heiss.)

In this connexion another medal, made by Boldu in 1458, may likewise be referred to. It represents the artist's bust on the obverse, with inscription in Greek and Hebrew. On the reverse (Fig. 140) is a young man, nude, seated to left, resting his head on his right arm. Under him is a skull, and behind him an old woman is striking him with a whip. In front of him is a winged angel, holding a cup, as an emblem of Christ's Passion (cf. pictures of Christ's Agony in the Garden, by

Giovanni Bellini, &c.). Above is the sun. The legend is: OPVS · IOANIS · BOLDV · PICTORIS · VENETI · MCCCCLVIII.[705]

In Thomas Wright's introduction to Fairholt's *Miscellanea Graphica*,[706] a curious seventeenth-century jewel in the Londesborough Collection is illustrated, which appears to have belonged to King James I of England. It is a silver apple containing a small skull, the top of which opens like a lid. Inside the skull are representations of the Creation and the Resurrection, with the inscription: "Post mortem vita eternitas."

Watches of the seventeenth century were occasionally made in the form of a death's-head, so as to serve *memento mori* purposes, reminding one that with every hour one is nearer one's end, and that hours misspent cannot be regained. In this respect they resemble old sun-dials and clocks with quaint *memento mori* inscriptions. Compare the words of Thomas a Kempis (about 1380 to 1471), in his *De Imitatione Christi*: "Memento semper finis, et quia perditum non redit tempus"—which could have been used for an inscription on a sun-dial or a clock.

The moral and admonitory inscriptions, relating to the waste or misuse of time, on clocks and watches, are of course the representatives of similar verses, epigrams, &c., written in regard to, or inscribed upon, sun-dials and hour-glasses in earlier times.

F. J. Britten[707] describes and figures several "skull-

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[705] This medal, cast in bronze, 3·4 inches in diameter, is described by A. Armand, *Les Médailleurs Italiens*, 2nd edition, 1883, vol. i. p. 36, No. 2; and by A. Heiss, *Les Médailleurs de la Renaissance*, Paris, 1887, vol. i., Venetian medals, pl. ii. No. 1.

[706] London, 1856, p. 63.

[707] F. J. Britten, *Old Clocks and Watches and their Makers*, third edition, London, 1911, pp. 127–138.

watches" or "death's-head watches," the most remarkable of which is traditionally said to have belonged to Mary Queen of Scots, and to have been presented by her to her maid of honour, Mary Seaton (or Setoun), one of "the four Maries." Cf. *The Queen's Marie*, an anonymous poem in Scott's *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*:—

> "Yestreen the Queen had four Mairies,
> The night she'll have but three;
> There was Marie Seaton, and Marie Beaton,
> And Marie Charmichael and me."

I have figured the *memento mori* watch in question (Fig. 141) after the steel-engraving in *Historical and Literary Curiosities*, by Charles John Smith, F.S.A. (London, 1840), to which my attention was kindly drawn by Mr. W. Wale. The skull is of silver-gilt, and on the forehead is engraved a figure of Death holding scythe and hour-glass, standing between a palace and a cottage, with his toes applied equally to the door of each; the appropriate inscription is from Horace (*Od.*, i. 4. 13): "Pallida mors aequo pulsat pede pauperum tabernas Regumque turres." On the hinder part of the skull is a representation of Time, with the inscription: "Tempus edax rerum tuque invidiosa vetustas" (Ovid, *Metam.*, lib. xv. line 234). Ovid's lines are:—

> "Tempus edax rerum, tuque, invidiosa vetustas,
> Omnia destruitis, vitiataque dentibus aevi
> Paulatim lenta consumitis omnia morte."

The scene of "the temptation" with Eve about to pluck the forbidden fruit, occupies the chief portion of the watch seen in the illustration (Fig. 141).

Some other *memento mori* watches in existence are traditionally supposed to have belonged to Mary Queen

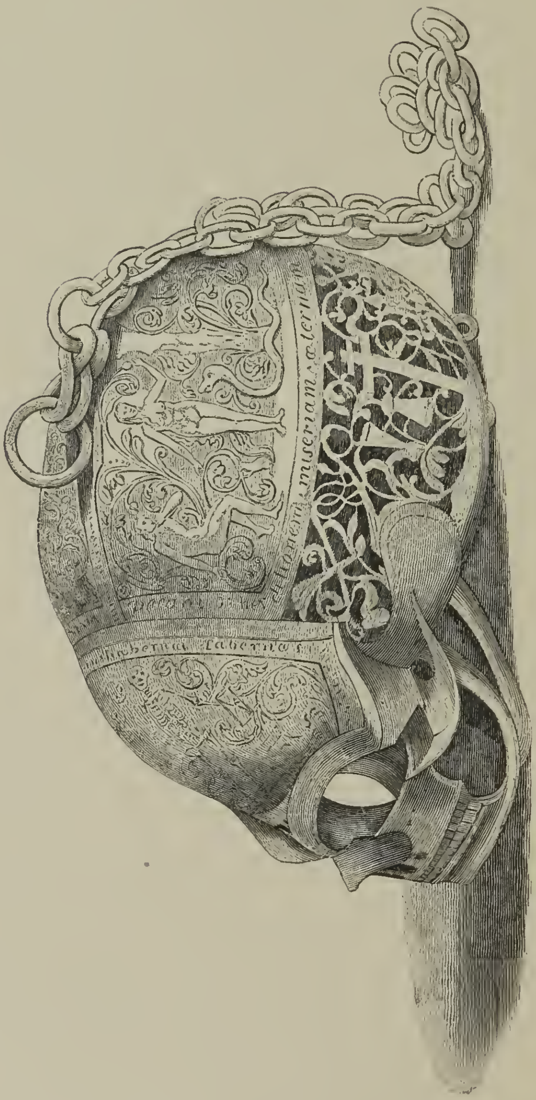

FIG. 141.—A silver *memento mori* watch, shaped like a death's-head, said to have belonged to Mary, Queen of Scots, and to have been given by her to Mary Seaton. (After C. J. Smith.)

of Scots; one of them mentioned by Britten [708] is enclosed in a piece of rock-crystal shaped like a coffin. The same author also says that in the Vienna Treasury there is a small skull-watch of the reign of the Emperor Rudolph II (1576–1612), in which the movable lower jaw has been constructed to strike the number of the hours against the upper jaw. A rock-crystal watch shaped like a death's-head, which I have illustrated,[709] is said to have belonged to that mentally-morbid character, King Henry III of France (Fig. 142). Another curious death's-head watch,

Fig. 142.—A rock-crystal death's-head watch. (After Guiart.)

made by the English clock-maker, Daniel Quare (1648–1724), was in the collection of Catharine II of Russia, that extraordinary "Semiramis of the North." There are several silver death's-head watches in the Cluny Museum at Paris. A rather commonplace silver seventeenth-century death's-head watch is in the Fitzwilliam Museum (Frank Smart Bequest) at Cambridge.

Here likewise may be mentioned the small silver

[708] Britten, *loc. cit.*

[709] With the kind permission of Professor Jules Guiart, from *Aesculape*, Paris, January, 1913, p. 20.

pomander boxes or vinaigrettes in the shape of a human skull with an hour-glass on the top—some of them probably made in quite modern times for the benefit of curio-hunters.

Amongst *memento mori* jewels in the British Museum are locket-like pendants or charms (seventeenth century) shaped like a coffin, containing the minute figure of a skeleton. One of these coffin-shaped pendants is of gold, enamelled, bearing the words, COGITA MORI VT VIVAS ("Think of dying so that you may live"). Another in silver is inscribed with the name of the deceased. A coffin-shaped pendant of this kind is figured by H. Clifford Smith, in his work on *Jewellery*.[710] It is of enamelled gold and contains a minute articulated skeleton. In the collection of the late Mr. M. P. W. Boulton was a fine jewel (German sixteenth-century work) of enamelled gold, shaped as a sarcophagus with nude figures of Adam and Eve and a serpent on the cover; on the sides were Greek inscriptions signifying "Know thyself" and "Remember the end"; inside was a miniature skeleton. A locket-like memorial pendant of a later date in the possession of Lady Evans is in the shape of a minute coffin; the lid is made to open on a hinge, and in the inside is some hair in an ornamental border of gold thread, with a death's-head (there were originally doubtless two death's-heads) and the initials P.B. in fine gold wire; the back is inscribed: "P.B. obit y^e^ 17 Mar: 1703 Aged 54 years."

A little pendant (early seventeenth century) in the British Museum is of gold and enamel in the form of a skull;[711] in the interior of the skull, which opens on a

[710] H. Clifford Smith, *Jewellery*, London, 1908, Plate xliv. No. 16.

[711] It is figured in F. W. Fairholt's *Miscellanea Graphica* (London, 1856, Pl. i. Figs. 3, 4) from the Londesborough Collection, but is now exhibited in the Gold Ornament Room of the British Museum.

hinge, is a minute enamelled figure of a skeleton with an hour-glass under its neck as a pillow. A small heart-shaped memorial locket of gold, enamel, and gold-thread ornamentation (late seventeenth century) represents a skeleton emerging from a tomb, with an angel on either side, trumpeting the resurrection; below is the monogram of the deceased, with the inscription, COME YE BLESSED. A small memorial brooch of the same period and kind of work bears the device of a figure seated at a table with open book, candle, and death's-head; and the legend, LEARN TO DIE.

This design may be compared to that of the reverse of a medal, dated 1556, supposed to be the work of Jacques Jonghelinck (1530–1606), a sculptor and medallist of Antwerp. The obverse of the medal bears the portrait (at the age of 49 years) of Viglius van Zuichem van Aytta, the learned and bigoted President of the Privy Council of Philip II. The reverse presents his punning device and motto (on his name, *Viglius*): a lighted candle, an open book, and an hour-glass, on a table; with the motto, *Vita mortalium vigilia*, "the life of mortals is a vigil." Cf. St. Matthew, xvi. 41 (and other parts of the New Testament): "Watch and pray, that ye enter not into temptation"; and the Latin Vulgate version: "Vigilate et orate"; and such mottoes (sometimes inscribed on old sun-dials, &c.) as *Laborare est orare*, and *Ora ne te ultima hora fallat.*

A small eighteenth-century mourning brooch exhibited in the Victoria and Albert Museum has a miniature painting of the deceased's relatives mourning at his tomb, in the usual style of the period, with the inscription: HEAVEN HAS IN STORE WHAT THOV HAST LOST. (See back, in regard to the popular eighteenth century consolatory saying, *Not lost, but gone before.*)

Minute skulls in ivory or white enamel (with perhaps ruby-eyes) have sometimes been mounted for use as pins for the scarf or necktie, probably to supply an occasional demand for eccentric jewels and ornaments in modern times. Some specimens of *macabre* finger-rings and jewels are actually spurious, being modern imitations of *cinquecento* objects, cheaply made by casting, &c., in order to deceive unwary curio-hunters who have never seen original specimens of elaborate workmanship.

Even mirrors used by ladies, and mirror-cases, have been decorated with death's-heads and similar devices.

Fig. 143.—Medal (1552) of the physician, Adolph Occo III, of Augsburg. (After Picqué.) The reverse design has been suggested by a woodcut in the *Anatomy* of Vesalius, published in 1543. (See Fig. 144.)

C. W. King alludes to a mirror-frame of this kind which he speaks of as Lucrezia Borgia's. The little gorgon's head above the curious design of the back of the famous

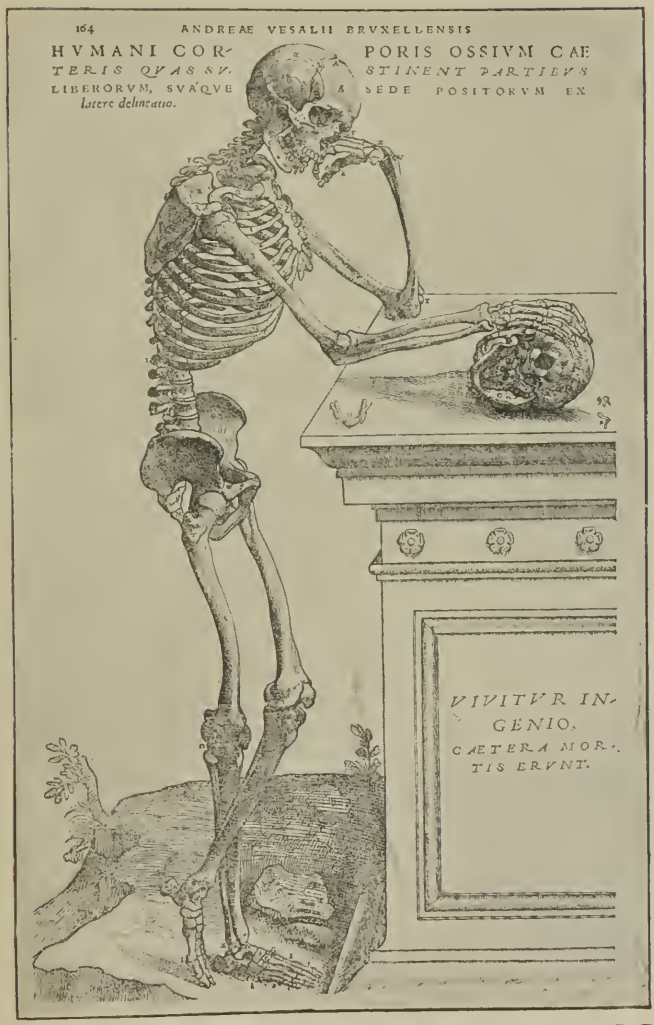

FIG. 144.—Anatomical woodcut by Jan von Calcar (see Part I. D.), from the great anatomical work of Vesalius, *De Humani Corporis Fabrica*, first edition, printed by J. Oporinus, at Basel, 1543, p. 164. This woodcut suggested the design on various *memento mori* medals, &c. Cf. Part I. D.; Part III., medals of the Occo family of physicians, of Augsburg (Fig. 143), and Danish and German *memento mori* medals of about 1634.

"Martelli" mirror, supposed to be the work of Donatello (in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London), also carries with it, strictly speaking, an allusion to death, though only a distant echo of its meaning in the ancient world.

In the eighteenth century and later death's-heads (notably a human skull held between two human hands), with or without snakes, and similar devices of the "skull-and-skeleton" class, carved in ivory, bone or other materials, sometimes served to ornament the handles of walking-sticks, &c. Such handles were probably, most of them if not all, made in Japan.

With the admonitory devices and inscriptions on sepulchral monuments and memorial medals, finger-rings, &c., may be compared some of those on funeral palls. The hearse-cloth or state pall of the Vintners' Company of London, still preserved at the Company's Hall, bears, amongst other devices in embroidery, four representations of Death, supporting a coffin with one hand, and in the other holding a spade. Above these four figures are labels with the following inscriptions: (1) "Morere ut vivas," *i.e.* "Die so that you may live (for ever)"; (2) "Mors p(ec)catoru(m) pessima," *i.e.* "The death of sinners is most wretched"; (3) "Mori disce quia morieris," *i.e.* "Learn to die because you shall die"; (4) "Mors justoru(m) vita a(n)i(m)aru(m)," *i.e.* "The death of the just is the life of souls." These sentences are of course in the spirit of such orthodox didactic books as the Mediaeval Latin *Ars Moriendi*, the English *Craft of Dying*, &c.

At Subiaco in Italy (Province of Rome) a fresco depicting the "Triumph of Death" is accompanied by a somewhat similar inscription: "Mors malis formidabilis; bonis desiderabilis; nemini evitabilis." This inscription is on the scythe held by Death, who is mounted on horseback, riding over his multitudinous victims.

State hearse-cloths also are in the possession of several

other City Companies: the Merchant Taylors' Company possess two; the Ironmongers', the Fishmongers', the Brewers', the Saddlers', each possess one. In the Victoria and Albert Museum is part of a fifteenth-century hearse (from Snarford Church, in Lincolnshire) bearing the inscription:—

"Aspice, quid prodest transacti temporis evum!
Omne quod est nichil est preter amare Deum."

In Part II. xiv. I have quoted a similar (epitaph) inscription, after John Weever's *Ancient Funerall Monuments*, commencing: "Respice quid prodest praesentis temporis aevum."

Praeter amare Deum is the addition made by Thomas a Kempis (born at Kempen in Rhenish Prussia about 1380, died in the Netherlands in 1471), in his famous *De Imitatione Christi* (lib. i. cap. 1), to the words of the "Preacher" (Ecclesiastes i. 2): "Vanitas Vanitatum, et omnia Vanitas" (Latin Vulgate version)—thus making the whole passage read: "Vanity of vanities: all is vanity, excepting to love God." In this connexion it is interesting that roughly cut into the plaster on the wall of the so-called "Haunted Gallery" (which was said to be haunted by the ghost of Queen Catherine Howard, who was beheaded in 1542) of Hampton Court Palace, there has been discovered a Latin inscription, ending, *praeter amare Deum*. The first part of the short inscription is said to be not decipherable, but I suggest that it was *Omnia praetereunt*, like a house-motto mentioned in Part II. xv. In that case the whole inscription would be the Latin pentameter line, *Omnia praetereunt praeter amare Deum*, which was a favourite saying of Kaspar Cruciger (1504–1548), the German Protestant theologian and friend of Luther.

In the *Times* for Dec. 3rd, 1917 (p. 4), Mr. Ernest Law states that this inscription was most probably cut by or by direction of "Mr. Henry Williams, Priest," Surveyor of the Works at Hampton Court, both to Cardinal Wolsey and, after Wolsey's fall, to King Henry VIII. The so-called "Haunted Gallery" is on the eastern side of the "Round Kitchen Court," and is one of those spacious galleries built by Cardinal Wolsey himself, which have been referred to by his gentleman usher, George Cavendish, in his metrical life of Wolsey (written about 1557, published in 1815):—

"My galleries were fair, both large and long,
To walke in them, when that it lyked me best."

A kind of old funeral pall in the Cathedral of Evreux is embroidered with the representation of a corpse being "eaten by worms," and bears the Latin inscription: "Credo quod redemptor meus vivit," &c. (Job xix. 25 and 26).

With the preceding admonitory devices and inscriptions the following Latin couplet may be compared:—

"Vive diu, sed vive Deo: nam vivere mundo
Mortis opus: viva est vivere vita Deo."[712]

("Live long, but live for God; for to live for the world is death's work [it is unlikely that 'opus' means 'need' here]; the living life is to live for God.") This advice forms part of the epitaph (to which Dr. J. A. Arkwright drew my attention) on the monument of a member of the Burrell family (1628) in Cuckfield Church, Sussex. The words of the epitaph are, I find, obviously suggested by the two last lines of an epistle written by Paulinus, Bishop of Nola, in Campania[713] (who lived about 354–

[712] This epitaph inscription reminds one of the repetition of syllables in some Mediaeval and later Latin jingling "puzzle-verses," such as the hexameter, "Mors mortis mordet mortalia morsu," which E. H. Langlois said he could decipher on a representation of "the Three Dead and the Three Living," at Longpaon, near Rouen. Cf. also the following Latin verses quoted by R. Pierpoint (*Notes and Queries*, July 6, 1889, p. 12), relating to the Christian "death of death":—

"Mors mortis morti mortem mors morte redemit."

"Mors mortis, morti, mortem si morte dedisset;
Hic foret in terris, aut integer astra petisset:
Sed quia dissolvi fuerat sic juncta necesse;
Ossa tenet saxum, proprio mens gaudet in esse."

"Mors mortis morti mortem nisi morte dedisset [*or*, dedisses],
Aeternae vitae Janua clausa foret."

"Morti morte tuâ mortem moriendo dedisti,
Est tua mors mortia Christe medela mea."

Cf. also—

"Mala mali malo mala contulit omnia mundo,
Causa mali tanti foemina sola fuit."

("The jaw-bone of the evil one brought all evils to the world by an apple,
The cause of so much evil was woman alone.")

[713] Bishop Paulinus, of Nola, is the reputed inventor or introducer of *large* church bells, and from *Campania* the Italian word *campana* (for that kind of bell) is said to be derived.

431, and was a pupil of the poet Ausonius), in which he exhorts Licentius to live a godly life[714]:—

> "Vive, precor, sed vive Deo: nam vivere mundo
> Mortis opus; vera est vivere vita Deo."

For the numerous *memento mori* and admonitory inscriptions on sun-dials and church bells, see *The Book of Sun-Dials*, by Mrs. Alfred Gatty, enlarged and re-edited by H. K. F. Eden and Eleanor Lloyd, London, 1900; *Ye Sundial Booke*, by T. G. W. Henslow, London, 1914, which contains a large collection of verses relating to the subject by Mr. Henslow; the first edition of Charles Leadbetter's *Mechanick Dialling* (London, 1737), which is interesting because chapter xxiii. gives a list of mottoes for sun-dials, all of which must of course be prior to 1737, the date of publication of the book; the chapter on old sun-dials in G. Clinch's *Handbook of English Antiquities*, London, 1905; the part on sun-dials, bells, &c., in S. F. A. Caulfeild's *House Mottoes and Inscriptions*, new edition, London, 1908; *A Book about Bells*, by G. S. Tyack, London, 1898; *La Cloche*, by J. D. Blavignac, Geneva, 1877; and the various works on English church bells by H. B. Walters, including *Church Bells of England* (London, 1912), *Church Bells* (London, 1908), &c. I have already referred to many of the sun-dial mottoes. The function of the church bell as the "passing bell" is often alluded to in poetry, but it should be noted that the *passing bell* was (in some parts of Europe at least) originally tolled to signify, not that someone had just died, but that someone was (apparently) dying, that is to say, *passing from this*

[714] See Migne's *Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Latina*, vol. lxi. column 184.

life. Amongst the inscriptions on church bells in England are:—

"I toll the funeral knell,
I hail the festal day,
The fleeting hour I tell,
I summon all to pray";

"Remember death"; "Prepare to die";

"My roaring sound doth warning give
That men cannot heare allwaies live";

"All men who hear my mournful sound
Repent before you lye [*or* be] in ground";[715]

"When you hear this mournful sound,
Prepare yourselves for underground";

"I to the church the living call
And to the grave do summon all";

"Unto the church I do you call,
Death to the grave will summon all."

The last inscription occurs with the following lines added:—

"Attend the instruction which I give,
That so you may for ever live."

The two following Latin inscriptions are respectively from Warmington (Northamptonshire) and Hambleton (Rutlandshire): "Vitam metior, mortem ploro"; "Non sono animabus mortuorum sed auribus viventium."

A bell of the year 1624 at Shillington (Bedfordshire) furnishes one of the best elegiac Latin couplets of its kind:—

"Cum cano busta mori cum pulpita vivere disce;
Disce mori nostro vivere disce sono."

On the minster bell at Schaffhausen, in Switzerland, is the inscription: "Defunctos plango, vivos voco, fulmina frango." This is almost identical with the one always quoted in connexion with Schiller's famous *Lied von der Glocke:* "Vivos voco, mortuos plango, fulgura frango."

[715] Such an inscription occurs on a Bakewell (Derbyshire) church bell dated 1671.

H. B. Walters[716] writes: "An old monkish rhyme sums up the ancient uses of bells as follows:—

"'Laudo Deum verum, plebem voco, congrego clerum;
Defunctos ploro, pestem fugo, festa decoro;
Funera plango, fulgura frango, sabbata pango;
Excito lentos, dissipo ventos, paco cruentos.'"

A similar old monkish rhyme is quoted in Brand's *Popular Antiquities* (edition of 1849, vol. ii. p. 213, footnote), as follows:—

"En ego campana, nunquam denuntio vana,
Laudo Deum verum, plebem voco, congrego clerum,
Defunctos plango, vivos voco, fulmina frango,
Vox mea, vox vitæ, voco vos ad sacra venite.
Sanctos collaudo, tonitrua fugo, funera claudo,
Funera plango, fulgura frango, Sabbatha pango;
Excito lentos, dissipo ventos, paco cruentos."

[716] H. B. Walters, *Church Bells*, London, 1908.

ADDENDUM.

Antique Pictorial or Plastic Analogues to Lucian's "Dialogues of the Dead."

Lucian, who is supposed to have been born at Samosata, on the Euphrates, about 120 A.D., and to have died about 200 A.D., is justly celebrated for his brilliant fanciful and humorous "Dialogues of the Gods," "Dialogues of the Dead," "Auction of Philosophers," &c. With keen humour and epigrammatic satire he casts ridicule on the ancient orthodox religious beliefs of his time. Both his gods and dead are, of course, represented as quite anthropomorphic in their sentiments (even though the latter are pictured as skeletons), and the words Lucian puts into their mouths include much satire on the habits, manners, aims, ambitions and foibles of his fellow living human beings.

Amongst his "Dialogues of the Dead" let us turn to that of Nireus, Thersites and Menippus (Firmin Didot edition of Lucian's works, Paris, 1867, p. 113, No. 25). The scene is in Hades. There, before the shade (skeleton) of the Cynic philosopher, Menippus, two other male shades (likewise represented of course as skeletons) are contending for the palm of beauty. They are Nireus, who, next to Achilles, had been during life considered the handsomest amongst the Greeks at Troy, and Thersites, who on the contrary was, according to Homer's *Iliad*, "the ugliest man amongst the Greeks who came to Troy." The shade of Nireus quotes Homer's *Iliad* about himself: *ὃς κάλλιστος ἀνὴρ ὑπὸ Ἴλιον ἦλθον.* But Menippus cynically decides that in regard to beauty there is no

difference between two skulls, and that Hades is in that respect a democracy where each inhabitant is as good as any other.

A pictorial (or rather, plastic) analogue to this is the relief from a sepulchral "cippus" (probably of the third century A.D.) in the British Museum, to which I have already referred in Part II. viii. and Part IV. i. It represents a skeleton stretched out at full length, and the accompanying inscription (above it) asks the passer-by whether from the bare skeleton he can tell if the living person had been beautiful like Hylas or ugly like Thersites. Hylas, who here takes the place given to Nireus in Lucian's dialogue, was said to have been so beautiful that the Naiads loved him, and once, when he went to get some water, drew him down into the well, so that he was never seen by mortal eyes again.

Similarly, I believe, the skeleton-shades of the philosophers on the two famous silver wine-cups of the so-called Boscoreale treasure, in the Louvre Museum at Paris (see description in Part I. A. and Fig. 4), with the inscriptions accompanying them, really form a kind of pictorial (plastic) counterpart to literary scenes similar in character to those in Lucian's "Dialogues of the Dead." These cups are supposed to date from the first century of the Christian era, and therefore are probably nearly contemporaneous with Lucian's Dialogues. I would even suggest that they possibly represent scenes from some, now lost, literary work similar in style to Lucian's "Dialogues of the Dead."

FINIS.

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* I am indebted to Mr. J. Henry Quinn not only for this index, but likewise for several valuable corrections in the text.

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